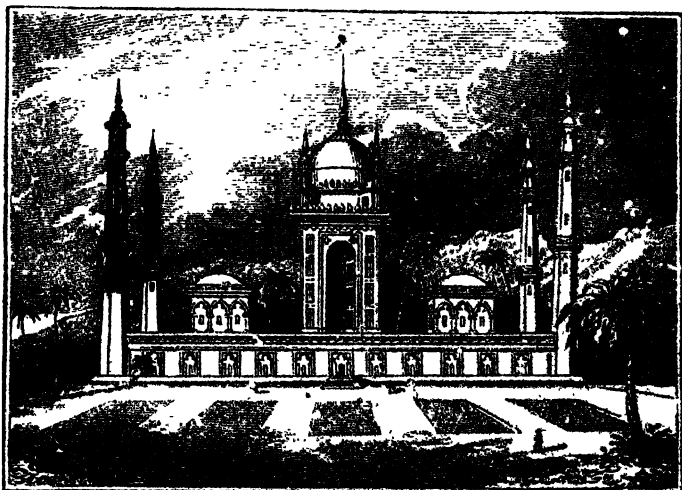


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VOL. XVII.
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PROCEEDINGS IN INDIA TO PETITION PARLIAMENT FOR OPENING THAT COUNTRY TO COLONIZATION.

WE hail with pleasure the continued developement of increasing public spirit among the British inhabitants of India; and rejoice to find, that they can pass from the narrower view of the evils of a Stamp Tax to the more enlarged consideration of the curse of Monopoly generally, and more especially of that worst of all its features, the arbitrary power which it holds, *in terrorem*, over the heads of all who would dare to question its infallibility.

The latest Papers that have reached England from Bengal, contain reports of the proceedings of a Public Meeting convened at Calcutta, for the purpose of passing certain resolutions, ostensibly of a commercial character, and founding thereupon Petitions to both Houses of Parliament; which Petitions are most probably by this time in the hands of the distinguished individuals, to whom the duty of presenting them has been confided. We wish we could offer any reasonable ground of hope for their speedy success; but even had the late Administration remained in power, (a circumstance on which the Indian petitioners most probably relied,) we do not believe that they would have done *more* than may be obtained from the present Ministers—bad as they are—on any question affecting such remote interests as those of India are always considered here. Whatever is to be done before the expiration of the present Charter, in the way of relaxing the restrictions now imposed on Colonization in India, will not be done with the cheerful consent of the party in power, be they Whig or Tory; but must be forced from ministers by the influence of public opinion, expressed through the independent portion of the Legislature. It is fortunate, therefore, perhaps, as far as India is concerned, at least, that the parties to whom the late petition on the Stamp Tax, and this on the Sugar Duties and Colonization, have been confided, are now not in office; because they will be more free to bring them forward with effect, and be more likely to obtain for them the sup-

port of all the landed, mercantile, manufacturing interests, and the tacit assent of the neutral members in the House.

As we have such copious materials before us on this question, including the report of the proceedings in India, the speeches of the merchants, the comments of the editors, the petition itself, and certain other papers connected with the subject originating at home, all of which we desire to lay before the readers of 'The Oriental Herald,' who cannot but feel a deep interest in the issue; we shall abstain from further preliminary remarks, in order to present to them at once the documents in question, which we shall connect together by such observations as may be required to elucidate the matters of which they treat. The first in order is the Report of the Public Meeting held at Calcutta on the 5th of November last, which we take from 'The Bengal Hurkaru' of the succeeding day. It is as follows:

'Calcutta, Tuesday, November 6, 1827.

'A meeting was held at the Town-Hall yesterday, pursuant to requisition, for the purpose of petitioning for the equalization of the Duties on East and West India Sugars, and the removal of the restrictions on the resort of British subjects to India, and their residence therein, with reference to their influence on the commercial prosperity of the country.

'Mr. FLOWDEN, the Sheriff, having read the requisition, took occasion to advert to a letter in 'The Hurkaru,' which alluded to the day chosen for the meeting 'being no less than that of the anniversary of Guy Fawkes's plot—a day most propitious to the dealers in squibs and crackers. The worthy Sheriff expressed a hope, that, notwithstanding this alarming coincidence, the business of the meeting might pass off without any blow up: a hope which was fully realized by its peaceful result. There was no explosion at the meeting; the Government-house still stands where it was; nor have we heard that even one solitary squib has been introduced under it or into it, in order to disturb the repose of its inhabitants. After the exhortation to peace and good order, the Sheriff requested the meeting to elect their Chairman, and Mr. James Young was elected to the chair, and briefly stated the objects of the meeting.

'Mr. BRACKEN then addressed the Chairman as follows:—

'Mr. Chairman,—Previous to proposing the Resolution which I shall have the honour to submit to the consideration of this meeting, I request permission to offer some observations not only on the objects of the requisition, but on a circumstance connected with the getting up of the requisition itself. It has been publicly stated, and circulated throughout India, that some of the requisitionists signed the letter to the Sheriff without reading it, or, having read it, without perceiving the tendency of the second proposition contained in it. As one of the requisitionists, I beg publicly to declare,

that statement does not apply to me ; and, were I to judge from the professional caution of the class, and the characteristic sagacity of the country to which all, or most, of the requisitionists belong, I should doubt whether it applied to any. Be this, however, as it may, they are, I believe, here to answer for themselves. I am responsible for my own acts only, and having read, clearly comprehended, and deliberately signed the letter, I am not so alarmed at the sound of my own voice as to wish to deny, or retract, or qualify, in the slightest degree, my entire concurrence in its full scope and its most extended construction.

‘Objections, Gentlemen, have been raised, too, against the requisition in consequence of its embracing two subjects alleged to be of distinct and unconnected interest. With your indulgence, I trust I shall be enabled to prove, before I sit down, that they are closely and intimately united ; springing from the same principle, and directed to the same purpose. In considering the first branch, the equalization of the Duties on East and West India Sugars, and the grounds on which the West India proprietors claim the monopoly of the home market, and by which they have prevented the possibility almost of an advantageous shipment of sugar from this country, I am fearful I cannot avoid much dry and tedious matter, the repetition of a ‘ thrice-told tale ;’ but on an occasion when we are met to oppose the interests, we are bound to show we understand something of the case, of our rivals.

‘They take their stand on prescriptive right, and expediency ; and as regards the first, contend, that they planted, cultivated, and invested large capitals in sugar plantations, under an implied compact with the Legislature, that so long as they brought the whole of their produce to, and received the whole of their supplies from, the mother country, her market should be secured to them. A glance at the history of the sugar trade will satisfy us that this position is untenable. England was originally supplied by the Portuguese ; but the high price induced the Legislature to encourage the growth in the British plantations ; and from 1649 to 1792, the importations were almost exclusively from thence. In 1792 prices still continuing high, cultivation in the East Indies was called for by the Parliament and Government ; and a quantity, proportionate to the rather slow and unwieldy movements of a chartered company, was shipped. From that period, until 1809, there were additions, reductions, and alterations in the scale of duties applicable to the sugars of both countries, and, comparatively speaking, they were not very unfavourable to the East Indies. These varying regulations, however, evinced any thing but a determination to exclude, under all circumstances, the competition of East India with West India sugars ; and if the importation of the former was so insignificant as not to excite the fears of the jealousies of the West India merchants, we must look to the cause, rather in the limited arrangements of the

East India Company, than in any fixed and unalterable policy of the British Parliament. I am confirmed, Gentlemen, in this view of the merits of the prescriptive right, by the admission, at a former period, of the sugars of the conquered colonies on the same footing as those of the old plantations; and, more recently, by the admission of the sugars of the Mauritius, although, in both instances, the parties affecting to suffer by the extension, petitioned Parliament against it. It seems, therefore, that the Legislature has, on frequent occasions, disputed the claim of right; and has been influenced by considerations of the price of the article in England, and the increase of the revenue in 1813. The West Indians, anticipating the enterprise of the private traders, obtained the duty of which we now complain, and for the continuance of which they have now lost the only plausible pretension they had, viz. the restrictions imposed on them to bring the whole of their produce *to*, and receive the whole of their supplies *from*, the mother country. These restrictions have lately been in some instances removed, and in others relaxed. On the score of expediency, if the West Indians boast their consumption of the manufactures of the mother country, we can repeat, nay, exceed that boast, in pointing to the wants of eighty millions of people. The population of the West Indies does not exceed, I believe, one million.

‘ If they refer to their encouragement of British shipping, we may advantageously contrast the length of the passage as affording at least an equal nursery for seamen to India, and the greater expenditure of all articles connected with the shipping interest.

‘ But of course we are subject to that principle, universally acknowledged, that no nation can *buy*, which is not permitted to *sell*; and, whilst the prohibitive duties are enforced, the extension of the manufacture of England, must be, with reference to what they *might be*, limited and confined.

‘ In approaching the second proposition, I cannot but express my thanks for the friendly caution we have received from an intelligent and watchful guardian of the public weal. He states that he is not asleep. I believe him. He must be more than awake; he cannot but see double in discovering disloyalty and danger to the state, in the humble petition of the British merchants, to be allowed to invest their capitals in the purchase of land, and in expensive machinery for the improvement of its produce. His fears remind me of honest David's alarm at receiving Bob Acres's challenge. ‘ It does not look like another letter. It is, as I may say, a malicious, designing-looking letter. It smells of powder like a soldier's pouch. Oons, take care, I should n't wonder, but it may n't go off.’

‘ So our requisition, having in view the extension of British skill and capital, has been converted into a formidable attack on the good order and security of the country.

‘Gentlemen, history bears me out in stating, that the resort of Europeans to this country has been advantageous to India and to England; and, when we see the good effects of the establishment of respectable indigo planters, both on the revenues of the Government and the prosperity of the people, in the districts where that valuable commodity is chiefly grown, I cannot but anticipate the same results on the application of capital to the other products of the country.

‘But so long as the prohibition to purchase land exists, and an arbitrary power of transmission to England shall be vested in the local Government, the full and complete advantages contemplated from that skill and capital cannot, in my humble opinion, be realized.

‘It is not necessary to my purpose to comment on the past exercise of this power. I believe it has been generally admitted, that, in some instances, it has been, to say the least, hastily used; and that the Court of Directors have not withheld compensation for supposed hardship under its application. But it is the principle of accuser and judge being in the same persons; that seems objectionable; and I do hope, that a modification of this power may be made, combining the due and efficient control of the Government, with the legal and constitutional security of the person and the property of the subject.

‘The delusion that once existed, of the barrier opposed, by the institutions of the Natives, to the use of articles of European manufacture, has long been dispelled. We have only to refer to the records of the Custom-house, in proof of this assertion.

‘In 1813 the exports of cotton goods to India were valued at about 120,000*l.*; in 1824, at 1,115,000*l.* This fact speaks for itself; and we should neglect our own interests, the interests of the Natives, and the interests of the United Kingdom, did we not do all in our power to increase and consolidate the commercial intercourse between the countries. Gentlemen, with your permission, I will now read the first resolution.

‘A gentleman (Mr. Vickers Jacob, we believe) read a letter from Mr. Goulburn, with a view, we believe, of showing that the West Indian made no claim to a monopoly on the score of prescriptive right, but merely claimed a due regard to their interests, involved in the large capitals, embarked by them on the faith of laws it was now proposed to abrogate.

‘Mr. COLVIN, in moving the second resolution, stated that he was one of those who had not strictly attended to the language of the requisition. And he was not prepared to go so far as his friend Mr. Bracken, in regard to the object involved by it, although he would not oppose it. His own opinion was, that the power of transmission placed no obstacle in the way of vesting capital in India; for that the power had been very leniently used, of which his own case

was an instance, as he had been twenty-five years in India without a license. In the other observations of Mr. Bracken he fully concurred.

“ Mr. G. PRINSEP, in moving the third resolution, expressed his dissent from what had fallen from Mr. Bracken, as to the policy of continuing the power of transmission. He considered it essential to the success of the main object of the meeting, to be excessively cautious of manifesting any desire to curtail the ‘political rights’ of the Company; and seemed, if we rightly understood him, to be of opinion, that the question should be confined, itself, to the question of relieving the trade of the country, by the removal of prohibitory duties, and trusting it to the ministry to provide for collateral questions of policy connected with it. Mr. Prinsep then took a luminous view of the sugar question; in which he satisfactorily showed, we think, that, on principles of political economy, of sound policy, and of strict justice, British India was entitled to the boon which it was the object of the petition to obtain. An argument, which seems to us equally novel and forcible, was the singular predicament, in which Great Britain placed herself by the existing law, in the event of some of our West India Islands, which have been so often conquered and reconquered, becoming again the property of an enemy. England might then, as we believe she has done before, admit East India sugars on equal terms; but where would be procured the increased production, necessary to meet this increased demand upon India? and where that equality of quality, which can only be obtained by an improved process of manufacture, that cannot be suddenly resorted to to meet an emergency? We regret that it is not in our power to give even an outline of Mr. Prinsep’s able speech; what we have given is a mere reference to one or two detached points embraced by it.

The meeting was not very fully attended; whether it was respectable or not, we will leave ‘the John Bull’ to determine. The following are

THE RESOLUTIONS :

1. Moved by Mr. Bracken, seconded by Mr. Bruce—That this Meeting, deeply impressed with a conviction that the commercial intercourse between England and India is susceptible of great and indefinite extension, which is prevented by the imposition of extra duties on the products of India, and by legal obstructions to the application of British skill and capital to the cultivation of those products, entertain a just confidence that the wisdom and justice of Parliament will, by the removal of such impediments, give an immediate impulse to the commercial prosperity of both countries, and incalculably promote the general interest of India:

2. Moved by Mr. Gisborne, seconded by Mr. Colvin—That a Petition, to the above effect, be prepared, and submitted to his Majesty, and to both Houses of Parliament.

‘ 3. Moved by Mr. Colvin, seconded by Mr. Brown—That this Meeting cannot omit this opportunity of expressing its grateful admiration of the unsolicited and often renewed efforts of William Woolrych Whitmore, Esq., and other members of the Legislature, in support of the claims of India to be put on an equal footing, in point of import of duties, with the other tropical dependencies of the British Crown; and that the Chairman of this Meeting do communicate, accordingly, by letter, to Mr. Whitmore, our respectful thanks, and our solicitations for his continued and powerful assistance in a cause which must eventually prevail, when it shall have been fully discussed, and thoroughly understood by our countrymen at home.

‘ 4. Moved by Mr. G. A. Prinsep, seconded by Mr. E. Trotter—That the Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdown and the Right Honourable Lord Goderich be respectfully requested to present and support our Petitions to the House of Lords, and Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Whitmore to the House of Commons.

‘ 5. Moved by Mr. E. Trotter, seconded by Mr. J. Cullen—That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee, for carrying into effect the several objects contemplated in the Resolutions, with power to add to their number: Messrs. Young, Colvin, Gisborne, Bruce, Melville, Brown, Allport, Boyd, G. A. Prinsep, H. Mackenzie, T. Bracken, W. Patrick.

‘ 6. Moved by Mr. W. Melville, seconded by Mr. W. Patrick—That the following draft of the Petition to Parliament be adopted by the Meeting; to be engrossed, signed, and despatched, with all practicable expedition.

‘ THE PETITION.

‘ I. That your petitioners have observed, with the utmost satisfaction, the various Acts of Parliament which have within these few years, been passed, for the purpose of facilitating commercial intercourse between Great Britain, her colonies, dependencies, and all other countries; and the unqualified recognition of those sound principles of political economy, by which such intercourse ought invariably to be regulated. Relying on these public pledges, that your Honourable House have nothing more at heart, than, by moderate and equal duties, to promote the most advantageous distribution of capital, and application of industry, your petitioners beg leave respectfully to remind your Honourable House, that the duty of 37 shillings per cwt. charged on East India sugar, (while that payable by the sugar of the West Indies and the Mauritius is only 27 shillings,) necessarily has the effect of greatly restricting the export and import trade, the public revenue, and general prosperity of India.

‘ II. That an equalization of the duties on East and West India sugar, would also be of the most essential benefit to all classes in

Great Britain, for whose relief from acknowledged distress the Legislature has so frequently desired to provide the means. 1. To the manufacturer—by the increased facility of making returns for the goods sold in India, thus removing a serious obstacle, which at present exists, to the extended consumption of British manufactures in that wide field. 2. To the ship-owner—by a favourable effect upon freight. 3. To the artisans, agriculturists, and general community of Great Britain—by providing the means of meeting the annually increasing demand for sugars at considerably reduced prices. And 4. While the benefits of the measures would thus be shared by the British manufacturer, the ship-owner, and the general community, and a stimulus be given to the extended production of sugar in the British possessions in the East, the revenue, derived by Great Britain from East India sugar, instead of being diminished, would unquestionably be materially augmented.

‘That your petitioners are not aware of any objection that has been, or can be urged, to an equalization of the duty, except that its tendency to reduce the selling price of sugar in England would be prejudicial to the interest of the planters in the West Indies; but, if similar objections have been over-ruled, in numberless instances of a return to sound commercial policy, and if the vast addition to the exportation of sugar from the Mauritius, which immediately followed the equalization of the duties in 1823, has not been considered a sufficient reason for withdrawing the privilege then extended to that island, your petitioners trust that the same just and wise principles will be applied to promote the agriculture and trade of India.

‘III. That the cultivation of sugar cane in India is subject to a still greater discouragement than an extra duty of 10s. per cwt., in the regulations of the East India Company, sanctioned by Acts of Parliament, and strictly enforced by the local Government, which prohibit British subjects from being proprietors of land. While this prohibition is maintained, your petitioners submit, that, although exportation of tropical productions and the importation of British manufactures have been considerably extended, still the opening of the trade, which was granted in 1813, must remain comparatively valueless, the revenues of India unnecessarily cramped,* and the Native inhabitants but partially impressed with the feelings of attachment to the British Government so desirable to be cherished.† While,

* The original draft of the petition said, that ‘the public revenue would continue inadequate to the ordinary exigencies of the public service;’ a mode of expression not merely more forcible, but better, because nearer the truth.

† The original draft said, that ‘the natives of India would remain *unimpressed* with feelings of attachment to the British Government;’ a better and truer phrase than the one substituted for it.

therefore, we are actuated by a regard to our own immediate interests, we contemplate, in the concession of the prayer of our petition, the attainment of objects essential to the welfare and permanence of the British Empire in India. Similar disadvantages to those consequent on the sugar duties, are felt as regards rum, coffee, cotton, ginger, and other articles of Eastern produce, the removal of which is equally called for.

The prayer of your petitioners is, that your Honourable House will be pleased to take into consideration the expediency of equalizing the duties chargeable on sugar and other articles imported from the East and West Indies; and of abolishing all such restrictions, on the resort of British subjects to, and on their residence in, India, as are calculated to affect the commercial prosperity of the country.*

We gather, from the 'Hurkaru' of the following day, that the proceedings of this meeting were attempted to be interrupted by the party attached to the existing state of things, but that the attempt was ineffectual. We give the account in the words of the paper itself, as well as the excellent arguments of its Editor, on the matter discussed. He says :

Our readers will have seen, by the sketch we gave yesterday of the proceedings of the meeting at the Town Hall, that the attempts, which were made to prevent unanimity from prevailing at it, did not succeed. Though not numerous, it was unanimous as to the resolutions proposed, and the petition carried, adopts the very words of the requisition in regard to restrictions on persons resorting to and residing in India. To us, we confess, it is a matter of indifference what construction may be put upon those words here : for we feel thoroughly satisfied that, in the legislature of Great Britain, the power of transmission† will be deemed and taken to be in-

* The original draft prayed for 'the removal of *all* restrictions on the resort to and residence in India of British subjects;' or, in other words, it asked for the abolition of that absurd, as well as tyrannous, law, which compels every Englishman visiting India, to have a license so to do, and empowers the Government to banish him (notwithstanding such license) without trial, whenever they please. The alteration, which makes the object of the prayer the removal only of *such* restrictions as are calculated to affect the commercial prosperity of the country, is the worst that has been made in the petition, from the original draft; as it leaves the judgment of, whether the power of preventing Englishmen from settling in India, and of banishing them without trial afterwards, be injurious to its commercial prosperity or not, open to further discussion. The affirmative should have been declared by resolution, and the removal of the restriction asked on that ground, as an admitted one. As it stands, it is so weak and conditional, as to be worth little or nothing.

† This term, 'transmission,' is the gentle phrase used in India for 'transportation,' a punishment applied here to legally convicted felons only, and ranking next to death, in severity and ignominy. In India the

cluded by them. Some may conceive, that this power has been leniently exercised, but many admit that it has been, and none deny that it may be, abused. Mr. Colvin* thought that his own case was a proof of the leniency with which the power was exerted. With every deference, however, to that gentleman, we cannot admit that his case is any argument at all in favour of the opinion, that the power of transmission has not been abused, or that it is wise to continue it. He may have been fortunate in possessing uncommon prudence, in holding opinions precisely in accordance with those in power, or in possessing influence with them; but it is needless to say, that this is not every British subject's case. We all know that individuals have been sent home for no other reason but that which existed in Mr. Colvin's case, viz. being in India without a license. That he has not been transmitted for that cause, only proves then, that the law may be administered with partiality as well as with injustice and oppression, and that is rather a *strange argument* in its favour, we take it: although all will admit, that society has benefited by the partiality exhibited in this particular case, inasmuch as it has kept among them, an individual of whose worth there is but one opinion. It is, moreover, as unfair in principle as it is unsound in logic, to argue from individual cases, when the favourable instances alone, of the exercise of the power, can be safely dwelt on. If it were otherwise, we should not have the least difficulty in showing, that Mr. Colvin's case is only an exception, which proves our position, that the power *has* been and *may* be abused: and we would venture to predict, that it *will* be again, if the British Legislature suffer it still to disgrace the statute book.

With those who hold that the continuance of the power of transmission, whether it be an evil or a good, has no connection with a petition for the equalization of the duties on East and West India sugars, we conceive it to be a waste of time to argue. The equalization of duties could do no good, unless an improved manufacture led to an increased demand for our sugars; they could not compete with the West India sugars, even if the duties were equalized without this: and this improvement will never take place without the extensive investment of British capital, and the application of British skill and enterprise. To say, then, that the existence of a power, which might destroy, in a moment, the property in which that capital was vested, and banish the skilful and enterprising superintendants of it, and further, that the continuance of a law which prohibits Europeans from holding land, have no connection

power, is claimed by the Governor, permanent or temporary, to inflict this dreadful punishment, *without trial*, on any man he pleases, without even assigning any reason for his act!

* A near connexion of Mr. W. B. Bayley, who has been a Government Secretary in India, (i. e. a Minister,) or a Supreme Councillor, for thirteen or fourteen years!

with the sugar question, is as absurd as it would be to contend, that the distracted state of Ireland is no bar to the investment of capital there; an argument which no political partisan at home has ventured to maintain, and which seems to us repugnant to reason and common sense.

'It is said, moreover, that not merely the question of transmission, but that of removing the restrictions on Europeans resorting to India, are question of party politics. They are not so at least in the British Parliament; and those who hold this opinion, seem to forget, that they are furnishing their opponents, the West Indians, with a stick wherewith to break their own heads. What reply would they make to the West Indians, when they say "Here you would destroy our partial monopoly, interfere with our prescriptive rights, render our property valueless, and yet rigidly maintain your own close system. You ask all, and would give nothing in return." Whatever the *knowing ones* here may imagine, we are confident the Legislature will never equalize the duties on sugar and the other produce of India, while they continue the Company's monopoly, and their system of exclusion founded on it.

'We cannot agree with Mr. Prinsep in thinking, that it is essential to avoid the appearance even of seeking to curtail what he termed the political rights of the Company, when we are petitioning the *British Legislature*; for we believe that, in that assembly, as well as elsewhere, the opinion is rapidly gaining ground, that the political rights, or as we would say power, of the Company, must be curtailed, if not abrogated altogether; and we cannot think that a body of British subjects can do any injury to their appeal for commercial privileges, the safe exercise of which must depend on the protection of just and equal laws, if they boldly declare their object, and claim the British right, of being subject only to the power of those laws, and not to that of arbitrary authority, which condemns, untried, and punishes, unheard.

'With most admired consistency, the 'Bull' * affects to triumph over the fact, that the abolition of the power of transmission is not prayed for, in the petition, in so many words—in short, that the thing asked for is not actually named, for that is the fact; yet the 'Bull' has all along admitted, that the terms of the Requisition did actually involve the power of transmission, or, at least, that they admitted of that interpretation; and those *very words of the requisition are embodied in the petition!* In any case, the policy of continuing the power of transmission as it is, of modifying or limiting its exercise, or of abrogating it altogether, must be left to the wisdom of the Senate. The subject brought before them, they will deal with it as they, in their wisdom, see fit: the petition, therefore, is

* 'The John Bull' newspaper of India, the organ of arbitrary principles in that country.

just as effectual for the object we consider most important, as if it had distinctly appealed to the Legislature to abolish this odious and arbitrary power at once, though we should certainly have preferred naming the power, as the more plain and straight-forward course.'

In reverting to the commercial part of the question; namely, the impolicy of continuing the restrictions on the cultivation of sugar in the East Indies, by the imposition of heavy duties; which, not being imposed on the same production, when raised in the West Indies, operates as a bounty, or protecting duty, as it is called; we are happy to have it in our power to lay before our readers the substance of some well-timed and highly interesting papers, that have lately been in private circulation, among the friends of free trade in this country, and, especially, in the manufacturing districts; on which petitions will be grounded, that cannot fail materially to strengthen the object of the one recently forwarded from Calcutta, and, on that ground, must be deeply interesting to the British inhabitants of Bengal, as the result of co-operative, or, at least, simultaneous, efforts of fellow-labourers in the same good cause. The first of these papers refers to a petition against the sugar monopoly of the West Indies; which, during the short period since the protecting duties of East India sugar were first voted, has cost the people of England at least *eighteen millions sterling*, over and above what they would have paid for the same quantity of sugar, if these protecting duties had not existed. It states, and we believe truly, that the measure for imposing these duties passed through both Houses of Parliament, at the period referred to, (about twelve years ago,) without exciting any attention, except the close attendance of all the West India members, to whom it was, of course, highly acceptable; and it thus proceeds to argue the question:

'These protecting duties are imposed on all sugars, *excepting those brought from the West Indies*; and, by that means, competition is shut out, and a monopoly is given to about eighteen hundred West-Indian sugar-farmers, (or planters, as they are termed,) which they think themselves entitled to, simply because their extravagant habits, and the greater expense of cultivation by the labour of slaves, incapacitate them from selling as cheaply in the British markets, as the growers of sugar in our East-Indian possessions and in other countries would do, if the duties were equalized and a fair competition permitted. This will be readily understood, when it is recollected that the East-Indian sugar-cultivator, though a free man, is a plain Native farmer, living for a mere trifle on the cheap food of his country, and working with his own hands, assisted by his family, like the industrious English corn-farmer; while the West-Indian sugar-farmer is a fine gentleman, who never labours and lives luxuriously, frequently residing in England at the distance of thousands of miles from his lands, which are managed by expensive agents, whom he must pay, and are cultivated by slaves, whom he

must purchase. And to these extravagancies he frequently adds a fashionable house in town, a lordly villa in the country, and a seat in Parliament, where it sometimes happens that West-Indian interests and the profits of monopoly are attacked, and require to be defended.

'The pretence, which the West-Indian sugar-farmers have invented, for perpetuating the protecting duties, on which their luxuries depend, is this. They assert, that a depression in the price of sugars would compel them to do—What? to relinquish their seats in Parliament, their splendid villas in England, and to reside on their West-Indian estates, living in a plain manner, and managing their own affairs, like the inhabitants of the Bahama Islands, who export no sugar? Oh, no! this would be too great a sacrifice; and they therefore assert, that the loss of the monopoly would oblige them to starve their Negroes! Now what is the fact? The inhabitants of the Bahama Islands have no sugar monopoly, for they export no sugar: like the gentlemen farmers in England, they are content to breed cattle, and to cultivate provisions and farming produce; and yet it is in these Bahamas, the poorest of our colonies, that the Negroes increase with a rapidity unknown in our other West-Indian islands. The Negroes of the Bahamas thus increase and prosper, because they are spared the cruel exertions of a West-Indian sugar-cultivation, and because the absence of that cultivation affords them more time and more land for the production of their proper nutriment.

'The West-Indian climate is so favourable to the growth of human subsistence, that it was affirmed, by the West-Indian party themselves, before the Privy Council and Parliament, that, where land is allotted to the Negroes for their support, as in Jamaica and other islands, the allowance of sixteen days in the year (exclusive of Sundays) for cultivating their provision grounds, not only enables the Negroes to live in comfort, but afforded many of them the means of procuring luxuries. St. Domingo, now called Hayti, which was the most productive of sugar colonies, has exported little or no sugar for many years past; and yet the Negroes of Hayti, now a free people, have not starved, but have abundantly supplied their wants from their own labour; and while they have done this, they have been rapidly advancing in numbers, respectability, intelligence, and wealth. Without the aid of a sugar monopoly, the Haytians import, and of course pay for, large quantities of merchandize; and they have engaged to pay immense sums of money to France for the acknowledgment of their independence. They keep on foot a regular army; they have a regular Government to maintain; and yet the Haytians defray all these and other expenses civil and military from their own resources, though they export scarcely any sugar. It is not true, therefore, that, if the West-Indian sugar-

monopoly were abolished, the Negroes would starve ; but it is true, that the West-Indian sugar-farmers might be reduced to the condition of other colonial landholders, and of English corn-growers ; and would find themselves under the necessity of residing on their West-Indian estates, where their duty lies ; of living, as the inhabitants of the Bahamas live, in a plain, unostentatious manner ; and of personally superintending the treatment of their slaves, instead of leaving them to the mercy of hirelings.

‘ In general, wherever sugar is successfully grown, food for the Negroes may be produced ; but whatever tends (as protecting duties and bounties manifestly do) to increase the profits of slave-grown sugar, tends in the same degree to create an avaricious eagerness for its exclusive cultivation, and to add to the misery of the Negro by adding to the temptation to exact a larger portion of his labour, and by diminishing the quantity of land and time allotted for the culture of his provisions. It is this eagerness for sugar-monopoly profits, that, in some instances, causes the wretched slave to be half-starved, on a scanty allowance of very expensive but unnatural diet, imported from England or America.

‘ When our commercial intercourse with the East and with the South was inconsiderable, and when we were excluded from all connexion with the great Continental sugar-countries, the owners of land in the islands of the West Indies enjoyed a most lucrative monopoly, of which they knew how to avail themselves. During a long period, the West-Indian sugar-monopolists have realized their thousands and their tens of thousands a-year, upon the sale of articles grown in their fields. For all past expenses, connected with sugar cultivation, the West-Indian sugar-farmers have been indemnified over and over again by past profits, though they may have squandered the money ; and, now that the progression of time has caused their patent to expire, and the change of circumstances affords an opportunity of procuring sugars at a cheaper rate elsewhere, the British public are deprived of this benefit, by means of protecting duties, which revive the monopoly by preventing competition.’

Notwithstanding the force of these arguments, there are not wanting, of course, advocates of the opposite side, who endeavour to delude where they cannot hope to convince ; and who, by a mixture of ingenuity and fallacy, maintain the semblance of reasoning against the positions thus ably maintained. One of the private papers, to which we have alluded, contains an analysis of such objections, and a refutation of them *seriatim*, placing the objection, or argument, of the West India Planter first in order, and following it by the answer to the objection raised ; an arrangement so favourable to truth, that we readily follow it in giving the substance of both ; placing the objections in *Italic* types, and the answers in *Roman* :

1. *The new Corn-protecting Duties are a precedent for the Protecting Duties on West-Indian Produce; and this Protection is still more necessary when the Americans refuse to permit the West Indian Islands to be supplied with provisions direct from that country, and subject the Colonists to the heavy additional expense of obtaining supplies from more distant places, or by a circuitous route.*

Although all monopolies are liable to objection on principle, there is still a wide difference between those monopolies which are intended to uphold an useful and influential class of men in their proper station, and those monopolies which raise individuals above their natural condition, and remove them from their true sphere of usefulness. The new corn-protecting duties are intended to prevent the English landholder, who can grow nothing else but produce for home consumption, from being crushed by competition with foreigners in the production, for his own home market, of the universal food of the people. These duties are intended, also, by encouraging the home cultivation, to prevent England from being too much at the mercy of foreigners, especially in the event of a war; and to retain upon their estate (by enabling them to live at home) those country gentlemen, whose absence abroad, from motives of economy, would be a public calamity. Whether the corn-protecting duties be right or wrong, it is clear that the sugar-protecting duties differ fundamentally from them in all these respects:—The intention of the corn-protecting duties is to encourage the home growth, by protecting the English corn-grower against the foreign corn-grower in the home market. The sugar-protecting duties, by encouraging an exclusive eagerness for sugar cultivation, prevent the West Indian landowners from growing the proper food of the inhabitants, and place those islands at the mercy of foreigners; especially in the event of a war. The cultivation of provisions for home consumption, and the transfer of the sugar cultivation, would enable the Colonial Proprietors, generally, to live, as the inhabitants of the Bahamas or the Canadas live, in a moderate manner, conformably to their true condition as landowners in countries purely agricultural; and would place them, according to the different circumstances of the respective localities, on the same relative footing with resident English landowners subsisting on the produce of their own estates. By the inducements which the sugar-protecting duties hold out to neglect the cultivation of the necessaries of life, for the sake of the sugar-monopoly profits, the West Indian Islands are left at the discretion of the Americans, to starve or to supply them, as may best suit American policy; and this great political error is committed, in order that a few individuals, in and out of Parliament, may, at the expense of the mother country, be encouraged in the almost exclusive cultivation of an article for foreign exportation, and enjoy the profits of a monopoly, which costs the consumers.

in Great Britain, in the extra price of sugars, from one to two millions annually. This false and extravagant policy, instead of operating like the corn-protecting duties, and inducing West Indian landowners to reside upon their estates, and promote the happiness of those who depend on them, has the reverse effect, of enabling many of them to live at the distance of thousands of miles from their property; to cultivate their lands by means of an expensive agency; to eclipse, even in England, the English landowner, possessing a similar number of acres, in this great commercial, manufacturing and rich country; and to become members of the House of Commons, instead of occupying their proper places in the Colonial Assemblies, where their duty lies. Already the Americans boast, that they have the West Indians in their power, and consequently under their influence; because the improvident and rapacious colonists cannot afford the expense of procuring the necessities of life from Europe, and are induced not to raise them at home by the folly of England, in granting the bounties and protecting duties on their export produce. The Americans will only supply these colonies on condition of their being placed, in the colonial ports, on the same footing as English traders; in other words, on condition of the islands becoming American colonies for all purposes, excepting the expense of keeping them, which they willingly leave to England. These are the fruits of the protecting duties and bounties in favour of West Indian produce.

‘II. The Proprietors could no longer afford to purchase food for their Slaves, if they were deprived of the monopolies; and they would be obliged to throw their lands out of cultivation, as they only get a bare subsistence with the aid of the monopoly.’

The Negroes do not starve in the Bahamas, from whence no sugar is exported; they do not starve in Hayti, which enjoys no such protecting duties. On the contrary, those are precisely the islands where the Negroes prosper and increase. The owners of lands do not throw them up in Hayti or in the Bahamas, but live upon them as other landowners, in countries non-exporting and purely agricultural. They do not pretend to live in England, or to enjoy luxuries, which belong only to landowners in great commercial and manufacturing countries.

‘III. The Proprietors must be indemnified for immense sums, expended on sugar-houses and other buildings.’

They have been indemnified over and over again, by large monopoly profits, while their patent was in force; it has now expired, and they must take their chance in fair competition. All that has been laid out is the result of monopoly profits already realised.

‘IV. 25,000 British Seamen are employed in the West Indian trade, and 230,000 tons of shipping, England derives an annual re-

venue of 6,000,000*l.* in the form of duties : and 5,000,000*l.* value of manufactured goods are annually sent to the West Indies.

' The same number of seamen and the same tonnage would be requisite, if the sugar were brought from other places. The same revenue would be collected by Government on the imported sugar. Now only from three to four millions' value of goods are sent to the West Indies, of which a large part goes to South America. The profit on the remainder bears no proportion to the expense of keeping the islands ; to which is to be added, the loss to the people of England of so large a sum annually, in the extra price created by the monopoly, without which the colonists declare that they cannot afford to cultivate sugar.

' V. Sugar is the staple production of the West Indies, and England ought not to transfer the cultivation, and ruin the West Indian colonies, for the sake of the East Indian colonies.

' Sugar cannot be properly called the staple of a country, which can only afford to produce and sell it under the artificial aid of bounties and protecting duties. When this happens to a country, it loses its commercial staple, and becomes agricultural for home consumption. This transfer would neither ruin the West Indies nor the proprietors, as is evident from the instances of the Bahamas and of Hayti, and indeed of all countries purely or chiefly agricultural. The only result would be, that West Indian landowners must live upon their estates in a plain moderate style, instead of residing in England, and eclipsing the landowners of a great commercial country. Suppose the islands were independent, they could have no staple of sugar, for no country would pay the extra price.

' VI. South America, Mexico Hayti, and China are not British possessions, and therefore no reasonable man would wish to destroy the trade of British proprietors to transfer it to them.

' If the traders of these countries take British manufactures in exchange, it is commercially quite immaterial where they reside, or where the goods are brought into use. The articles are paid for, and therefore the purchase money is spent in England. If the colonial ports are now free to the traders of other countries, the colonial commercial character is at an end, and the colonists are not British proprietors commercially considered ; but they are the inhabitants of a neutral country, trading to other countries and also to England. Moreover, a sugar trade, which can only exist by means of bounties and protecting duties, at the expense of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, is not a trade, but a contrivance for transferring money, from the pockets of the people of England, into those of West Indian proprietors. This dexterous transfer,

and not the sugar trade, is their boasted staple. It is no more than a system of pauperism on a large scale.

‘VII. *The East Indian Proprietors can exist without the production of Sugar : the West Indian Proprietors cannot.*

‘The West Indian Proprietors, by demanding protecting duties and bounties, sufficiently show, that they do not exist by the production of sugar, but by the sums levied on the people of this country, to uphold their improvident speculation, in the form of bounties and protecting duties. Besides, the question is not between the two classes of producers only ; the consumers in England have an interest in the matter, deserving of consideration. As well might the people of Malta insist on protecting duties, to enable them to furnish England with oranges.

‘VIII. *The East Indies were not colonised for the purpose of producing Sugar : the West Indies were.*

‘The West Indies were partly colonised with a view to sugar cultivation ; but that was in order that England might obtain it cheaper, not dearer, than from elsewhere. This argument, like all the rest of the arguments of the West Indians, proceeds upon the notion that the interests of the mother country are altogether undeserving of regard. Even the acquisition of the vast empire of the East is to ~~not~~ England nothing, in order that a few owners of land, in West Indian Islands, may not descend to their proper station as landowners in countries non-exporting and purely agricultural. The idea of colonizing to purchase, at a dearer rate, the tropical productions, is quite new.

‘IX. *West Indian Protecting Duties were imposed, because they were British Colonies and cultivated by the aid of British capital ; and also, because the West Indians were not allowed to have their wants supplied from any other source but the mother country.*

‘The same is the case in the East Indies ; and if it were not, the real object is attained, if foreign countries take our manufactured goods in exchange. The latter objection does not now apply, as, with some few exceptions, the colonists may obtain their supplies from whence they please. On the other hand, when the English landowner is obliged to sell his corn at a minimum of profit, he can only be reinstated by the diminution in price of those other necessaries of life, which he and his tradesmen and labourers must purchase. This the English landowner has a right to expect.

‘X. *One argument is employed by the West Indians against the removal of the Bounty and extra Duty, which stultifies all the preceding. They affirm, that the Bounty does not exist, and that the Protecting Duty produces no effect in raising the price of Sugar to the British consumer.*

‘If the Protecting Duty produces no effect in raising prices, why

do the West-Indians contend for its continuance? Does not the very struggle they are making to retain it completely disprove their allegations on this point, even if the case were not otherwise as clear as the sun at noon-day? As for *the Bounty*, it is true it has been reduced to one half of its former amount in the last year. But that half still remains, and, of itself, adds considerably more than 500,000*l.*, annually to the cost of the sugar consumed in this country. This has now been distinctly admitted by the Government. Mr. Hibbert, also, the respectable agent of Jamaica, himself engaged in the sugar trade for the last fifty years, thus addressed his constituents, the Assembly of that island, in a letter dated the 11th of March, 1824: "The advantage we (West Indians) enjoy, in the principle and produce of calculating the drawback on the export of refined sugar, is little, if at all, short of a *gratuitous* bounty of six shillings per cwt." Since that time, the drawback has been lessened by three shillings. Of course, three shillings remain. This bounty affects the sugars of the East, as well as those of the West-Indians.

The following observations on the Trade to the East Indies have lately appeared at Manchester. They are so closely and intimately connected with the subject of this paper, that no apology is necessary for inserting them.

There is nothing connected with the policy of England, (says a late writer,) more remarkable, than the degree of apathy which her people generally appear to experience, with reference to the affairs of the most important of all dependencies, the Eastern Empire. At a moment when the influence of Great Britain is felt and acknowledged over the whole continent of India,—where an hundred millions of people, directly under our own sway, and millions upon millions besides, who dwell under the nominal rule of their Native Princes, look to us as the arbiters of their destiny, and the guardians of their happiness; and when it is avowed, that the loss of this influence would affect us more materially than almost any other calamity,—it is surprising to behold the neglect with which every question, relative to the proper management of British India, is treated.

At a moment too, when the manufacturing districts in this country are suffering most heavily for want of a market for their goods, and when the manufacturers of other countries are treading closely upon our heels; * it is of great importance, that the people of Great Britain should be fully acquainted with the restrictions, which cramp our trade with our own Empire in the East Indies,—that they should be fully aware of the vast field which India opens for our relief; and of which we are only prevented from availing

* France now manufactures about as much Cotton as we did only fourteen years ago.

ourselves to an extent almost unlimited, by *heavy duties* upon imports from the East Indies, beyond what are laid on similar articles from the West Indies.

'A duty of 10*l.* per ton *more*, (being 50 per cent on the prime cost,) is laid on East than on West India Sugar; the duty on West being 27*l.* on East India 37*l.*, per ton.

'28*l.* per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Coffee; the duty on West being 56*l.*, on East India, 84*l.* per ton.

'28*l.* per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Cocoa; the duty on West being 56*l.*, on East India, 84*l.* per ton.

'7*l.* per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Turmeric; the duty on West being 3*l.*, on East India, 10*l.* per ton.

'11*s.* 6*d.* per gallon *more* is laid on East than on West India Rum; the duty on West being 8*s.* 6*d.*, on East India, 20*s.* per gallon.

'6*l.* per cent., *ad valorem*, is laid on East India Cotton Wool, while West India is admitted free of duty.*

'The Cotton Manufacturers of India are liable to a duty of 10*l.* per cent. while English manufactured Cottons are admitted into India at a duty of 2½*l.* per cent.

'The Silk Manufacturers of India are liable to a duty of 30*l.* per cent., while those of France are only chargeable with the same duty.

'There are also higher duties on a variety of other articles, such as ~~Dye~~ woods, Mahogany, Hides, &c. &c., than on similar articles from the West Indies.

'The Mauritius, a small island, (ceded to us by France,) is cultivated by Slaves; it has lately been selected as the object of favour, being the only spot, in our Eastern Empire, put upon the footing of the West Indies, with regard to import duties.

'Notwithstanding these disadvantages, under which our East-India Trade is placed, it is a remarkable fact, that our exports to that country have increased in an astonishing degree.

'*Export of Cotton Goods to India from Official Documents, but divided by 28, to give the quantity in Pieces 28 yards each.*

	Printed.	Plain.	Total No.
1814 ending Jan. 5, 1815,	21,600	7,621	29,221
1815	28,788	17,478	46,266
1816	35,398	25,521	60,919
1817	101,738	88,143	189,882
1818	150,988	164,799	315,787
1819	132,628	121,930	254,558
1820	271,509	240,144	511,653
1821	356,423	355,026	711,449

* *We are also shipping to India considerable quantities of Cotton Twist.*

* 'We lay the same duty on Cotton from our own dominions in India, as on American Cotton, while America imposes from 25 to 100 per cent. on our manufactures.'

'What, then, would be the extent of this trade, were the produce of British India put upon a fair footing, as regards import duties, with the produce of our other colonies !

'It may be objected, our Government is not in a situation to reduce the Revenue ; but, on a little reflection, it will be evident, that, as an increased export of the manufactures of this country to the East Indies would enable the people of England to consume an increased quantity of the produce to be received in return, the Revenue would be benefited by the change ;—besides, we are now paying a bounty of 3*l.* per ton in the drawback allowed on refined sugar exported. To take off this bounty, would be some saving to the Treasury, and a large saving to the people. It is not *only* a clear loss to the nation of 3*l.* per ton, upon the sugar exported ; but *mark*, it also raises the price of all sugars consumed in this country, 3*l.* per ton, and is a tax on the nation, paid to the sugar growers, of not less than SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS PER ANNUM.

'It must in fairness be stated, that the East Indies have some advantage from this bounty in common with the West Indies, though comparatively only to a very *small amount*, as the sugars imported from the East Indies bear a small proportion to those from the West. Until last Session, the bounty was 6*l.* per ton ; 3*l.* per ton was then taken off. This was a wise measure on the part of Government, and we rejoice in it, there being no good reason why the people of this country should pay a bounty on the produce of either the East or the West Indies. At the same time, it must be observed, that, as no equalization took place in the duties, this measure places the East India trade in a worse situation *relatively* than before, inasmuch as that, while, by the operation of the bounty, all sugar in the British market was sold 6*l.* per ton above its natural price, some of the finer qualities of East India could be imported in return for our manufactures, and were brought into competition with the West India monopoly, even paying the extra duty of 10*l.* per ton. Now receiving only 3*l.* per ton, (*an advantage, as before observed, to which neither the East nor the West is entitled,*) and remaining subject to the extra duty of 10*l.* per ton, the measure is calculated still more to limit importation from the East Indies.

'The plea of the West Indians, (for the continuance of this bounty, and of those protecting duties so injurious to our commerce, and expensive to this country,) used to be, "You have the monopoly of our Trade and Navigation." Even the Colonial Assemblies have repeatedly admitted, that, when the restrictions on their trade should be taken off, they would no longer have a claim to any exclusive privilege in our markets. THESE RESTRICTIONS ARE TAKEN OFF.—The carrying Trade of our Colonies is thrown open—they may send their produce where they please ; and, excepting a few prohibited articles, such as Gunpowder, Arms, Books, &c., may receive their

supply of manufactured goods from whom they please ; * but, will it be believed ? a *prohibitory* duty has *just now* been laid on East India Rum ! !

‘ These sacrifices, enormously great as they are, are not the whole of the burden imposed upon this country, to enable the planter of the West Indies to continue the expensive, the ruinous system of slave cultivation, which, without such support, he would long ago have been forced to abandon, and to have adopted a better ; we will mention another item. The expense of our slave colonies during the year 1824, a year of profound peace, for naval and military defence, and other contingencies, amounted to upwards of One Million Six Hundred Thousand Pounds, and this is an expense which is going on, from year to year ; while, on the contrary, INDIA MAINTAINS HERSELF—her defence and government cost us nothing. The expense of every establishment connected with her, at home or abroad, is defrayed from her own resources.

‘ But it is said, the West Indies are a source of wealth to the mother country ;—that they give extensive employment to her manufacturers. On the contrary, as matters are now managed, they are a dead weight ; a source of enormous expense, without any adequate return. It is calculated, that, on account of the West Indies, we have added ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLIONS to our National Debt. But to say nothing of this, whether it be more or less ; to say nothing of the MILLIONS which this nation has annually to pay for interest upon this mighty sum ; to say nothing of the incalculable loss which this country sustains, from our Trade being cramped and limited, by protecting duties to favour the West Indies ; to say nothing of the sum levied upon the consumers, the people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, in an enhancement of the price of their sugars, &c., by the operation of these duties, which prevent the produce of the East Indies being brought into fair competition with the West ; and which sum, whatever the amount, goes not into the Treasury, but direct into the pocket of the West Indian planter ;—to say nothing of all these, we have besides, as stated above, before we derive any profit from the trade of the West Indies, for defence and other contingencies, and in their part of the bounty, an absolute outlay of more than TWO MILLIONS per annum ; a sum, in itself, nearly as great as the WHOLE AMOUNT of our manufactures consumed in our West India Colonies.

‘ In an address to the Cotton Manufacturers, it is further remarked, that

“ It is an indisputable fact, that a large proportion of the human race are willing to wear cotton clothing ; and that you can supply them with that clothing at a much cheaper rate than they can pro-

* See ‘ England Enslaved by her own Colonies ; ’ and, for information ‘ Haskisson’s Speech,’ March 21st, 1825.

cure it from any other quarter, provided only you are allowed to take their produce, freely, in exchange for it? At present your export of cotton goods, large as it is, is not sufficient to meet the wants of a fortieth part of that immense population, who would gladly buy their clothing of you, if they might but pay you for it in the fruits of their labour.

"You have witnessed, on former occasions, the beneficial effects of fresh openings for our commerce and manufactures. A few years ago, a new trade was opened with about twenty millions of people in South America, and you know what extensive benefits you derived from it. Hence you may form some idea of what the effect would be of opening a free and unrestricted trade with more than twenty times that number—I mean, with nearly five hundred millions of people in Asia.

"What was it which prevented you, until lately, from trading with South America! What, but the restrictions imposed on that trade by the Governments of Spain and Portugal?

"And what now prevents your trading with the five hundred millions of China, Hindoostan, and the rest of Asia? What but the restrictions imposed on that trade by your own Government? You have only, as it appears to me, to ask that these restrictions should be removed, in order to its being done. So reasonable a request could hardly be refused, more particularly as it is in strict agreement with the very liberal principles of trade which have been avowed, and which, in a variety of other instances, have been acted upon, by his Majesty's Government."

We need not add another word to this. Let there be but corresponding exertions made by the merchants in India, to support the claims of the advocates of unrestricted intercourse between England and her Eastern possessions, in this country, and their united efforts must and will prevail.

SONNET.

Who sees thee must adore;—thy beauteous face
 Reflects thy bright intelligence of mind,
 While in thy faultless form, that thrilling grace
 Makes love my fate, and willing choice combined.
 Yes, I do love thee, sweetest of thy kind!
 Deep and indelible the sudden stroke
 Effaces all that love had graved before,
 And makes me feel, alas! how true I spoke
 Those fatal words—"Who sees thee must adore!"
 Yet why should I my destiny deplore?
 'Tis ecstasy to love thee, though despair
 Hang o'er the future like a moonless night,—
 O'ershading all that hopeful fancy there
 In gilded visions summon'd into light.

B. G. B

ON THE CIVILIZATION OF THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA, AND THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES.

IN entering on this subject, it is impossible to refrain from contemplating, with a sigh, the enormous expenditure so uselessly made in the Establishment of Sierra Leone, which is either abandoned, or about to be so, after a terrible loss of life, an almost total failure of ~~every~~ object to which the public ardently looked forward, and every ameliorating effect corresponding to the assistance and liberal subscriptions supplied. Africa, which has, for so many centuries, bled at every pore from European cupidity, still suffers in her wretched population; nor has any visible advantage hitherto resulted, which can be reckoned as the commencement of a remunerating process likely to redeem the past, which, by enlightening her debased and ignorant sons, and teaching them the rudiments of useful learning and Christian truths, might recruit them into the great family of man, partaking of, and augmenting from their own stores, the inexhaustible products of nature, which a genial commerce and enlightened views might establish. To accomplish the amelioration of the much injured African, nothing more is requisite than the cultivation of his faculties: how long will it be ere the promoter of this desired end shall be convinced, that it is by the formation of negro schools, amid our islands or in Europe, wherein the sons of Africa may gain an insight into the simplest truths of knowledge, and thence return to their native abodes to disseminate their new lights, that we may look forward, by little and little, by slow but certain steps, to obtain this most important result? The power of becoming intelligent and well informed, appertains to the African as well as the European. The celebrated Blumenbach gives us a most entertaining account of a little library, which he possesses, of works written by negroes, from which it appears, 'that there is not a single department of taste or science in which some negro has not distinguished himself.' Without venturing to pronounce so sanguine an encomium as this, the following observations, from a Memoir of M. Paché, recently read before the Geographical Society of Paris, with an early copy of which we have been favoured, are so entirely in accordance with our own opinion, that we perform only our duty in recommending them to the public notice and favour.

Stationed for many years at the confines of the interior of Africa, M. Drovetti (the late Consul-General of France at Cairo) had peculiar advantages for considering the great problem of exclusion from intercourse, which attached to the central parts of this great portion of the globe: we know not how to bestow the term of States on these African hordes, which, bounding their exertions to their phy-

sical wants, scarcely exist in a higher sphere than the palms on which they chiefly subsist.

Nevertheless, in the number of young Africans which arrive every year in the valley of the Nile, M. Drovatti has found an intelligence and natural sagacity, of which the European manufactories of the Pasha of Egypt daily supply convincing proofs. But this position involves apparently this difficulty—why, if the Negroes be thus intelligent, as individuals, do they remain, as a race, in complete torpidity? Why do they invent nothing among themselves? Why have they never formed ports, or constructed boats or shipping, to navigate the rivers of their immense continent? Why have they had no lawgiver, to mould, or conqueror, to condense and create a powerful people from bands of slaves? Is the climate a cause of this apathy? A great writer has asserted this position; but facts have long proved, that the genius and merits of nations have no thermometrical grade. Can this effect arise from a natural degradation of species? The reveries of a few disordered materialists are disproved by a thousand facts, which clearly confirm the truth. The whole human race on earth are one family. In sober reason, we must attribute the true source of the moral phenomenon, not to the influence of climate on the human being, nor in any partial classification, (an injurious idea on the bounties of creative power,) but in the geographical character of the inhabitable spots in reference to their residents. In our view, it is allowable to consider the leopard's skin, by which the ancients ingeniously designated Libya only, as truly applicable to Africa entire.

That vast ocean of sands, amid which are some spots of earth, must ever have rendered communication with each other very difficult, and their union, politically speaking, impossible. Moreover, the immense Zaaarah forms a new zone of separation betwixt these disunited spots and the maritime shores of Africa. This zone, a dreary and burning desert, placed between the centre of the continent and the civilized world, presents to the latter a barrier, which she has hitherto found insurmountable. Without wandering into the obscurities of history to establish this point, it may be assumed, that while all the civilized states have, at various epochs,* sought to penetrate into the heart of Central Africa, no one has ever accomplished this end.

In modern times England has devoted herself to the search, and has lavishly expended her gold in pursuit of the golden dust of Africa; her numerous class of enlightened travellers have perished

* It is recorded by Pliny, that, Julius Cæsar declared, that but for the tempting baits of ambition, he should have preferred the glory of exploring Africa, and discovering the sources of the Nile, to every other enterprise.

amid the wastes and pestiferous rivers of Africa. Other nations have made similar efforts, and experienced similar results : the only return for these painful sacrifices have been, the rectifying of some of our geographical opinions and positions,—they have seen new lakes, rivers, and mountains—the maps have been improved,—*but the native Africans remain the same.*

Nevertheless, the African, with his woolly hair, flat nose, and thickened lips, is Man, as much as ourselves. We have for centuries ventured to call him our slave ;—the voice of Europe, of nature, at length prevails, and Africa is free. But Europe must not halt at the mere recognition of native rights ; she must add the highest value and importance to it, by enlightening this much-injured race. The darkness of Islamism surrounds, as a dense vapour, unhappy Africa, retains her surface as its domicile, and watches her as a prey. This malign spirit gains on her population ; it is supreme in Soudan ; it encamps in the desert with the numerous Tuarick ; in Abyssinia it has nearly overshadowed the cross ; and we find it governing the much sought for Tombouctoo. Thus, even if we succeeded in exploring these regions, if Islamism, tempted by gold, assisted our savans to pass these long-closed barriers, she would restrain us by her escorts, and watch and repress every step : we might rectify our maps, collect geological specimens, write tours, and enrich cabinets, but the native African will remain buried in darkness, reproachful to the present era and prospects of the human race.

It is not in paying wages to Mohammedan false guides, or despatching travellers to be devoured by the insatiate deserts, that we shall ameliorate the social state of the Negro. It will be by creating a link betwixt the most distant spots of Africa and Europe, by accustoming the Africans to European society, that we shall place them, as a people, in the space they ought to occupy in the great family of man.

Egypt, the once far-famed mother of knowledge and science, cannot bestow this benefit, but she can greatly aid in its realisation ; every year a great number of young negroes arrive there from the interior ; already Mohammed Ali has begun to draw them from slavery. Instead of leaving them to be disposed of in the market-place of Cairo, to be purchased for the service of harems, he puts arms into their hands, and makes them soldiers. It remains for Europe to try to make them an intellectual race, and the task may be accomplished. It is the plan of M. Drovetti, to send yearly from Egypt a portion of these young Africans ; that, in the schools of France, they may learn to acquire the light and information of civilized Europe. Their unformed minds, manifesting some marks of intellectual character, will soon evince the intelligence of that living spark within, which, whether stifled or called forth, is 'the divine breath

of life,' animating every living soul, African as well as European. Returning to their deserts, they will not forget the lessons thus gained; their new ideas and thoughts, as the light arrow from their quiver, will pass from Oasis to Oasis; knowledge will reproduce knowledge, and a few children* will soon begin to effect an amelioration which so many ages have failed to produce.

Such are the views of M. Drovetti; while, therefore, the gates of Egypt, are open, and the sons of Africa poured thus annually, into her valley, might not agents of the various Societies professedly constituted for the conversion of the Heathen, establish schools of Negroes, which, supplied from these sources, might be made seminaries for teachers to return to their native countries; one hundred, or even fifty intelligent Negroes, thus properly cultivated in Europe, and restored to their native tribes, and afterwards kept in correspondence with, and sustained by the notice and patronage of our African Establishments, would tend more efficaciously to forward the beneficial result of improving her population, at a cost comparatively trifling, than all that has hitherto been effected by the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of pounds, and much waste of valuable lives.

May, therefore, the individuals who direct our great national establishments try, experimentally, on ever so small a scale, a Negro school and establishment, in free Britain, as well as in France. Soon, through the silent but effective help of grateful assistants, will Europe learn those geographical problems, the solving of which has resisted all her efforts, and this bright reward will come forth from an Institution founded in philanthropy, guided by the truest motives of action in the human heart, and sustained and sanctioned by the most vital principles of Christianity.

* The writer knows instances of the spread of knowledge and christianity, through the silent channels of native teachers, which establish this as the true and rational mode. The judicious understanding of Bishop Heber selected this as the route to Hindoo conversion. At this moment, a memorable example is given to Missionary Societies, in the wilds of Tartary, where the Christian Missionaries, not twenty in number, cut off from all supplies for twenty years, have, unaided, crept on by the aid of the native congregations they formed of their own converts, until Chinese Tartary, and the Provinces of Chen-si and Chan-si, contain one hundred and fifty thousand baptised christians.

MR. RICKARDS'S NEW WORK ON INDIA.

MR. RICKARDS has a work now in the press, which will be published in Parts, under the general title of 'India,' and will contain, with other matter, a Treatise on each of the following interesting subjects connected with that country—On the Castes of India, and the alleged simplicity, and immutability, of Hindoo habits—Historical Sketch of the state and condition of the Native Indians under former Governments—On the Revenue Systems of India under the East India Company's Government, as tending to perpetuate the degraded condition of the Natives—On the Company's Trade, and its results in a financial and political point of view—Suggestions for a Reform of the Administration of India, as regards the present System, both at home and abroad.

This announcement, which has been made public through other channels, beside our own, affords us great pleasure. No man in England has probably possessed better opportunities than Mr. Rickards, of obtaining accurate information on the subjects above enumerated; and few could be found who would execute the task of explaining them to the English public with more fidelity or zeal.

We are happy at the present moment to be able to introduce, most appropriately, an extract from one of the latest India papers that has reached us, (the 'Bengal Hurkaru' of November 17, 1837,) containing an allusion to Mr. Rickards, arising out of a ludicrous piece of ignorance in the Editor, or some correspondent, of the Indian 'John Bull,' who, in commenting on some matter relative to Indian policy, mistook Mr Rickards for Mr. Ricardo,—and gravely numbered the latter among the writers on India! This gave occasion to the 'Hurkaru' to advert more particularly to Mr. Rickards's history and writings. But the whole of its article in reply is worth printing entire. It is as follows:—

'The blunder in the letter of "A Looker-on," to which we yesterday adverted, had escaped our notice, until we found a *age* contemporary conspicuously enumerating Ricardo, as one of the writers on Indian Colonial Policy! We then turned to our correspondent's manuscript to discover, if he could really have fallen into such a gross blunder, and perceived that our compositors had taken upon themselves thus to *foreignize* a plain English name, and make it into one more familiar perhaps, in sound, to their ears than Rickards, which "A Looker-on" distinctly wrote.

'For the edification of our contemporary, we shall take the freedom to inform him and his admirers, what this Mr. Rickards is, who is so strangely unknown, as it would seem, and confounded with the lamented, the great, and the good Mr. Ricardo.

Mr. Rickards was formerly a member of Council at Bombay, ejected thence for political heterodoxy about India, and for contumacious minutings against the system and high rate of the land revenue, as well as against the losing and oppressive trade of the East India Company, in Surat and other goods. Mr. Rickards, on leaving Bombay, was entertained, if we are rightly informed, at a grand public dinner, Sir J. Malcolm, we believe, in the chair; and the most gratifying praises were bestowed on his great talents and eminent public worth. On going home he obtained a seat in Parliament, about the period when the discussion for renewing the Company's Charter came on; distinguished himself in the House by several most able and argumentative speeches against the renewal of the lease, and, more especially, against what he showed to be a ruinous and fallacious trade as carried on under the monopoly. He failed, as we all know, in disturbing the renewal or shortening the duration of the Charter, although Mr. Canning was in the minority which voted for its curtailment to ten years; but Mr. Rickards's exertions were of much use in procuring the abolition of the exclusive trade of the Company to India, although for a season they retained that to China. He subsequently retired from Parliament, and is now at the head of the great Indian firm of Rickards, Mackintosh, and Co. in London.

In the course of the proceedings in Parliament concerning the Charter, Mr. Rickards published two of his speeches, with an appendix of official papers and financial statements, most valuable and curious. The reader of his book will not readily forget the perusal of one document more particularly, the celebrated diary of a subordinate board at Surat, and of the judicial authorities there, so conspicuous in forcing unhappy artizans to work for the Company, in obstructing them from all dealings with foreigners and others resorting to that place for purchases, and in flagellating or otherwise punishing the "ring-leaders", of those "refractory pauper shuttle-drivers". Another series of papers in the appendix to which we have referred, and which is even more important, was the clear analysis, and the first ever given, of the perplexed skein of Indian finances, and the strict and unanswerable demonstration by figures, that the entire Indian debt had arisen from the trade; the revenues, with the exception of a single year since 1793, having been more than equal to the whole of the actual civil and military expenses of India, in war as well as in peace.

The adoption of our misprint by a would-be thought learned scribe here, in one of his diurnal effusions, is an amusing proof of his ignorance, not only of the existence of such a writer as Rickards, but of the writings of Ricardo, whose works, it is clear, he cannot have read at all, or read to any good purpose; seeing that this eminent political author has never written on Indian affairs, nor can

the sagacious commentator on our remarks, produce more than one single instance from his works, (should he borrow them for the purpose,) in which Ricardo even briefly and incidentally touches on those topics, we shall be malicious enough not to help our learned friend to the place where the passage may be found. Yet does this profound advocate of the servile gabble as usual, as if the subject were perfectly familiar to him, and he were actually displaying his knowledge of it, at the very time when he couples Mill and Ricardo as writers on Indian affairs! Such is the blind leader of the blind, the champion of every antiquated abuse, the rancorous enemy of every improvement in India, and the reviler of all who differ from him!

But if it be discreditable to any journalist to be entirely unacquainted with the works of such a writer as the lamented Ricardo, the acknowledged chief and master of the modern school of political economy, it is infinitely more so in an Indian journalist, not to be aware of the existence of the able work of Mr. Rickards, who did write a very good book, and moreover not a very long one either, on Indian policy, and who never wrote any thing else; so that if the oracle to whom we alluded had ever heard of him at all as an author, it could only have been as an author in this branch of political and statistical philosophy.

We have shown by undeniable extracts from the evidence before Parliament, on the renewal of the Charter, the exact gauge and measure of the prophetic sagacity, (if we may coin a suitable word,) to be attributed to Sir T. Munro, and to another high personage, whom it might not now be prudent to name, except in eulogy, which we leave to the well practised and ever ready pens of the servile scribes, official and demi-official; but Warren Hastings, like Munro, is numbered with the dead, and his public character may probably be now spoken of in the language of truth. It is, however, no pleasing task; nor have we at this moment space for exposing, by quotations, the flounderings and the twaddle of a man once eminent for talent, but at the period of his examination his faculties were sinking under the weight of accumulated years, and he was, in fact, on the very verge of the grave. Should those who rely on such authorities venture to get hold of and republish the printed minutes, we pledge ourselves that the opinions of the aged Hastings, as shown in that memorable, and to his masters, most useful examination, will be found to equal, if not to surpass, in every quality that makes such testimony valueless, the exhibitions of the other parties to which we have before referred.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF MALTE-BRUN, THE CELEBRATED GEOGRAPHER.

[Translated for 'The Oriental Herald,' from the 'Revue Encyclopédique.']

In announcing towards the end of last year the death of M. Malte-Brun, we promised to consecrate to the memory of this writer a biographical notice of his life, for the purpose of showing the nature and extent of the services for which the science of Geography is so highly indebted to him. 'Whatever,' we observed, 'may have been the celebrity of this man, whose loss Denmark and France have equally to lament, we believe that the depth and variety of his knowledge merited greater renown. This fact we will prove,' by endeavouring to show the various causes, which prevented his receiving that justice which was due to him.'

The anniversary of the death of M. Malte-Brun, appears to us a favourable period for recalling the attention of the public to his memory. The violent hatreds of which he was the object, are now calmed, those persons who felt themselves injured by the bitterness of many of his writings, will no longer plead their inaccuracy, against the praises due to his rare merit; and that delicacy, which forbids our speaking of one lately deceased, in any other form than that of panegyric, no longer interdicts us from exposing the errors into which M. Malte-Brun has sometimes fallen.

Conrad Malte-Brun was born in 1773, in the province of Jutland, in Denmark. He belonged to an honourable family, whose members professed the reformed religion of Augsburg, and was devoted by his parents to the church. Sent to the university of Copenhagen to take his degrees, his powerful mind became unconquerably disgusted with theological disputes: it was to the study of languages that he gave all his energy, and it is to the happy talent he possessed of acquiring them with facility that he owed, at a later period, the astonishing fluency with which he wrote French. The young Conrad was also a poet, and had already procured some fame, when the influence of the French revolution, which had just burst forth, caused philosophical doctrines, of which it might almost be termed the explosion, to penetrate even into a kingdom, where despotism had been established in concurrence with the wishes of a people, weary of the tyranny exercised by the nobles.

Despotism may not be the worst form of Government, when he who exercises it, does not delegate his power to insatiable courtiers, to perverse ministers, or to corrupt agents, who retain him a captive in his own palace, and designedly occupy his attention with frivolous amusements and petty intrigues.

* In Denmark, as in all other nations where Protestantism forms
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the religion of the country, there exists, for those kings whose confessors are not skilful in creating scruples, an element of communication with the rest of mankind, which is not to be met with in those states where an exclusive religion necessarily leads a bigoted prince to consider as rebels, to the laws of his God, all those who do not serve that God after the same mode as himself.

The chains of etiquette are not riveted by the credulity of a master, who can sometimes escape from his courtiers to interrogate alone those inferiors, whose titles and functions exclude them from the presence and councils of the king. And this is why Denmark, under absolute monarchs, has been peaceable and happy, because they have been enabled to become acquainted with their subjects, otherwise than from the ideas conveyed to them by domestics. Ministers, whose conduct was always watched, and who could not easily deceive their prince, rarely had it in their power to oppress their vassals; for it is to the condition of vassals that the inhabitants of the soil are reduced, under a mode of government where, properly speaking, there exist no citizens. One of these ministers, M. de Berustoff, had the good sense not to oppose but to second the wise views of the king, who felt the necessity of being tolerant. Some reforms were even attempted, but, unfortunately, several writers, carried away by the prospect of an emancipation, which they flattered themselves was preparing for them, spoilt every thing by their exaggerated hopes. Malte-Brun, rushing into the career of politics, was designated amongst this number. Some men high in power, and who lived by abuses, characterized him as a revolutionist; his liberal ideas, which at first met with no opposition but from the aristocracy, made some progress; but rendered too ardent by his success, and threatened with the tribunals, the young writer found it necessary to quit his native country, and chose Sweden for the place of his exile. He was well received by this independent nation; and again devoting himself to the cultivation of the Muses, he continued to celebrate liberty and equality, in verses which were crowned by the Academy of Stockholm.

The motives of prudence which had removed Malte-Brun from his country, having lost a great deal of their force, he returned to Denmark; but he there renewed his former indiscretions.

His stay in Sweden, and the comparison which he had made between the fine institutions of that country, and the forms of absolute power which governed his own, had not weakened his enthusiasm for liberty. A second time threatened with the loss of it himself, he again returned to Sweden, afterwards visited Hamburg, and driven to the necessity of choosing a country, in which he might freely give utterance to his sentiments, he decided in favour of France. We saw him arrive in Paris, at the very epoch in which the affair of the 18th brumaire had just given a fatal blow to that which was so eagerly sought after by the *hyperborean*

patriot. Malte-Brun gave himself this title, in recounting to us shortly after his arrival the political vicissitudes which had driven him to the banks of the Seine. He then professed a great admiration for the man who was generally looked on as the regulator of the revolution, and as destined to free Europe from the abuses of the old system of things, and from those evils which had provoked an obstinate and unskilful resistance to the destruction of those abuses; but the consulship for life soon opened the eyes of Malte-Brun, who, always occupied with politics, inserted hostile articles in several of the journals. These articles, as vigorous in style as in thought, attracted the attention of a usurping and suspicious power, and the author was condemned to silence. From this epoch may be dated the resentment of the Danish writer against Napoleon. This resentment was, from time to time, diverted from its object towards France itself; which had, however, sufficiently repaid him by its reception of the oppressive acts of a government which began to weigh heavily upon its subjects. From this time may be also dated the assiduity of Malte-Brun in the study of that branch of physical knowledge, which laid the foundation of his general reputation; and he took a distinguished rank amongst Geographers, from the moment of his being prohibited from occupying himself with those interests, to which he might after all be considered a stranger. Nevertheless the works published by Malte-Brun in a foreign language, and one which he had rarely even spoken, excited a great sensation; not only from the powerful thoughts which they displayed, but also from a facility of expression, a highly finished style, and a variety of imagery, which are rarely met with but in national writers. They certainly contained some great errors; but as a careful revision of the proofs would easily obviate these, the attention of the proprietors of a public paper, in high esteem, was directed towards the young stranger, whom they prevailed on to join them. From that period he became one of the editors of a Journal, which from the time of its establishment, whatever may have been the title and shade of opinion under which it appeared, has been, without doubt, one of the most skilfully directed and best written.

It was in 1806 that Malte-Brun became definitively attached to the 'Journal des Debats.' The greatest number of the articles written by him, bore his signature, or at least the initials of his name; they consisted chiefly of analyses of works, essays on scientific subjects, geographical fragments of great value, notices on countries little known, towards which the attention of Europe might have been attracted by any particular event, translations of curious fragments from foreign works recently published, and which without him would have remained for ever unknown to France, where the study of languages is not so generally cultivated as in other countries. Besides the articles which we have just enumerated, Malte-Brun wrote a great many others, which were published anonymously, and for which it would be ungrateful in us, says the 'Journal des

Debats,* not to accord him the glory. The greatest number of dissertations relative to foreign policy were from his pen. To the advantage of being master of almost all the languages of Europe, Malte-Brun united that of an equal acquaintance with the members of the different cabinets, the acts of their diplomacy, and the revenues of the different countries. The extent of his memory, the accuracy of his judgment, and the order which he maintained in all his acquirements, rendered the analysis of the most complicated facts perfectly easy to him. He compiled in few words, and in a short time, materials dispersed through the immense columns of numerous foreign journals. In the warmth of composition, German idioms sometimes escaped him; but these slight faults, which were the result of early recollections and habits, disappeared on a second reading.

The occupations of the journalist contributed greatly to the development of his geographical talent. From the habit of consulting works, for the understanding, of which a knowledge of the surface of the globe was necessary, Malte-Brun soon became better acquainted than almost any other man with all the modern works, published either in France or in other countries. Having carefully and judiciously extracted from them all the most interesting and important facts, he made his début in this career, by associating himself with M. Mentelle, in the publication of the '*Traité de Géographie Universelle*,' in 16 vols. 8vo. At this period Mentelle had acquired some reputation as a Geographer; and it is frequently the custom for young men, who are desirous of coming before the public, to make their first essay under the shield of some known author. Malte-Brun, who felt his own power, was careful not to select one whose talents might eclipse his own. He called in to his assistance several less skilful writers, and reserved to himself in the '*Traité de Géographie Universelle*,' all the general discourses, the introductions, and the description of those countries, with which he was more particularly acquainted. Almost the whole, therefore, of the first volume is his; and although there is frequently a want of that order which is so desirable in the disposition of the different subjects, and the style sometimes too nearly resembles the abridged manner of compilers, it does not the less deserve to be considered a model of its kind. It is, besides, extremely agreeable to read, the author having tempered the dryness of the subject by a highly pleasing style. The different branches of Geography are there laid before the reader in a clear and precise manner; those which we distinguish as Astronomy and Physics, are treated in a very superior manner. And although Malte-Brun was not in general considered to possess much knowledge as a naturalist, yet he displayed great discernment in choosing the basis of his theories, both in Geology and in Natural History.

It is after having read and considered this portion of the learned

Dane's writings, that we feel the necessity, in regulating our own study, of dividing Geography into four sections. It is generally only divided into three, between which the distinctions are so limited, that each may be considered as a separate science, as truly distinct from the others, as mineralogy is from metallurgy, zoology from rural economy, or botany from agriculture. The great general treatises on Geography, anterior to that of Malte-Brun, were Encyclopedias, in which the real science was hidden under a mass of details foreign to the subject, and depending on the lateral branches of human knowledge. It seemed as though their authors were desirous of embracing every thing, after the manner of Pliny; but what might have been very practicable at the time in which this celebrated Roman author lived, because sciences had made but little progress, now no longer continues to be so, as the number of facts are infinitely greater than the moments which can possibly be consecrated to their research. It is necessary, therefore, in order to arrive at a thorough knowledge of the geographical sciences, and to write well on them, to proceed as with the natural sciences; that is to say, first to distinguish clearly the principal branches, and then for the student to attach himself to that division of it for which he feels the greatest predilection.

Unfortunately for Malte-Brun, he thought it possible, after having judiciously classed the immense number of facts, to embrace the whole, as well as the details of the science; and he permitted himself to be carried, by this aim at universality, into a labyrinth out of which he found it impossible to extricate himself.

The reputation which he had acquired, soon procured for him the means of an honourable subsistence: he successfully associated his name to several speculations in books. Some speculators in the same line engaged him, in 1816, to furnish a Universal Geography; and he re-produced, with some very trifling additions, the work to which Mentelle had before joined his name. Large portions of this great composition, which no doubt remained long unsold, after the political changes which took place in France, still bear the stamp of the glorious times in which they were written, whilst other parts seem to be written wholly with a view to flatter and conciliate the reigning opinions.

Malte-Brun, in those articles which were written for the Journals, was rigorous, and even too severe, against those authors who did not know how to defend their position in society. Having given ample proofs of his judicious severity, with regard to some works which were unworthy of the reputation they had acquired; having, amongst others, reduced the English Pinkerton to his real standard of worth, his witty but sarcastic style acquired great favour, and his pen became a kind of sceptre, which, from time to time, balanced and decided the merits of all geographical productions, all

relations of voyages, or works on statistics; in a word, of every publication, which came within that domain of science, in which he had no rival. It is when at the pinnacle of this sort of dictatorship, that we see his writings infected with an unjust partiality towards those men, who had conscientiously declared themselves the admirers of his talent, as well as of his vast knowledge. The moment arrived in which, after having been lavish in praise of the Imperial Government, the Danish *liberal* suddenly became the devoted champion of another system. The injuries which he had offered, brought on him the persecution of a great many literary men; and yet those who were intimately acquainted with Malte-Brun, do him the justice to avow, that he was never the partizan of any kind of despotism. Naturally of an independent spirit, never having solicited or obtained either a place or a pension, he continued to make himself remarkable in the 'Journal des Débats,' by the astonishing extent and variety of his knowledge, and the originality of his style; that is to say, whenever he did not write *ab irato*.

Independently of the great work in which his name had been associated with that of Mentelle, Malte-Brun established, in 1808, a publication, which appeared every month, under the title of 'Annales Générales de Voyage,' and which, having obtained that success which it so highly merited, was, in 1819, taken by Gide, the bookseller. Several Numbers of this have now become very scarce; the collection of articles is excellent, more especially those of the principal contributor. This work gives numerous proofs, not only of his geographical knowledge, but also of the great extent of his learning in history and philology. A 'Tableau de la Pologne Ancienne et Moderne,' composed during the reign of Napoleon, and a 'Traité de la Légimité,' published under that of Louis XVIII., also give evidence of the mildness of Malte-Brun, in spite of his generally apparent inflexibility. This inflexibility, however, only displayed itself with this great writer in the field of battle, that is to say, with the pen in his hand; for we have known few men whose manners were milder, or whose conversation was more affable and agreeable. In social life he was as obliging, complacent in listening to others, patient in discussion, and disinterested, when want, the result of that carelessness with regard to money which is too common among literary characters, did not torment him,—as, in his writings, he was cutting, haughty, eager for praise to himself, and unwilling to bestow it on others. And it cannot be doubted, that if Malte-Brun had not been compelled to obtain a subsistence by his talents, if he had lived in independence, that he would have been courted by those even who are now his declared enemies, and who have permitted a sort of public clamour to stifle the voice of impartiality, when it would have duly appreciated the claim of the first geographer of the age to become a member of the Academy of Sciences. The work,

which ought to have opened to him the doors of this Institution where he was not even presented as a candidate, is his, '*Précis de Géographie Universelle*.' There remained but one more volume to publish, in order to complete this grand work, when, about this time last year, Malte-Brun, in the very zenith of his talent, entirely cured of his taste for controversy, and solely devoted to the study of that science of which he was one of the principal reformers, suddenly descended to the tomb. The six volumes of the '*Précis de Géographie Universelle*,' already published, may be considered as an Encyclopedia, to form which, every book of voyages or travels; every work on local statistics, all the researches of the most learned societies, ancient and modern treatises, and even the most important journals, have in some degree contributed. The plan of the work is, without doubt, much too vast, to be executed by one man, without some of the parts being found weak. No portion of it, however, has yet been better treated. In order to raise an imperishable monument to Geography, and to determine the exact progress made in the science, at the commencement of the 19th century, Malte-Brun should have called to his assistance several other talented men, to each of whom should have been confided one branch of the science, reserving only to himself the general revision of the whole, and the task of writing on those countries with which he was more particularly acquainted. But he alone charged himself with the weight of the whole universe, under which, as we learn from antiquity, even the mighty Atlas bent.

We again repeat that no one can now pretend to treat on all the geographical sciences, which are in truth the basis of all the others; but a choice must be made of one of the four principal divisions, which are all in some manner connected with one another, but which are now such, that the study of one branch alone, as we have before observed in the '*Encyclopédie par ordre de Matières*,' is sufficient to occupy, exclusively, the writer, who is desirous of becoming thoroughly acquainted with it, and who purposes teaching it. These divisions, which are clearly indicated by Malte-Brun, and the distinction between which ought henceforth to be considered as an indispensable classification in all general treatises on Geography, are the following:

1. **ASTRONOMICAL AND MATHEMATICAL GEOGRAPHY**, the union of the history of the heavens and of the earth. It explains the connection which exists between the stars and our globe, of which it teaches us to describe the plane surface. It also gives the means of navigating over the vast extent of sea. The observations of the celestial bodies are its principal data.

2. **HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY**, which is united to Astronomy by Chronology, a science of which the principal object is the recording the dates of the foundation and decay of empires and kingdoms.

This may be again subdivided into two, viz. Ancient Geography and Modern Geography.

3. **POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY**, of which statistics form the true foundation. Not those statistics which, if taken in the sense in which some persons understand them, are rather universal science; that is to say, when they comprehend in the description of a province administratively circumscribed, the catalogue of all its establishments, that of all its plants, the nature of its mines, mineral waters, &c. Natural bodies have no reference to statistics, except in as much as relates to the application of them by man to his various wants; under every other point of view, their examination properly belongs to the fourth branch of the geographical sciences. Statistics, properly speaking, supposing the soil of a country topographically and physically known, are confined to the enumeration of the inhabitants, that which relates to their industry, to the resources of every description furnished by the soil, as well as to the revenues of all its public establishments; in a word, they relate only to that which springs from the administration; they are, properly speaking, Social Geography. Any reference, therefore, to laws, their origin, customs, language, or antiquities, would be misplaced in a geographical treatise of this nature; it is to the second division that details of this nature, in our opinion, properly belong.

4. And lastly, **PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY**; this part of the science is free from those factitious limitations of empires and kingdoms, which, being the perishable results of ancient barbarism and violent conquests, are often effaced in the course of one of those revolutions to which this changeable globe is so liable: the geological constitution of continents and islands; the circumscription of seas, rivers, and torrents, which either fertilize or destroy the soil; the mountains, rocks, and volcanoes, which are either the support of the earth, or the cause of its destruction; the distribution of plants, which are nourished in such different degrees, and according to such various laws, by earth and water; that of animals, which, living on vegetables or flesh, can have no country but that of the organized bodies necessary to their subsistence; in a word, the history of the whole animal creation, whether brute or organized, of which the planet we inhabit is composed, with every thing that can give an idea of its physiognomy, belong to this part of Physical Geography; and on this there does not exist a single treatise, in the proper sense which should be applied to the word *treatise*. We do not meet with the materials even scattered through the writings of different naturalists, until after the commencement of the present century; for we cannot regard the popular relations of wonderful echoes, burning fountains, bottomless lakes, and other natural curiosities of the same kind which were formerly given, as elements of this branch of the science.

The earliest of Malte-Brun's writings were the sources from which we first derived the idea of those fundamental divisions, which we have just explained, and upon the principle of which we have constructed our works on the Geography of Spain and Portugal. It would therefore be an ill-founded and unjust pretension to offer to the public, as a new discovery, a plan traced and followed by others. We are satisfied with claiming, in favour of Malte-Brun, the priority of this new and valuable idea, and for ourselves, the more perfect execution of his plan.

To the number of eminent services rendered by Malte-Brun to the science of Geography may be added that of his co-operation in the establishment of the *Société de Géographie*, which was established in 1821, by the united exertions of himself, M. M. Langlès, Barbié du Bocage, Jourard, Walekenacr, &c., the original founders of this fine and important institution, now become the centre of union for every fact and observation which belong to this essential branch of human knowledge, and the appearance of which, together with the immense advantages likely to be derived from it, the '*Revue Encyclopédique*' was the first to bring before the notice of the public.* We will conclude this notice by an anecdote which will show Malte-Brun's literary conscientiousness, and at the same time paint the period in which more than one editor of a journal, in acting like him, did not display the candour which characterised the learned Dane.

The author of the present article, and the learned writer to whose memory it is consecrated, had, in spite of the apparent opposition of their opinions, preserved an intimate, although not perfectly uninterrupted friendship. The former had given many proofs of an active solicitude for Malte-Brun, in softening numerous satirical anecdotes, of which he was the subject, in a collection of witty notices. By an exception which does honour to the character of Malte-Brun, he evinced his gratitude by rejecting, at the time of the proscription, the attacks which would otherwise have been directed against his friend in the journal, over which his great talents gave him considerable influence. He had even the courage to bestow some praises in several of his pages on this friend, who was pursued and persecuted by his enemies even in his exile; and when, in 1823, he published his '*Guide du Voyageur en Espagne*,' it was recommended to the attention of the public by a highly flattering notice in the '*Journal des Débats*.' In 1826, the author having retouched this work, corrected the errors which had been pointed out by the skilful critic, and composed an entirely new treatise, which was destined to serve as an introduction to a '*Collection de Résumés Géographiques*.' Malte-Brun was solicited to

* See Rev. Enc., vol. xii., 1821, pp. 225. 460. and 682.

announce this enterprise at a public dinner, but replied with naïveté, 'I would do it with the greatest pleasure, I am enchanted with your "Peninsule Ibérique," but your "Collection de Résumés" may do considerable injury to my "Précis." You cannot expect that I should break my own bookseller's neck; I promise you, however, that, although the position in which I am placed renders it impossible for me to praise your work, I will on no account say a word against it.' Malte-Brun strictly kept his word, and his silence was looked on as a proof of loyalty.

Malte-Brun had acquired a vast extent of knowledge, because he was, in every sense of the term, what is called a *grand travailleur*. He undertook nothing in science in which he did not thoroughly succeed. No difficulty impeded his progress; but, as the author of an excellent necrological notice observes, human power is limited. Malte-Brun did not perceive that his own was nearly exhausted; his friends were the first to make the melancholy discovery,—an entire repose of some weeks would have sufficed to re-establish his health, of which the decline became every day more visible.

This repose was recommended to him, but he neglected the advice of his friends; and in a short space of time, the malady had made a frightful progress. He alone seemed unconscious of it. The crisis, however, arrived; for three days only he had confined himself to his room; but even in this state, he still continued his labours; and death alone, which was, happily for him, devoid of much pain, could make his powerless hand relinquish the pen.

It was on the 17th of December, 1826, that this celebrated man expired; who, never having thought of the future, except as it regarded the glory he might derive from his works, has left his children no other inheritance than his fame. His name will resound through all enlightened Europe. Denmark, which disowned him, will envy France the adoption of this illustrious writer. The young heirs to his celebrated name will, we doubt not, be objects of the solicitude of a Government which gives every encouragement to the progress of science, and protection to those men who labour for its advancement.

THE SLAVE-SHIP.

HARK ! far o'er the breast of Ocean
 Sweeps the dark wing of the storm ;
 Like a war-host set in motion,
 On the waters rush—their form
 Prouder, loftier, appearing ;
 Crested waves on waves uprearing,
 Threat the shore to which they're steering,
 Spreading terror's wild alarm.

Roars like conqueror's voice the thunder,
 Leaps the lightning from the cloud,
 Like a prison, burst asunder,
 By the form it aim'd to shroud ;
 Flashing from its dusky dwelling,
 First the hated roof assailing,
 Then o'er all around prevailing,
 Scattering every turret proud.

Blacker grows the moonless midnight,
 Blacker grows the beamless deep,
 Darkness, like a belt-wove mantle,
 Wraps Creation in its sweep ;
 Takes in all the far horizon,
 The mid vault, the earth, it lies on,—
 All—as if, in one wide prison,
 Earth, sky, ocean, it would keep !

Hark ! the billow echoes louder,
 Loftier rears its foamy crest.
 Hark ! the thunder's voice is prouder,
 As it all the earth address'd.
 Fiercer, quicker come the flashes,
 As they'd lay the world in ashes ;
 Every wave, that shore-ward dashes,
 Seems to fire the cavern's breast !

What is heard amid the roaring
 Of the billow and the blast,
 As if thousand shrieks were pouring
 Death's last agony ?—'Tis past.—
 Watch the next blue lightning's gleaming
 O'er the roaring surges streaming ;
 Mark,—Oh heavens ! Oh mercy's beaming—
 'Tis a bark's engulfing mast.

The Slave Ship.

Where was the sweet Heaven's compassion
On the wanderers of the deep?
Heard it not love's intercession?
Saw it not the orphan weep?
For *this* bark no prayer ascended,
Round *its* affections blended,—
None in danger's hour extended
Thought, or trembling hope, to keep!

It was throng'd by men disowning
Nature's feelings, nature's ties;
It was throng'd by men dethroning
Mercy's angel from her skies;—
Those who child and parent sever,
Lover from beloved for ever,
Friend from soul-knit friend, oh never
More to meet each other's eyes!

Did they kneel to Heaven to shield them
In this night of storm and death?
Heaven could *not* such succour yield them;
For its own avenging breath
In that tempest round them hover'd,
Ocean's gaping gulphs uncover'd,
Sounded in each wave that smother'd
Every death-cry gasp'd beneath.

And is there no tempest waiting
Those dark bosoms, who retain
Yet, with rigour unabating,
Afric's children in the chain?
Yes! ye dungeon isles,—it lours
Now around your rulers' bowers;—
Speed the retributive hours
In Heaven's high-appointed train!

Britain! oh, our bosom's glory,—
Haste thee to avoid its wrath;
Let it not be writ in story
That o'er thee it took its path.
Shalt thou sink amidst its slaughters?
Glorious empress of the waters,
Free thy sable sons and daughters
Where thy rule the power hath.

ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.

NO. III.

IN the three last Numbers of 'The Oriental Herald,' we have given the private history, as it may be called, of Dr. Maclean's treatment by the Indian Government of that day, and of his sufferings and feelings, as detailed in his own Journal, kept at the time. We now follow this up, by continuing the series of his letters addressed to Lord Wellesley, after his arrival in England, which we take from a copy furnished to us, and carefully revised and amended by himself, the original being entirely out of print, and not to be procured in England. They contain a series of arguments which deserve as much consideration at the present moment, as at the period in which they were written and which are therefore worthy of preservation in a permanent form.

LETTER II.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c. on his new and extraordinary doctrines, that Magistrates can do no wrong, and that apologies to a Governor-General are a sufficient atonement to the offended laws of the country; and on his union of the judicial with the executive authority.

'The freedom of writing and speaking upon the topics of government and its administration' (in which I must presume the subordinate as well as the more dignified magistrates are comprehended) 'has ever been acknowledged, by our greatest statesmen and lawyers, to be the principal safeguard of that constitution, which liberty of thought originally created, and which a free press for its circulation gradually brought to maturity.'

Erskine's Declaration on the Liberty of the Press.

MY LORD,—In order to enter fully into the merits of the case between us, it becomes necessary to undertake the irksome task of analysing the preceding correspondence. In the first notification, with which I was honoured by your command, dated the 1st of June, 1798, you, my Lord, in requiring an apology for an insinuation of improper conduct against a magistrate, were doing that which you must have known you had no right to do; the demand was therefore not only illegal, but arbitrary, capricious, and tyrannical; and on these grounds ought to have been resisted, even if my insinuation had been groundless, and the magistrate innocent. If every line of my letter had been libellous, seditious, or even treasonous, you could have no right to require an apology. If I had really committed a crime, by what act of the legislature could an apology made to a Governor-General of India be deemed an atonement to the offended laws of my country? But that my insinuation

could be more than justified, and that the magistrate knew himself to be exceedingly culpable, are obvious, from his great anxiety to prevent the publication of my promised appreciation of his conduct, in palliation of which he even got a friend of mine to write to me from his house at Ghauzeepore.

If you did not know that your demand was illegal, why did you not endeavour to enforce it by legal means? If you did not know that the magistrate was culpable, why did you not leave him to take his remedy by the ordinary course of law? But in a legal or constitutional view, the guilt or innocence of the magistrate, or of myself, are things indifferent. The principle extends much beyond the merits or demerits of individuals. Under any circumstances, such an interference, on the part of a Governor, is an usurpation of the judicial function, by the executive power, of which the constitution of this country does not admit. Is it not besides a gross insult to the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, and to the persons who usually compose juries there, for any Governor, in any case, to take the law into his own hands? Were these Judges and these Jurors deemed by your Lordship incapable of fairly trying an offender against the laws of the country? Or were you apprehensive that, in this case, they would not inflict the precise measure of punishment which was agreeable to you? Such apprehensions would in reality be the highest possible eulogium on the Courts of Judicature in India, the establishment of which has conferred such immense benefits on the inhabitants of that country.

Thus it stands clearly proved, if I be not widely mistaken in the nature of proof, that you, my Lord, did wantonly unite, in your own person, the judicial with the executive authority, in violation of one of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution; and I am now going to prove that you committed this violation of the constitution, this usurpation of the rights of the Supreme Court of Judicature, for the express purpose, in the first instance at least, of shielding, with the strong arm of power, an individual magistrate from censure, for having, in the exercise of his authority, committed illegal, oppressive, and scandalous acts; in effect, asserting a general principle that magistrates can do no wrong.

Your Secretary in his letter of the 1st of June, states that it was in consequence of a representation to Government (from the magistrate of course) that he was directed to write to me. Mr. Maclean informs me that the magistrate had written to the Supreme Board, complaining; and I receive a letter from a friend, written from the magistrate's house, dissuading me from publishing the promised appreciation of his conduct. Five weeks afterwards, I receive another letter from your Secretary, dated July 2, requiring me to return to Europe, your emissaries at the same time making an attempt, which I frustrated, to seize my person. From all these

circumstances, and from the very terms of your subsequent explanatory letter of the 19th of July, as well as from the apology which the editor of the 'Telegraph' was, in the mean time, obliged to insert in his paper for having published my letter of the 29th of April, it is impossible, I say, from all these circumstances, not to conclude that your illegal and unwarrantable requisition for an apology, and my subsequent imprisonment and expulsion for refusing to make such apology, were intended, in the first instance, to protect this magistrate from farther animadversion, and to establish a precedent by which all magistrates might in future tyrannize with impunity. What could be a more direct violation than this of the principles of the British constitution, as laid down by Lord Erskine, in his celebrated declaration on the press? 'The extent of the genuine liberty of the press, on general subjects, and the boundaries which separate it from licentiousness, the English law has wisely not attempted to define. They are indeed in their nature indefinable, and it is the office of the jury alone, taken from the country in each particular instance, to ascertain them, and the trust of the crown where no individual is slandered, to select the instances FOR TRIAL, by its ministers responsible to parliament.'

LETTER III.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c. on the unconstitutional Law, which enacts that British-born subjects may be transported without the form of a trial; and on the Marquis's enormous application of it in some cases, and his utter contempt of it in others.

'Mr. Pitt's Bill, assisted by the explanatory Act of 1786, beside the new and extraordinary powers given to the Board of Control at home, has given to the Governor and Presidents abroad the most despotic and extravagant authorities:—unlike any thing that could have been supposed to originate in a free state, and utterly irreconcilable to the spirit of the British Constitution, by virtue of which despotic authority, among other enormities which, under the name of Government, may be committed, the Governor or President of the Council may, upon his single pleasure, seize and secure any British subject in India, of whatever rank or situation, and upon the accusation of only one person cause him to be thrown on ship-board, or imprisoned until there shall be "a convenient opportunity of sending him to England," where, by the same bill, a new tribunal and proceeding equally unheard of in the Constitution,—are provided for his trial.'

Sheridan's comparative Statement of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt's India Bills. p. 13.

MY LORD,—Far from wishing to exaggerate your conduct, I am willing to give you the full benefit of the most extravagant construction of a most extravagant law. There are some laws, my Lord, so unconstitutional that they should not, and some so bad that they cannot, be executed. Men of honour will not be the instruments of carrying into effect an execrable law, even when compulsory. Such was the memorable decree of Robespierre for giving no quarter to the English. But what are we to say, or at least what are we to think, of a man, who, after the most mature deli-

beration, surpasses the provisions of a law, which he himself conceives not to be compulsory, and which he cannot but know is in direct contradiction to the most essential principles of the British Constitution? We must in charity suppose that a legislature, which can pass such glaringly unconstitutional acts, and a Governor who can unnecessarily go beyond the true intent and meaning of them, do not perceive the consequences of what they are doing; or we must suppose something infinitely more to their discredit. It is fitting, however, that the people of England should know the extent of their obligations to both.

The Legislature, to be sure, only committed the small mistake of delegating an authority to the Governors of India, which they do not themselves possess, an authority which resides no where—that of transporting British-born subjects without the form of a trial.

Are our fundamental constitutional laws then to be considered as not extending to India? or are they extended to that country only in some parts, and withheld in others? and if so, by what statute is the distinction established? For what purpose are the English Courts of Judicature maintained in India, if they are not to apply the English law, particularly to British-born subjects? Again, if in any case, the clauses of a minor law happen, by some unaccountable legislative inadvertency or design, to be in direct contradiction to the spirit of the fundamental laws of the realm, can these clauses ever be fairly or honestly construed into a repeal or dissolution of our constitutional statutes? Has any Governor a right, in order to serve particular purposes, to avail himself of the former, in direct violation of the latter? I say, consistently with every sound constitutional principle, he cannot. 'A saving, totally repugnant to the body of the act,' says Blackstone, 'is void.' (Vol. i. p. 89.) Upon the same principle, an act which is repugnant to the fundamental laws and constitution of the realm must be void, and it is the duty of every man to oppose a constitutional resistance to its operation.

Without entering at any length into the demerits of the laws respecting the government of India, I cannot avoid saying a few words on some of their most singular features. It must appear almost incredible to the people of Great Britain, whose attention has not hitherto been sufficiently called to the subject, that the unconstitutional clauses of those acts can be brought to operate against British-born subjects only. An American, a Dane, a Swede, a Russian, a Hindoo, a Frenchman, excepting in time of war, could not, even by the most forced construction of them, be sent to Europe in virtue of the mere order of a Governor-General.

By specifying British-born subjects as the exclusive objects of this unmeasured power, the framers of the bill (for I must suppose that the Legislature could not have adverted to all its consequences) must have perceived that, by extending it to foreigners, they would

have been violating the spirit of the laws of nations, and might give rise to the most unpleasant disputes. If not, what did the restriction mean? But while some respect was to be paid to the spirit of the laws of nations, that of the Constitution of Great Britain, it seems, was to be violated without scruple, and the British-born subject deprived at once of all his most essential birth-rights, the Trial by Jury, the Habeas Corpus, and the Liberty of the Press.

If a native of any foreign country, excepting when a prisoner of war, had reprehended a magistrate even improperly, he would have been entitled to a fair trial before the Supreme Court of Judicature. No foreigner, or Asiatic, *even trading unlawfully*, could have been transported by the mere fiat of a Governor-General. In India, British-born subjects alone are *aliens*. There, at least, the boasted birth-right of Englishmen consists only of a monopoly of oppression.

And while such superior privileges are accorded to foreigners over British-born subjects, it is also to be observed that there exists the most unequal rule of action for British-born subjects themselves. Is it not an extraordinary contradiction, for instance, that while a person accused of murder must be tried before the tribunal of the country, and, if found innocent, restored to his family, property, and business, uninjured; a person only *accused* of a non-descript offence against a magistrate, may be banished and ruined, without the privilege of being heard? It is insulting the ordinary rules of justice with a vengeance, to apply severer penalties to accusations of trivial offences, than to those of the highest enormity. 'The peculiar excellence of the British Constitution, in which, indeed, the value of every government may be summed up, is that it creates *an equal rule of action for the whole nation*, and an impartial administration of justice under it. From these master principles results that happy, unsuspecting, and unsuspected freedom, which for ages has distinguished society in England, and which has united Englishmen in an enthusiasm for their country, and a reverence for their laws.'—*Erskine's Declaration on the Liberty of the Press.*

The inconvenience and cruelty of sending to England for trial, persons accused of crimes, even of murder, committed in distant places on the high seas, has been felt by the Legislature; and I observe with pleasure that a bill has lately been brought into Parliament for remedying this abuse, by enacting that such persons shall in future be tried by the adjacent tribunals. The public have now an opportunity of judging, whether it be not equally necessary to bring in a bill for preventing persons, accused of offending a Governor, or Magistrate, in any of our distant provinces, from being sent to England, for PUNISHMENT, *without trial?*

In whatever point of view we consider the Acts for the government of India, many of their clauses are neither more nor less than a gross violation of the British Constitution in favour of a com-

mercial monopoly. In their most limited sense, and under the most liberal construction, they are intolerable to every man who entertains the smallest sentiment of constitutional liberty. The clauses upon which you have pretended to act, in my case, even according to the fair and only just interpretation of them, viz. as they relate to unlawful traders, are precisely of that description. They are an absolute and complete violation of 'the natural and inherent right of the subject to personal liberty.' 'The glory of the English law consists in clearly defining the times, the causes, and the extent, when, wherefore, and to what degree, the imprisonment of the subject may be lawful. This it is, which induces the absolute necessity of expressing upon every commitment the reason for which it is made; that the Court, upon an Habeas Corpus, may examine into its validity; and, according to the circumstances of the case, may discharge, admit to bail, or remand the prisoner.'—*Blackst. Com.*, vol. iii. p. 134.

But that we may not do injustice to the intentions of the Legislature which enacted the laws for the government of India, we must suppose that, in giving a discretionary power of imprisonment, expulsion, and banishment, to the Governors of distant provinces, they must have had in view some distinct and reasonable grounds, upon which these powers were to be exercised. They could never have intended them as an engine of oppression against British-born subjects, although they ought to have foreseen that they must necessarily become so, in the hands of men of arbitrary minds. Accordingly we find, both from the preamble and context of these clauses, that the Legislature did mean to confine the exercise of the powers they delegated to the Company's Governors expressly to persons unlawfully trading in India, the very object of the clauses being to protect the Company's exclusive trade. The words of the preamble to the clauses giving discretionary power to the Governors of sending British-born subjects to Europe are—'For securing to the said united Company their sole and exclusive right of trading to the East Indies and parts aforesaid.' Otherwise, what would have been the use of providing the new tribunal and proceedings of which Mr. Sheridan speaks, for the trial of persons sent home by the Governors of that country? That enactment positively infers the commission of an offence as the ground of expulsion; and the only offence stated is *unlawful trading*, or trading without a licence.

This appears to me to be the true construction of the Acts of Parliament, relating to India, as they regard the expulsion of British-born subjects from that country. Since the passing of these Acts, however, a great many persons, of various professions, and who do not at all come under the description of traders, have gradually settled in the Company's territories. To them certainly the spirit of these provisions did not and could not extend. In their true, limited, obvious, and only possible sense, namely as they relate to unlawful

traders, these clauses, if ever they were acted upon by your predecessors, had fallen, as they deserved, into complete disuse. But you, my Lord, with that chivalrous disdain for common-place policy, which characterises your government, have thought proper not only to revive an obsolete, odious, tyrannical, and most unconstitutional law, but to extend it, contrary to the manifest intention of the Legislature, to all persons residing in India, of whatever profession or calling.

So much for the interpretation of the law, according to the manifest intention of the Legislature. Let us now consider your application, or rather misapplication of it, in my case. On the 9th of July, five weeks after my refusal to make you an apology, I was favoured with a letter from your secretary, requiring me, *as residing in India without licence*, to return to Europe, in the extra ship *Mildred*, then under despatch. Let us examine the validity of this plea. Here the offence against the magistrate is dropped, and my being without a licence is the great crime for which I am to be sent to Europe, without a moment's delay to settle my affairs, and my person directed to be seized. Is it not rather strange, that, after having been four years a constant resident of Calcutta, without a licence, and seeing that there were many thousand persons in India equally without licences, a circumstance, which had not till then been so considered, should all at once have sprung up into an offence, in my particular case? The objection, one should suppose, might have been very easily removed, by only conferring on me a licence, subject to the conditions on which such permissions were accorded to others. Were not licences freely granted to all who asked for them? Was it imputed as an offence to other persons to have resided in India without licences? If not, the adoption of the pretext in my case was both contemptible and ridiculous, or something infinitely worse. It was establishing a distinction, which destroyed at one blow that equal rule of action considered by Lord Erskine as 'the peculiar excellence of the British constitution.' And it may be of some importance to consider how long our enthusiasm for the country, and our reverence for its laws, can survive the circumstances that gave them birth.

The law respecting licences, under which you have endeavoured to cover your proceedings, must be considered as either compulsory or discretionary. I will give you every advantage in the construction of it. If compulsory, it was incumbent on you to have sent away every British-born subject, (for the law, under the utmost latitude of construction, as has been shown, extends *only to them*), who had not a licence to remain in India; and you ought not, in any case, to have waited for the new offence of refusing to make you an apology. It was your duty to put the law regularly, equally, and invariably in force; for it could not have been the intention of the Legislature, either express or understood, to have left to

any Governor an option to enforce, or to dispense with, a compulsory law at pleasure. If the law was compulsory, you have violated the law.

But if the authority vested in you was discretionary, you are still responsible for the manner in which you have exercised it. Now I will, for the sake of argument, take your own interpretation of the law, and suppose, what however I do not admit, that by a fair and liberal construction of it, you were authorised to send to Europe others than those who were found unlawfully trading in India, is it fitting that you should make use of this power as it were in sport? In order to show that you made a wanton and most tyrannical use of it in my case, even according to your own misinterpretation of the law, it is only necessary to refer the reader to your letters. There he will find the reasons for my expulsion from India, which you have yourself deliberately urged, so absurd, ridiculous, and contemptible, that he must conceive it probable you would, in some future flight, proceed to transport individuals, for an offensive exclamation, or a provoking distortion of countenance. And thus British-born subjects might become mere play-things in the hands of a Governor-General.

But what will be said, if I show that you have treated the law respecting licences, which you pretended on this occasion to respect, in other cases, with the most sovereign contempt? Mr. Maclean had a licence. But it did not protect him from being transported from Benares towards Calcutta. 'Would his licence have saved the Editor of the *'Telegraph'* from a voyage to Europe, if he had not published the apology dictated to him? Nay, have you not yourself, in your edict for regulating the press, expressly asserted, in open contempt of this very law, your right to exercise the power of transportation, without any exception whatever in favour of those who have licences? 'The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be *immediate embarkation for Europe*;'—the very principle of the decision of Buonaparte in the case of *Pancouke* and *Moutardier*, who had printed without publishing a book that was offensive to him: 'Let the printer be sent to the Bicetre, and the author to Cayenne.'

This brings to my recollection an obligation which I chance to owe you. It has been the singularity of my fate to have been in collision with almost every species of despotism, from your own maiden efforts in India, to those of your imitator Buonaparte in Europe, and from the wholesale measures of that usurper, to the pettyfogging details of a snivelling Medical Board. When detained in France, at the commencement of this war, contrary to the usages of civilized nations, a printed copy of your correspondence, sent to the public offices, proved a principal mean of procuring my release; verifying the proverb, that there is scarcely an evil out of which some good doth not arise.

LETTER IV.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c. on his doctrine that, in respect to offences, three cyphers make an unit; and that the Governor-General must be addressed in the most respectful terms.

"La veritable grandeur est libre, douce, familière, populaire; elle se laisse toucher et manier, elle ne perd rien à être vu de près."

La Bruyère.

"Greatness certainly does not consist in pageantry and show, in pomp and retinue, and though a person of quality will make use of these things to avoid singularity, and to put the vulgar in mind of their obedience to authority, yet he does not think himself the bigger for them, for he knows that those who have neither honesty nor understanding, have often times all this fine furniture about them."—He that is truly noble *hates to abridge the liberties*, to depress the spirits, or anyways to impair the satisfaction of his neighbour. His greatness is easy, obliging, and agreeable, so that none have any just cause to wish it less. He is affable in his converse, generous in his temper, and immovable in what he has resolved upon; and as prosperity does not make him haughty and imperious, so neither does adversity sink him into meanness and dejection: for if he ever shows more spirit than ordinary, it is when he is ill used, and the world frowns upon him. *In short, he is equally removed from the extremes of servility and pride, and scorns either to trample upon a worm, or sneak to an Emperor.*"

Collier.

MY LORD,—Sensible, and perhaps even ashamed, of the futility of your former pleas, you again changed your ground, and added a new charge, still more frivolous, if possible, than the former ones. In your explanatory letter, written, no doubt, after much consultation with the law-officers of the Company, not a word is said of the licence. The reasons now assigned, for the extraordinary proceedings against me, may be divided into three branches: 1st, for publishing in a newspaper a letter containing an insinuation of improper conduct on the part of one of the public magistrates in the discharge of his duty: 2ndly, when called upon to *make an apology for that offence*, refusing in the most disrespectful terms to make such apology: and 3rdly, because I was ordered (four years) before to return to Europe. Now, what inferences, I beseech you, are we to draw from all this, but that finding the position which you had first taken (the apology) untenable, you altered it to another, (the licence,) which you found equally weak; and finally, feeling that both afforded but a shallow pretext for ruining and banishing a British-born subject, (for it is actual and harsh banishment to be forced from the place in which you are established in business and earn your subsistence, even to a better residence,) you thought proper to look for new offences, in order to strengthen your cause. It was fortunate for me that none of a more heinous nature could be found than what arose from a simple misrepresentation of a fact which was easily explained to the satisfaction of a former Governor-General, after which I remained four years a constant resident of the town of Calcutta: for if any could have been discovered by a microscope, the whole tenor of your proceedings warrants the belief that they would have been eagerly raked together.

It has been shown, in Letter II, that my refusing to make you an apology was both legal and proper. It has been shown, in Letter III, that I did not come properly under the true construction of that most unconstitutional Act of Parliament relating to licences for residing in India; and that, *even according to your own misinterpretation of that law*, the exercise of the discretionary power vested in you was, with respect to me, indiscreet, oppressive, and tyrannical: and from the letter of Captain Hudson, of the *Houghton*, it will appear that the *new charge* of my having been ordered to return to Europe by a former Governor-General is every way worthy of the rest. Such then are the grave and serious charges on which you have yourself expressly founded the extraordinary measure of my expulsion from India. It will remain with you to explain how they constitute an offence against the law, against the morals, or even against the prejudices of any community; or how three circumstances, none of which taken separately constitutes *any part* of an offence, and all of which are not only frivolous but ridiculous, can be converted, excepting by some mystical process, into a *whole* offence. I hope every man in the nation will attend to this political chymistry, on his own account; for I am now no farther interested in the decision that may be formed, respecting your Lordship's conduct, than any other member of the community. Dean Swift has somewhere said that, in political arithmetic, two and two do not always make four. But this is probably the first time that three cyphers were ever supposed to form an unit, completing the sum total of *one* offence.* Your idea of offences, my Lord, reminds me of Sir Andrew Ague-Check in the play, who would beat a man because he was a puritan: *Maria*. Marry, sir, he is sometimes a kind of puritan.—*Sir And.* O if I thought that, I'd beat him like a dog.—*Sir To.* What, for being a puritan? Thy exquisite reasons, dear knight!—*Sir And.* I have no exquisite for t, but, I have good reason enough.

Reluctant as I feel to offend the English ear, or to accustom it to the degrading sounds of apology and licence, I must say a few words more before I dismiss the subject; for it seems to me to merit the most ample illustration. On reperusing your three official letters, my Lord, you will perceive what a ridiculous figure even a man of talent must make in print, when he is acting in contradiction not only to truth, justice, law, and the constitution, but even to common decency and common sense. In the first you accuse me of having published an *insinuation* of improper conduct against a magistrate, and for that offence, you require me to *make an apology*. I refuse; and you have no remedy. In the second, you drop the offence against the magistrate, and require me, *as residing in India without licence*, to return to Europe in a particular ship; and you send your town adjutant to seize my person. I receive intelligence of your designs, order my doors to be shut, and

prohibit your myrmidons from attempting to enter my house by force, at the peril of their lives; and they dare not persist. In this situation, I write to you requiring explanations. In your third and explanatory letter you drop the affair of the licence, and resume my refusal to make an apology, to which you add a new offence of about the same degree of importance. You are, however, graciously pleased, in consideration of certain circumstances stated by me, to allow me, *on certain conditions*, to remain in Calcutta for a few months longer; which conditions I reject with disdain.

Thus you were obliged repeatedly to shift your ground; and if I had urged you farther, you would probably have made more changes of position. But being now fully satisfied of your object, I thought it unnecessary to prolong the correspondence; and, without yielding one iota of the principle in dispute, after keeping my house shut for ten days, with sentinels stationed round it like a besieged castle, informed you that, being then *as ready* to comply with your requisition *as I could be at any subsequent period*, I should, at a certain time and place convenient to myself, surrender my person to your town adjutant. This resolution was by no means founded on the exhaustion of my means of resistance. But the reasons why I thought it useless to drive you to the last degree of violence and outrage, shall be stated in a future letter.

From the whole complexion of the preceding correspondence, which comprehends all that passed between your government and myself, it might be supposed, that had I condescended to make the apology required,—had I condescended

——— ‘To bow and sue for grace,
With suppliant knee, and deify your power,’

I should not have been sent to Europe. But this, as I shall show, is an erroneous opinion: for could I even have consented to that measure, I should have been obliged besides to withhold the appreciation which I had promised of the Magistrate's conduct, to renounce the privilege of free discussion, and even to give a security for my conforming in every respect to your will, before I could have obtained permission to remain in India.

But to what monstrous doctrines should I have been subscribing? It is here, I believe, for the first time in modern ages, even virtually asserted by a British Governor, that no comments must be made on the conduct of any Magistrate, under his jurisdiction, let him do what he will; but that if an insinuation of misconduct should happen to escape, the proper atonement for it is an apology, not to the laws of the country, (they, it seems, have nothing to do with the affairs of India,) but to the most noble the Governor-General, and which apology, we are given to understand in the famous explanatory letter, *should be made in the most respectful terms.*

* To such a degree did this Governor carry his love of pomp, that, as I have been informed by officers of respectability from the coast, he

‘O but man! proud man,
Drest in a little brief authority;
Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
His glassy essence, like an angry ape,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As make the angels weep!’

Truly, if the feelings of the Governor-General of India are to be the thermometer of offences in that country, it would be advisable to look out for persons of somewhat more tractable sensibilities than your Lordship for that office.

For my own part, on a retrospect of the affair between us, I have only to say, that, were it to happen twenty times over, I should not think it proper to alter any one part of my conduct; and that if my resistance to such abominable principles of government does not prove a general benefit, it is, at least, no fault of mine. But I am sure that cannot be the case. ‘The injustice done to an individual,’ says Junius, ‘is sometimes of service to the public. Facts are apt to alarm us more than the most dangerous principles. The facts here established are indeed sufficiently alarming; and I trust the people of England will see your conduct in its true point of view; that they will be sensible that to suffer the Governor of a province to violate the best principles of our constitution with impunity, is to invite despotism to our doors, and that the best laws become nugatory, if the noble sentiments which foster and uphold them, be allowed to weaken or decay. If, contrary to all expectation, I should be deceived, I shall only have to lament, in common with others, the unhappy state of apathy into which we are at length fallen. But even in that case, I shall at least enjoy the melancholy consolation of reflecting that I have not omitted to do my share of the duty.’

LETTER V.

Letter to the Marquis of Wellesley, &c. on his assumption of the Power of enforcing or dispensing with existing Laws according to his own Interpretation of them, and of making new Laws, at pleasure, annihilating the Personal Freedom of the Subject, and establishing, in fact, an absolute Despotism.

‘Sic volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.’

MY LORD,—Notwithstanding the reinforcement of your new charge, conjured up after a lapse of six days, you were pleased to

made stables of the East Indiamen to bring the horses of his body-guard from Bengal, at an enormous expense to the Company, as if the Madras cavalry were unworthy the honour of acting as his body-guard, during his stay on the coast. Here we trace Buonaparte and his incomparable Mamelukes. Could this pomp and circumstance, which disgusted every one who saw it, transfuse more energy or wisdom into the orders conveyed to Generals and Ambassadors, or obtain any useful

say, that in consideration of the circumstances stated in my letter of the 13th July, I might remain in Calcutta, till the 25th of October, *provided* I immediately gave *satisfactory security*, that I should proceed to Europe, on any ship, which might sail after that period, and *on which you might require me to embark*. And the town adjutant, in a note with which he prefaced the delivery of your letter, says he is well assured that I have it in my power to give this security on the shortest notice. As I never put my friends to the test, I do not know whether I had or had not this power. But this I know, that if I had, I should not have used it. Not having violated the law, I required no bail, or security for my appearance, and I spurned, as I ought, the idea of asking any friend of mine to guarantee *my obedience to the WILL* of a Governor-General. But what does all this mean? It is neither more nor less than, 'If you comply with my will and pleasure in part, I will suffer you to remain for three months longer in India; if you comply with it wholly, I will suffer you to remain as long as you please, whether you have a licence or not; but if you do not in any respect comply with it, I will send you immediately to Europe, *because* you have not got a licence to reside in India.' Now I defy any man in Turkey to produce me a more perfect union of complete nonsense and absolute despotism than this.

The insulting tone of moderation, which you now assumed, my Lord, I placed to the proper account: namely, a conviction on your part, that you were treading upon very slippery ground, together with apprehensions, perhaps, that your object might be openly frustrated by legal means. I say insulting, because there was no room for compromise. It was impossible for me, consistently with any just ideas of what is due to the laws or constitution of the country, to have conceded the principle in dispute; and all the explanations which had taken place, together with the temper of the man, were sufficient to convince me that nothing would be conceded by your Lordship. Seeing that to continue the contest longer upon Asiatic ground would be therefore useless, I voluntarily surrendered myself to the town-adjutant of Calcutta at a time and place appointed; was carried in triumph into Fort William; and from thence hurried, under an escort of soldiers, on board an East-Indiaman at Saugor Roads.

It happened to be on Saturday that I surrendered. You, my Lord, having, as I presume, surmised that I might avail myself of the aid

object whatsoever? It is a false and ridiculous notion that they are conducive to any good, and however they may dazzle for a moment, instead of increasing they diminish respect; for the people, in their sentiments, are seldom mistaken. Was not Marquis Cornwallis, with only a few attendants, more respected than the Marquis Wellesley, with a suite large enough to form an army?

of the civil law to frustrate your designs, the moment you learnt that I had capitulated, sent a peremptory order that I should be immediately sent on board a ship. The order did not arrive till late at night. I had gone to bed, and absolutely refused to comply with it, observing that if the commandant of the soldiers thought himself obliged to enforce the order, he must use violence. He returned to the Fort-major, to whose custody I was now assigned, for fresh instructions. The Fort-major was in perplexity and doubt. His order was peremptory, yet he saw the impropriety and indecency of enforcing it. But you were at your country residence; and it would be a high crime and misdemeanor to disturb you about trifles. Of what consequence is the convenience, or even the life, of a common individual, if a great man must be incommoded? It was on the same seat of government that so many Englishmen were smothered to death in the Black-hole of Calcutta, that the slumbers of your predecessor, Surajah Dowlah, might not be disturbed!

Imagining what the motives of this peremptory order might be, I observed to the military agents of the Fort Major, that, the gates being shut for the night, no civil officers could get admission, and that the following day being Sunday, no writs could be executed; that, besides, my servants were gone home for the night, and that my baggage, which was in the town, would be left behind. Notwithstanding these arguments, I do not believe, but for the influence of female humanity, I should have got even a single night's reprieve. This is not the only occasion on which I have experienced that women possess a more lively sense of, and a greater regard for, justice, as well as finer feelings of humanity, than men; and I rejoice in this opportunity of acknowledging my gratitude to Mrs. Calcraft, a lady I never saw, to whose intercession I owe it, that I was not hurried on board a ship, without even a change of linen, for a ten months' voyage. After an interchange of messages, I was allowed to continue my repose, it being understood that I should be ready to embark as soon as my baggage could be got from Calcutta the next morning.

These circumstances, which are in themselves trivial, I mention in order to show that it was your own opinion, my Lord, although it did not enter into my contemplation, that your arbitrary measures might have been defeated by the medium of the courts of law. That, I believe, could in fact have been done by an arrest for debt, or on a writ of *habeas corpus*, from which I cannot learn that India is exempted, more than other parts of the British dominions.

But if it had been the intention of the Legislature to confer on the Governor-General of India an authority that must virtually supersede the fundamental principles of our constitution, and deprive the subject of his only means of protection, would they not have expressly declared so, instead of leaving a power, which they thought it necessary to confer, subject to be constantly defeated?

I do believe that, in this case, your intentions, my Lord, notwithstanding the indecent manner in which you ordered me to be hurried on board a ship, might have been frustrated, had I applied to the Judges of the Supreme Court, and had these Judges done their duty. If I understand the law, the Supreme Court of Judicature was bound, upon application, to grant me a writ of *habeas corpus*, as a matter of right. 'If a probable ground be shown, that the party is imprisoned without just cause, and therefore hath a right to be delivered, the writ of *habeas corpus* is then a writ of right, which may not be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed, or detained in prison, or otherwise restrained, though it be by the command of the King, the Privy Council, or any other.' *Com. Journ.* April 1, 1628. If I had claimed the benefit of this doctrine, almost two hundred years old, it would remain to be seen how far your Lordship would have opposed your will to a constitutional mandate thus distinctly expressed. But of the two evils I preferred immediate expulsion, to the uncertainty of remaining subject to the capricious sallies of your Lordship's volition.

Having shown that you avowedly considered yourself as entitled to enforce or dispense with existing laws, according to your own interpretation of them, at pleasure, I shall now make it appear that you assumed the privilege of making new laws, establishing in effect an absolute despotism.—Instead of leaving disputes to be settled in the ordinary course of law, you determined that none should exist; as you imposed previous restrictions on publications, so you would impose previous restrictions on the actions of men. 'Penalty bonds,' says Mr. Maclean, 'are sent up to be executed by all indigo planters in this district (Benares); for the first complaint in court, five hundred rupees; and for the second, to be ordered to Calcutta.' Now, my Lord, you had just as clear a right to order penalty bonds to be signed for a hundred thousand rupees, as for five hundred; and to order the offender to Botany Bay as to Calcutta. Did you not, by this strange measure, if any measure of yours could appear strange, assert an unlimited power over the purses, as well as the persons, of his Majesty's subjects? Could you not ruin a man in a moment, by bringing him from Benares to Calcutta, for having had some trifling quarrel, or at the mere instigation of an enemy or informer? Might you not, with as much propriety, and justice, and law, have ordered any of the inhabitants of Calcutta, who should act improperly in your opinion, to be sent for the first offence to perform quarantine at Benares, and for the second to China?

I will not here say any thing of the sweeping edict, by which all Europeans were ordered to quit Lucknow, that they might not be witnesses of your conduct towards the Nabob, as I believe it is actually the subject of inquiry in another place. But it shall not be lost to the public. This doctrine of arbitrarily transporting the

subject from one part of a country to another, is even more cruel and degrading than that which transfers them in whole lots from one master to another, as has lately been the abominable practice on the continent of Europe. Nor does it appear that, in the assumption of those extraordinary powers, you laid the smallest stress upon licences, by which, when it suited your purpose, you claimed the privilege of transportation. On the contrary, you expressly usurped the right of violating even that, your favourite law.

THE MINSTREL MAID TO THE WARRIOR.

Oh! go not to the field of war,
 Or let me share its toils with thee;
 And tell me not the land is far,
 And holds no bower for minstrelsy.
 There is no bower of song for me,
 No native land but where thou art;—
 There, though earth's dreariest waste it be,
 'T would bloom an Eden to my heart!

Oh, I would watch thy tent by night,
 And guard thy bosom all the day;
 Thy shield be in the hour of fight,
 Thy minstrel when 'twas pass'd away.
 Oh, who could sing so sweet a lay,
 Or tell thy glorious deeds so well?
 For Love would give each song its sway,
 And all its notes of triumph swell.

And who so well could die for thee,
 As one who longs to be at rest,
 And asks no other memory,
 But to be graven on thy breast?
 And who, among the spirits blest,
 Could watch thee with a fonder care?
 Oh, who, when griefs thy heart oppress'd,
 Would sweeter, heavenlier solace bear?

Or, if there be who loved before,
 And gain'd that happiest destiny,
 Already on the heavenly shore,
 One bliss at least remains for me:
 To see pure angels' cares for thee—
 To mark how thou art loved above—
 Beheld with feelings anguish-free,
 Since nought could from my own remove!

TRAVELS IN ITALY.—BY AN EAST INDIAN, AT HOME ON LEAVE.

No. II.

Milan—Piazza del Duomo—The Scala—Marionettes—Political Condition—Commerce, &c.

MILAN can scarcely be called a beautiful town, for the streets are in general narrow, yet some of them, such as the Corso Orientale and the Contrada di Breva may vie with the most noble streets of London or Paris. The architecture is more remarkable for its solidity and heavy grandeur, than for elegance or ornamental beauty. Some of the gates and edifices, erected under the French regime, are perfect models of chaste and classical beauty, but it not unfrequently happens that the most elegant buildings are defaced and disfigured by a vile and incongruous shed of red tiles or some such abomination. The *palazzi* are rich and splendid *en gros*, but often mean and pitiful *en détail*; you find a shattered and lockless door leading out of a gaudy saloon, and shabby joined mirrors figuring amongst rich hangings and embroidered furniture. Milan is but half Italian, so far as regards antiquities and the fine arts, and such objects as the generality of travellers come to gaze and wonder at, and to record in letters to their kinsfolk. They, however, who come in search of amusement, and who are not too proud to give in to the ways of the people, will find few places, even in Italy, more agreeable than this city. The society is divided into two classes, that of the nobles, and that of the merchants, and each is easily accessible to foreigners, who are inclined to cultivate the Milanese. Though these two classes are distinct, and seldom mix, there is here much less of that exclusive spirit which characterises the jealous separation of the nobles from the commoners in most of the Italian towns. This is to be attributed to the influence of the French republican policy in humbling the aristocracy. Indeed, though France has ceased to exercise any direct influence over the Milanese, they still appear to consider Paris rather than Vienna as the quarter from which their illumination is to proceed; and whether in politics or fashions; the complexion of opinions or the depth of a founce, the 'Constitutionnel,' the 'Etoile,' and the 'Petit Courrier des Dames,' are of much greater authority than the 'Austrian Observer.' In their dress, equipages, manners, and entertainments, the most approved models of the Faubourg St. Honoré are studiously copied. The beaux of Milan exhibit a better style of dress than is usually observed in Italians, a circumstance which I have heard accounted for by the close connexion which many of the Austrian officers maintain with their countryman, the great Mr. Stultz, of London, whose patriotic exertions enable these Cisalpine exquisites

to display, so far as regards the outward man, whatever is most approved in cut and refined in taste.

The great square before the Cathedral, called the Piazza del Duomo, is the greatest resort of all who have business to transact, or time to kill. Here the merchant comes to learn the state of the markets, and to conclude his bargains; the man of fashion to discuss the tittle-tattle of the day, and to criticise the powers of the favorite *prima donna*. Here may be seen ladies of unbounded inclination, but limited means, gazing with longing eyes at the glittering treasures of the jewellers' windows, or sighing over the rich silks and costly velvets so irresistibly tempting, whilst, a few paces off, a poor woman is driving a hard bargain for a dish of macaroni. There you may see the antiquary or collector poring over the heterogeneous stock of a stall, or prying into the neglected contents of a dusty portfolio; or the raw stranger measuring with wondering eyes the dimensions of the Cathedral, whilst the loquacious *cicerone* at his elbow pours into his ears, in a barbarous jargon which passes for French, all his professional prudence and oft-repeated commonplaces. Perchance a female figure, muffled up in a mantle, glides hastily towards the Cathedral, apparently bent on her devotions, but most probably going to an assignation, for such is the custom here. Here the populace assemble, to listen to the ecstasies of an *improvisatore*, and to gaze at the tricks of conjurors, or to grin at the broad jokes and innocent drolleries of Punch, who has established himself in the immediate vicinity of the church, and whose allusions are not unfrequently pointed in that direction. Priests, beggars, *voituriers*, musicians and mountebanks, all ply their several vocations with activity, and numerous smoking and beer-drinking loungers occupy the seats in front of the cafés, whilst a strolling *buffo* regales them with a *scena* from the 'Cenerentola' or the 'Barbiere.' The scene is one of infinite variety and life.

Milan has long been noted for the cultivation and encouragement of music; and disputes, with Naples and Venice, the most conspicuous place amongst the cities of the most musical country in the world; its 'Conservatory' has ranked, and does still rank, as one of the first schools in Europe. To the Milanese the Opera is a consideration of the first importance, and the pretensions they set up, to superior taste and discrimination in this department of musical science, art of very old date. Their vanity, as well as the gratification of this their ruling passion, has been interested in maintaining the reputation they have acquired, and the establishment of the Opera at Milan has long, in splendour and strength, been equal, if not superior, to any in Europe. No Opera, however universal the applause bestowed on it elsewhere, is considered altogether successful, until the Milanese have approved. No *maestro*, however brilliant his reputation, is established in fame, until he has composed for the Scala, and has received his crown of laurel there. No singer,

however transcendent her powers, is secure in her supremacy, so long as the critics of the Scala have withheld their applause. This dangerous power, were it possessed by less discriminating judges, might be perverted to bad purposes, but though their claim to infallibility has occasionally been belied by events, as in the case of Pasta, who was hissed from the Scala—their decisions are almost always just, and their praise is seldom bestowed unworthily. The charge of frivolity is, I think, unjustly urged against them, on account of their passion for novelty, and their preference of Rossini and the modern school to Mozart and the ancients. Without stopping to enquire how far this preference is consistent with correct taste, it may be sufficient to remark here, that the reproach (if reproach it be) is shared, not only by every town in Italy, but by the principal cities in Germany. Though Rome produced her Paesello, and Naples boasted her Cimarosa, their compositions are never to be heard in those cities; the sway of Rossini is unbounded, and even Mozart is driven from his strong-hold in Vienna.

The Scala at Milan is second in size only to the San Carlos at Naples, and in architectural beauty is by many considered its superior. Nothing, in fact, can surpass the magnificence of the *coup d'oeil* which presents itself on entering the pit of the Scala. The extent of the area, the simplicity yet richness of the architecture, and the chastity of the decorations, place it infinitely beyond any theatre I have yet seen. There are six circles of boxes, the upper three comprise thirty-nine boxes each, the lower three thirty-six, as three are taken from the centre of each to form the Royal box. The fashion prevalent in Italy of sitting up the boxes with hangings, is objected to by critics as marring the architectural beauty of the edifice. It is not to be denied that it takes from the uniformity and congruity

of the design, and the taste of it is at least doubtful; but there is a lightness and airy gaiety in the appearance of these draperies, (especially where, as in the Scala, each circle has its distinct and uniform color and fashion,) which, to an indulgent eye, almost compensates for the solecism in architecture. The pit is large and commodious, the seats are cushioned and comfortable, and there is abundance of 'room for standing' not 'miscalled standing room.' The house is lighted by a handsome chandelier, but, as is usual in continental theatres, the great concentration of light is on the stage. In the centre of the proscenium, is a dial, so contrived, that the hours and minutes are indicated in luminous figures to the whole house. The prompter sits bolt upright in the centre of the stage, without any hood to screen him from observation; no deception is attempted, and aid is asked and given without a shadow of concealment. The performers, whilst on the stage, do not scruple to laugh and talk to each other, and even to exchange nods and signs with those in the orchestra. Applause is always acknowledged with a deep reverence, and every thing calculated to produce illusion seems

to be studiously avoided. The noise, confusion, talking, humming, shifting of places, and keeping on of hats, which prevail in the pit throughout the performance, are quite intolerable to one who goes to the theatre really to hear the music. This babel ceases only for a few minutes, when some favourite *prima donna* advances to sing her air, or during the performance of some popular duet. Then indeed a death-like silence is exacted, but no sooner has the piece terminated, than the 'jabbering, jaw, and jism' re-commence with double vigour, and a rush takes place for the door, similar to what is observable in the Court of King's Bench, at the termination of some interesting case of libel or scandal, or in the House of Commons, when Mr. Hume brings forward a motion respecting India. The orchestra is very strong, and is composed of the choicest ingredients; yet it loses somewhat of its efficiency to my eyes (or rather ears) from a want of discipline. A leader should be the most absolute of autocrats, and the smallest symptom of rebellion should be punished with the *bow-string* at least; but Signor Rolla, though a perfect master of his instrument, and possessing in an eminent degree the science essential to leaders, is now rather in his dotage, and appears to me to 'bear his faculties' too 'meekly' for his exalted station. The overture is not given with the effect which such an orchestra ought to produce. Those who have heard the orchestra of the Italian Opera at Paris, can appreciate the value of an active leader, and an attentive audience, in producing the height of instrumental effect with limited means. There the tap of the leader's bow, which calls his troops to order and gives the signal for commencing, is succeeded by a profound silence amongst the audience; the immediate removal of obnoxious hats is insisted on; an authoritative *hush!* awes into silence any rash whisperer, and the whole performance is listened to with intense interest, by an audience so jealous of disturbance as hardly to tolerate a momentary and well-deserved applause. At Milan, where the Opera is an every day business, and where they hear the same music repeated every night, such unmoved attention is not to be expected. The Scala has been nearly as celebrated for its ballet as for its opera, but since the death of its former indefatigable and inexhaustible director, Vigano, it has somewhat declined, under less inventive managers. Still it is, in my opinion, greatly superior in brilliancy and effect to either Paris or London; the dancing is inferior to both, for the Italians do not excel in that science, as the *élèves* of the Parisian school do; but the music, scenery, dresses, acting, and *getting up*, in general, are more dazzling than any thing of the sort I have yet seen. Those who have not seen the performance of Pellerini, know not to what extent intensity of feeling, passion, and pathos may be thrown into pantomime. The performance of this graceful and fascinating actress, is as much above the mincing gait and coquetish airs which are exhibited on the boards of the London Opera-house, as the tragedy of Kean surpasses the ranting of some hero of

a barn. Then the music, in Italy, is considered a primary ingredient in the ballet—not a *pot pourri* of *chansons* and *chasses*, *polkas* and *polonnaises*, like the Frenchified trumpery which Bochs and D'Egville palm on the London audiences as 'entirely new,' or 'carefully arranged,'—but judicious selections of the music of the best and most popular masters, skilfully adapted to the incidents of the piece, and bearing their full share in the general effect. Here the orchestra, which, during the Opera, is kept in subordination, acknowledges no superior; 'it rules and reigns without control.' It is its province to aid in the expression of the meaning which is imperfectly conveyed by pantomimic action, it tells a tale of woe, makes an appeal to the passions, sighs forth a lover's hopes and fears, and thunders out the rage of disappointed ambition. By easy transitions, it conducts the feelings to the desired point, and moulds them to the author's will. All this may be done, and is done, by an orchestra such as Milan possesses, inspired by a master-genius like Vigano, working with such materials as the unrivalled imagination of Rossini furnishes.

The Theatre of the Marionettes is greatly in favour with the middling classes, and is well worth visiting. It is quite incredible to what perfection the management of these puppets is brought at Milan; their actions are those of life itself; and, though not more than two feet high, the scenery and the stage are so exactly proportioned to the stature of the performers, that the eye, accommodating itself to their diminutive size, is startled if, perchance, it catch a glimpse of a giant, in the shape of a little boy, who moves the machinery behind the scenes. They generally catch hold of some of the reigning foible, or peculiarities, of the day, which they dress up in the most grotesque and piquant manner, to the infinite amusement of the auditors, who are remarkably quick of perception. Their caricature of the ballet at the Scala is the most laughable thing imaginable. There is generally a good company of comedians to be found at Milan; but the *Prosa*, as they call it, is not greatly patronised, excepting when the Scala is shut. The upper orders invariably frequent the opera; and the lower ranks prefer the broad humour of the Marionettes, or the cheap fun of Punch.

It requires but a short stay at Milan to be convinced of the dissatisfaction of the people with the present order of things. The Austrian Government is detested; and, indeed, how could it be otherwise, considering the system pursued? No attempt is made to conciliate,—no encouragement is given to native industry and to native talent,—education and intelligence are repressed,*—almost

* The reply of the Emperor to an address from the University of Pavia is well known: 'I do not want learned men,' said this second Augustus; 'I want good subjects. I am satisfied if my subjects can read and write.'

all offices are filled by foreigners,—suspicion and *espionage* penetrate every where,—and the harpies of police and customs are spread over the face of the land. Compare this empire of stagnation and mistrust with the active despotism of Napoleon. When he broke his faith with the Milanese, and disappointed the hopes of the world, by converting the Cisalpine Republic into the Kingdom of Italy, Napoleon still took from them nothing but their independence. The administration of the country was almost entirely confided to natives; commerce, industry, talent, and education, were liberally encouraged and patronised; the overweening and feudal aristocracy was humbled; the administration of justice was bettered by the introduction of equal and fixed laws; assassinations were prevented; and monkish ascendancy was destroyed. The taxes, indeed, were heavy, and the conscriptions hard: but the former went chiefly to the construction of great national works, beneficial to all, and chiefly defrayed by the rich; whilst the latter was directed to the formation of a national army. The benefits conferred on Italy by the French system continue, even now, to peep out amidst the desolation which has succeeded it, and give earnest of what it would have been, had it continued, under Napoleon. The essential difference between the Austrian and the French *regimes* is this: Napoleon treated Italy as a separate kingdom, with distinct interests; aggrandizement was his object, and he seized on it; but its prosperity was his desire, and he cherished it. Austria, on the contrary, has always considered and governed Lombardy as a conquered province, assiduously repressing all moral and intellectual improvement, which would endanger its supremacy, and anxious only to wring as much as possible from it.* An instance, of the policy pursued by the Austrians towards their Italian possessions, may be seen in an edict, which was promulgated about two years ago, by which every imaginable manufacture of every country but Germany is prohibited. Great as are the folly and short-sightedness of this measure, most of the enlightened cabinets of Europe (and, until very lately, we amongst the rest) furnish abundance of parallels to it; none of them can with reason complain, and it was hardly to be expected that Austria would set the example of any thing liberal or enlarged in policy. But what rendered this proceeding pre-eminent in iniquity and oppression was, the retrospective operation it contemplated. At the expiration of two or three months after the date of the proclamation, all the articles mentioned, however long they might have been in the country, became contraband, and liable to seizure and confiscation. The inevitable consequence of such a measure, must be ruin to multitudes whose shops and warehouses are filled with commodities, imported for a market which is suddenly and oppressively

* Austria draws upwards of a million annually from her Lombardo-Venetian territories, after defraying the expenses of the misgovernment of those unfortunate states.

closed against them, and which must be hurried out of the country, subject to all the losses and hazards attendant on unforeseen and compulsory exportation. It is difficult to conceive a more outrageous act of despotism than this; it reached nearly all: for scarcely any thing escaped enumeration in this fatal proscription list. Consternation and despair prevailed every where; sales were multiplied; shops were shut up, and bankruptcy and ruin threatened all. The object of this ill-advised measure is to force the dear and bad German manufactures into Italy, to the exclusion of the good and cheap English and French articles which find their way into the country. The same policy decrees the destruction of the miserable remnant of commerce which Venice still possesses; the object being to transfer it to Trieste.

PRESENT SEAT OF WAR IN CHINESE TARTARY.

THE seat of war, is that region which in European maps, is called Little Bucharia. On the north of this region, is a long chain of mountains called by various names, such as the Alak Mountains, the Mogulistan or Musart Mountains, and by the Chinese, Téen-shan, i. e. 'Heaven's Mountains,' from their great height. Also, Ta seué shan, great snowy mountains; and in Poetry, Kwan-tun-shan.

The western extremity is marked by Klaproth, in 1823, as the Himmaleh Mountains; and also called by him 'Thian chan, ou Céleste.' The Chinese place these mountains in from 40. to 43. N. L.

To the westward of these, lying nearly at right angles, in lon. 43 west of Peking, are the Tsung shan, Onion Mountains, so called from abounding in plants of the Allium species. This chain is otherwise called Behur Tag, or Belur Mountains, and is supposed to be the ancient Inaus. The country on the east is the 'Scythia extra Inana,' or the 'Serica,' of Ptolemy. The people are the ancient Sereæ. Rees' Encyclopedia calls these mountains the Himmaleh; a Sanscrit word, meaning snowy.

To the north of the Téen-shan is the lake called by D'Anville Palcati-nor; in Thomson, (where many of the Asiatic names are mis-spelled,) 'Talcati Lake.' The Chinese call it, the sea of Pa-urh-kih-shih. Klaproth calls it Balchaui and Balkhuch.

Into this sea or lake runs the river Ili or Ele. On this river

* See Thomson's General Atlas.

† Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie.

‡ Himalaya.

D'Anville places 'Harcas, principal séjour du Hans des Eluts, or Kalmouks.' This Harahs is nearly the site of the modern Kile, or Ili, the place of transportation for Chinese convicts; called in Canton, the 'Colo,' i. e. Cold Country, whither bankrupt Hong merchants and others are transported.

The Teen-shan, or Alak Mountains, are spoken of by the Chinese geographers, in terms of the highest astonishment, for their height, their icy, luminous glory: some of them covered with eternal, never-melting snows; piercing the clouds; reaching to heaven; presenting an appearance of long chains, or spiral peaks, with craggy breaks, deep gulphs, vallies, and ravines, which prove these mountains to be the 'dragon-ancestors' * of all other mountains in the world.

From the Kia-yu-koan of D'Anville, the ground begins to rise till you get to Hami or Chami, (Chinese Hea-meih,) at the foot of the mountains. Here the road divides, one branch leading to the north of the Alak Mountains, and the other to the south; where are situated the eight great Mohammedan cities, Harashar; Koochay, or Outchi; † Ascou, or Aksa; Yarchand, or Yarkand, or Yergkien; Yingkeih-shaurh, or Yinkeshar; Cashgar, or Hascar; Hoten, or Kotah; and Woosih.

From the Imaus, or Tsungling Mountains, where the river Indus rises, the river Yergkien, (Chinese, Yeurhkeang,) begins to flow, and runs east about 15 degrees, through this long steppe, into the lake called Lopu, or in Chinese, Lopoo, lake.

The mountains to the north and east of the Iwuy keang, (Klaproth, Hoei Hou,) Mohammedan regions, contain gold, silver, and precious stones; and the land in many places is exceedingly fertile.

Klaproth places in this region, five hundred years before the Christian era, 'Nation de la race Turque, par les Chinois, Hian yun; ' afterwards, the Hiongnu or Huns; then the 'Royaumes alliés aux Goci.' He then calls it, 'Asie Centrale,' &c. &c.

This country became the portion of Jagatay, or Zagathai, the son of Genghis Khan. It was governed by a succession of the descendants of Tinur, till the year 1683, when it was subdued by the Eluths or Kalmucks. To then it remained subject, till, at a recent period, it was conquered by the Tartar-Chinese. In 1759, Kien-lung completely vanquished these people; and thus annexed an extensive territory to his dominions.

Agreeably to this statement, the latest Pekin Gazette remarks, that these Mohammedan regions had become an integral part of the empire upwards of sixty years; being, according to the preceding paragraph, just sixty-eight years.

* See a Map of the Chinese Empire by a Priest of the Alchemic sect, Le-tsing-lae.
† D'Anville.

The Eleuths, (or Kalmuks, or Calmucs,) who occupied the 'Scythia, extra Inaun' 144 years ago, and were dispossessed only sixty years since, were, in the commencement of the present Tartar-Chinese dynasty, a constant source of annoyance. The emperor Kang-hi went in person against them in 1696; accompanied by two Europeans, Pere Poirait, and Pere Gerbilon. Yung-ching, the emperor who succeeded Kang-hi, complains bitterly against Chin-ko-urh, the ancestor of the present rebel.

Chin-ko-urh was a Man-chow, of the red standard, related to the imperial family on the throne of China. For some crime he was sent or absconded to Ele, which was the region of his ancestors. He carried on a war against the Chinese. At his death he left two sons, Poolbootun and Hotseihohen: they perished in endeavouring to obtain their independence. But Poolbootun left a son, who was the father of the present rebel Chang-kih-urh. Chang-kih-urh's son was murdered by the imperial party, at the commencement of the present affair, but he himself still survives, and has won the hearts of all the Mohammedans who occupy the region of the ancient Seres.

The Chinese Geographer says, that although beyond Yarkand, across the Inaun Mountains, (called also Ping shan, 'Ice Mountains,') the road is very craggy and difficult; still there is, between Ye-urh-keang and Wan too sze tan, (Yarchand and Hindoostan)* a going and coming highway, or great road, and in this neighbourhood there are a great many gem-producing mountains."

After the conquest of the Eleuths by the emperor Kien-lung, the seat of government was fixed at Ele. The governor of the new territories united the military and civil power in his own person, under the name of 'Tseang-keun, 'Leader of the Army.' At Cashgar was a resident, with power of writing direct to the emperor. At each of the other towns were military and civil officers of various ranks. But these offices were often filled by persons sent thither as a sort of exile for crimes committed in China; and convicts were received into the public offices as writers, secretaries, &c. These unprincipled people mal-treated (it is said by the Chinese) the native inhabitants, and provoked the present revolt. (If convicts at Botany Bay be admitted to office, a similar result may be anticipated.) Chang-kih-urh has availed himself of this state of things, and has formed some alliances with the neighbouring tribes.

In the summer of 1826 the rebellion broke out. The resident at Cashgar who had been Governor and Commander-in-chief at Ele, attempted some spirited and decisive acts, but was worsted. The troops he directed to proceed to strengthen the garrison at Cashgar, were annihilated on their way. He was shut up and closely be-

sieged with about 1,500 men nearly two months, when the city was entered by a secret mine and the garrison put to the sword. His Majesty wept over the despatch, which says that the commandant killed himself, and fell with the city.

The Imperial Gazettes have reported some advantages over the rebels at Acksa; but they are supposed, by the Chinese, to be greatly magnified to please the Emperor.

Troops from the river Amour, from the Kirin Oula of D'Anville, in Eastern Tartary, from the imperial body guard at Peking, and other places, have, to the number of 30,000, proceeded by the Kia-yu-koan, on the north-west frontier, to Hami, where they are arrested in their progress by general snow, and the inclemency of the winter.

Former Chinese armies, against the Huns, have perished in those regions, as the French did at Moscow. The General, Yang-yuchun, has complained, and his Majesty has ordered supplies. The treasury department have issued six millions of taels, and have established, what is considered an efficient commissariat, to provide, on the one hand, regular supplies for the troops, and, on the other, to avoid any useless waste. They are directed to furnish accurate plans and drawings of the progress of the army; the roads they take; their principal halting places; and every collateral circumstance for the information of the Emperor.

Some of the Chinese think that, which way soever the present contest terminates, it will be the work of several years. Its effects on commerce are already felt very unfavourably; chiefly on account of the northern provinces of China Proper being in a great state of excitement and annoyance, occasioned by the progress of the military through them.

THE OAK OF THE VILLAGE-GREEN.

WERT thou, tall Trunk! (now pervious to the breeze)
 Whose life is writ upon the mighty pages
 Of half the catalogue of Christian ages,—
 Wert thou a man!—But there's a tongue in trees;
 And, in thy broken branch and shrunken leaf,
 I read a nation's history in brief.
 Each rosy boy that in thy circle play'd
 All doubtful of the vanity of life,
 In hoary hairs was fain to cease from strife,
 And rest from toil, beneath thy cooling shade.
 For thou wast once with plenteous green array'd,
 The fairest of the forest as the oldest;
 But, being born to flourish—and to *fade*,
 Dost typify the race whose memory thou unfoldest.

INQUIRY INTO THE RIGHT OR JUSTICE OF THE PUNISHMENT OF DEATH.

[Concluded from Vol. XVI., p. 429.]

THE author having thus established the principles, on which he not only denies the right of society to punish the culprit with death, but also proves that the end which society proposes to itself by this punishment, always fails, he shows, in the third part of his work, the means which he believes proper, to attain this three-fold end:— 1. The safety of society. 2. The punishment of crime. 3. The amendment of the criminal.

In arriving at this part of the subject and following our author, we shall see him conforming to the manners, and, above all, to the enlightened ideas of justice, which begin, in the present day, to govern both people and magistrates, because it is from them only, and their application, that any certain or beneficial consequences can result. True social justice, that which unites the just with the useful, is that repressive justice which is also a preventive justice, for its office is to prevent the return of crime from the liberty to which it was owing. This liberty, which produced the evil, has roused the attacks of society, which, however, do not prevent its reformation. It is necessary then, instead of dooming it for ever to perpetual slavery, to endeavour this reformation of it, and take from it the enticements to err, by enlightening it, and by opposing the fear of punishment as a counterpoise to the temptations of crime. The present penal system is doubly odious: in the first place, it supposes a criminal incorrigible, either for ever, or for a fixed period; in the next, because, in sending him back upon society at the expiration of his punishment, it seems as if he was supposed to be corrected at the fixed and precise period of his liberation.

The repressive system, which our author proposes to adopt, and which is purely a penitentiary one, admits a scale of punishments which are applicable, not only to the nature of the criminal act which it would repress, but also, to the moral state of the perpetrator. Together with this scale of punishments, there is also a remuneratory scale, which affords a hope to the criminal, in case of his repentance and reformation, of remission of punishment; a principle which has been adopted in the penitentiary code of Geneva, and which puts in action the two most powerful principles of conduct, fear and hope. We shall now abstract the principal features of the author's repressive system. He proposes five degrees of imprisonment, and subdivides each of them into five others. The minimum of imprisonment being a year, (for, in his system, lesser punishments resolve themselves into mere fines,) he who is condemned to one year's imprisonment, will have one degree to

pass through; he who is condemned to ten years, or to twenty years, will have to suffer long, and will pass successively from the degree of severer punishment, to one less severe, and softened according to his amendment. Thus the greatest criminal, at the moment of his re-entering society, after having successively descended every step of the scale, will only be in the situation of a culprit condemned to one year's imprisonment. A condemnation to the *maximum* of punishment, will impose an imprisonment of less than twenty-nine years on him, who, by a rapid moral improvement, remains but a short time on each step of the scale; whilst he who is condemned to ten or twenty degrees, may, without amendment, remain imprisoned twenty-nine years. The author combines the punishment of mere imprisonment, with that of solitary confinement. For political offences, moreover, or attacks upon the state, our author proposes three degrees of punishment: banishment from the city, banishment beyond the state, and transportation.

We think we have now given the reader an exact account of M. Lucas's work. It seemed to us the best means of making a treatise of the kind properly understood, to analyse it carefully. It behoves us now to make a few observations, not so much to combat the author, as to add our mite to the treasure he has amassed. In a matter so difficult, and at the same time so important, every friend of humanity ought to bring his offering.

We should have been glad to find, in a work executed with so much talent, some philosophical researches on the origin of the application of capital punishment in ancient times; on the greater or less extension which the principle has received under different forms of government; and among these which have afforded most latitude to its development. In fact, it would have been interesting to know, why the punishment of death has been sanctioned by all religions, (with the exception of two or three,) and why some of them have even formally established it.

What is then the connection which exists between the principles of a theocratic power and those of that sanguinary legislation, which has not found yet a better method of punishing crime than that of massacring the culprit. We cannot be astonished at seeing this system, opposed as it is to republicanism, more rare and milder in republics than in monarchies. We should be astonished rather, if, in our days, it much longer exist in other enlightened republics; like those of the United States and Geneva. It is worthy of remark, that those of the savage tribes, which live in republics, do not think themselves possessed of a right over the lives of their fellow-beings, when even taken in war, and when, consequently, belonging to a rival nation; whilst, on the contrary, this system is in force among tribes governed by a monarchy. We should be willing to prove, that, if the greater number of the principal ancient nations had begun with a

republican form of government, this legislation would never have been admitted among them. For who, under a system truly republican, would have dared to destroy a fellow-being, even if culpable? The ardent friends of absolute monarchy have, on the contrary, always regarded it as the palladium, the *sine qua non*, of the system. It is also under monarchical influence that it has been principally developed. Truly may it be said, that this development of it has been at the expense of the public morals, and that it has only taken place by the degradation of the people. It is, perhaps, more to punish the nations for being indifferent to the fatal consequences which lead after them, than to give a divine sanction to their usurped authority, that absolute kings have always refused to acknowledge the people as the source of their power. To what a state of degradation then must not these nations have fallen in the eyes of their kings, if, to make the power which they exercise despicable even in their own eyes, it was necessary to regard it as descending from God. It must be confessed in justice, that nations, by their apathy, have justified the impious extravagance of their pretensions. Has there not even been found a number of profound politicians, as Grotius, Hobbes, &c., who have gravely inquired, whether the human race belonged to a certain number of men, or if this certain number of men belonged to the human race, and have determined on the former opinion being correct. What has been the result? They began by despoiling individuals of their natural rights, which were forfeited to the profit of society; next they gave this society, with all its rights, to the control of one man! It was then it became necessary to make laws of blood, to preserve such an order of things; and that, under the pretext of protecting society, they should enslave it. At last it was established as a principle, that a criminal might not only hurt society, but might also outrage royal majesty! Admirable discovery! to sanction the exercise of these same laws, and to accustom the people to see absolute kings dispose, whenever they chose, of their subjects' lives. To complete the great work of slavery, and of brutalizing nations, they recognized in kings the right of pardoning. This was to consecrate the theory *du bon plaisir*. It is not the use of this pretended right we blame, but we would that it had been always exercised by God rather than by our monstrous system of legislation. It is the right placed where it is, that we revolt at.

We have read a variety of fine phrases on the exercise of this divine right, which connects, it is said, royalty with heaven; but these servile declamations have always excited our indignation. This right, the fruit of a profound political combination, has only been invented for the profit of royalty, and to give it an *éclat*; and the proof of this is, that, under the Roman republic, neither the senate nor the consuls ever attempted to give a pardon; the Roman people themselves even did not, although they sometimes revolted

their own judgments. In fact, why pardon sometimes? The law ought always to punish, or the king to pardon; for there is, in the one or the other case, a contradiction or an injustice. If we now descend from the consideration of this right in the prince, to that of it in the magistrates, who administer justice in his name; are they also to have the right of pardon? Are they to have the power over twenty men condemned to death; for example, to pardon four or six or eight of them, or not to pardon any of them? And yet such a system as this can find partisans and defenders! It seems to us, that, in the sixth chapter, in which the author makes a very ingenious comparison between society attacked, as a collective body, by a criminal, and the same society, attacked as a nation, by another nation; it seems, we say, that he might have pointed out the strange contradiction which the conduct of society presents in these circumstances. As a nation, it pardons prisoners of war; as a collective body, it takes away the life of a criminal. The first, however, seems to have acted in the same direction, nearly, as the last—the one against society in a mass, the other against one or many individuals of this society. Now, certainly, the first are the most culpable, for by their number they really endanger society; and yet the law of nations, as it is called, declares that such a society, when attacked, has not a right to kill the prisoners thus made. It reserves all its severity for the criminal which puts it in no danger. The savages seem to us more consistent. Human justice is without pity for the feeble only? Is this the case, because number carries with it a title to this right? But number does not constitute right, nor even augment it. Without doubt, in sparing the life of prisoners, something is yielded to the natural horror felt at the shedding of blood. But why not yield altogether? In true morality, the life of one man is as precious as that of ten thousand.

In the ninth chapter of the first part, the author examines the great question respecting attacks made upon the existence of government. After a luminous discussion, as indeed are all those of this work, the author establishes this principle, 'It is not a crime in itself, to change the political form of societies. These changes are not only a right of human nature, they even tend to its perfection. But these changes are to be produced by legitimate appeals; the appeals are the regular, free and enlightened efforts of all the subjects.' The author pursues a profound line of argument to prove the legitimacy of this principle, all his arguments appear to us incapable of refutation. It is well known that it is only governments without guarantee which run risks of this kind; it is not necessary to reflect long, to discover that the nature of absolute power is such that it will always justify, in the eyes of free and thinking men, every attempt that can be made to overthrow it. People subjected to absolute kings may, perhaps, regard such attempts with curiosity, but never with real interest. Perhaps even they will

admit with difficulty, the culpability of the aggressor ; at least w^e pity him should he fall : history proves this. It is not thus when a conspiracy is made against liberty, or against a free government. Every individual then resents the attack, because the rights of the government are his own. The traitors will find in every individual an obstacle and a combatant. Is this the case, or can it be so, in a monarchical government ? In the first, in case of an attack, you find men who combat for their rights ; in the second, only paid agents, who endeavour to preserve their places, their authority, or their revenues.

The eleventh chapter is admirable throughout. There is a strength of reasoning, a warmth of sentiment, an eloquence of expression, which do honour to the talents of M. Lucas. He there examines the the punishment of death in regard to religion. 'The justice of the scaffold stretches its bloody hands, and binds the victim's eyes as if it were the precursor of that supreme justice which takes vengeance, not deceives. It is then to the noise of the axe which falls, and to the blood which streams, that this justice is announced to the world ! Fatal justice ! which hinders remorse, if it be not awakened ; which stifles, if it be ready to spring up ; and of which the least crime is, that it destroys that second innocence which succeeds repentance.'

We shall add a few words to these admirable reflections. Justice kills the assassin to punish him in this world, and religion, if the criminal repents at the moment of death, makes him hope, we might even say promises him, pardon in another world, because of his punishment here. What is the result of this strange conduct ? It is that the criminal who dies on the scaffold believes, and, mark well, the people who behold his death, nearly always partake in the sentiment ; he believes, we say, that the sacrifice of his life, and some prayers uttered in haste, will avail to obtain the pardon of the Supreme Judge, and that, consequently, the scaffold is but a stepping-stone from earth to heaven. Where then is the use, either to the culprit or the spectator, of public punishment, or of this hypocritical and impious accommodation between the preparations of punishment and the succours of religion ? Does it not resemble, in this case, the superstitious and cruel Louis XI. and his good Vierge de Plomb ? But if the culprit braves death and that eternity with which they threaten him in vain, since he neither believes in it, nor repents, what must be the result of his hasty death, if society believes that man has an immortal soul ? Does it desire to make a twofold sacrifice of this miserable creature ? For by thus putting him to death, with all his crimes about him unrepented of, 'you kill,' says religion, 'his soul.' Society then in this case, acts like that Italian assassin, who, wishing to carry his vengeance beyond the present world, said to his victim, 'Curse God, or I will

kill thee;' and who, hearing the curse, stabbed him, exclaiming 'wretch, thou wilt be damned.'

The distinction which the author makes between the suppression of crime, and the moral amelioration of the culprit, is without doubt, correct. But the theory on which this distinction is founded, has the fault of being extremely difficult in its application. Where could agents be found, sufficiently disinterested, to fulfil with zeal and ardour, and above all, with constancy, the duties the author requires of them? Where are the Howards, the Frys, the Rochefoucaults, Liancourts, &c. who would take charge of the moral amelioration of culprits? Who, ever anxious to discover the slightest tendency to good in them, would devote their lives to those pious duties? And when we reflect, that in every prison there would be wanted such persons as these, to carry the system of our author into effect, have we not reason to fear, without any calumny on human nature, the improbability of finding in hired officers, those various virtues which are scarcely to be found together in those who voluntarily devote themselves, and their fortunes, to the consolation of human suffering?

If, in his first part, the author clearly established, that society has in no instance a right to kill the culprit, in the second he proves distinctly, that the ceremonial and form of punishment, that on which so much stress is laid, in regard to its moral effect on the multitude, have no useful influence in suppressing crime. The author has reviewed in this part of his treatise, with much talent, the works of Partoret, Beccaria, Bentham, Guigot, and Hill. There results from this review, a close and profound conviction, that the prodigal and daily waste of blood upon the scaffold, is without any use to the morals of the people. The proofs of this assertion, an assertion which their prejudice only would controvert, but which every truly philosophic mind will take hold of with avidity, seem to us beyond the possibility of confutation.

The task of criticism will be easy. We have only to object to the phraseology, which the author appears voluntarily to have adopted in the first part of his work. We do not think, as he seems to have imagined, that his style has gained in vigour and precision, what it has lost in clearness and simplicity. The reading of this part is indeed made fatiguing by it; as the author's affectation of brevity frequently leads to obscurity; and his endeavour after energy of expression, to confusion of ideas. We advise him carefully to revise his first part. We do not think that the two other parts, from being written with simplicity, have lost any of the effect they were intended to produce, and really do produce, on the mind of the reader.

To write a book like this, at twenty-four years of age, is to enter on the career of fame by the fairest gate—that of humanity. The

publication of M. Lucas seems also to us, not only a good work, but a good action.

The day is not far off, and M. Lucas has hastened its approach, when the nations, compelled at last by the voice of the true friends of humanity, who have said to them for the last fifty years, 'There is no necessity for the shedding of blood, it is always a crime to shed it,' will at length abolish those monstrous laws, which have at present no other strength, but that acquired by long usage. They only exist in our days, because they have existed before them; they are respected only because they exist; and the moment they are abolished, all the world will wonder at having so long and so stupidly submitted to their controul. Such is man, Before Galileo discovered the motion of the earth, before Harvey demonstrated the circulation of the blood, not even the possibility of these things was suspected. Before Columbus discovered the New World, the light of his genius was taken for the reverie of a heated imagination. The day preceding their immortal discoveries, these great men were regarded as madmen; the day after, they were venerated and adored as Gods.

A DESPOT'S MIDNIGHT.

I WILL sleep not again—Oh! such horrible slumbers
Are big with convulsion, and yield but affright!
The souls of the dead, in their shadowy numbers,
Surrounded my couch in the silence of night.
They came in their shrouds, as the cold earth had found them—
In my lone hour of terror, coil'd up in my guilt,
The iron shone darkly with which I had bound them,
And red glared the blood which my vengeance had spilt.

I will sleep not again!—let my sceptre of might
Be dash'd to the earth, and my glory be lost,
Ere visited thus, mid the darkness of night,
I should writhe 'neath the looks of that soul-scaring host.
They came, and my chamber was full of the dead,
The grave gave them up to beleaguer my pillow;
Mid the dim spectral gloom, did they sit round my head,
And my spirit was toss'd like the foam on the billow.

I will sleep not again!—A dark form stood beside
Pierce hate, and defiance were throned on his brow—
From his glance I'd have shrunk into chaos to hide me,
It's light was so fearful—it glares on me now:

Then a cold nameless terror came freezingly o'er me,
 I lay lone in my helplessness, tortured and torn,
 While the shadowy form in its wrath stood before me,
 And I panted aloud for the dawning of morn.

I will sleep not again!—Then a pale spirit passed me—
 Her blue eyes were darken'd with sorrow and weeping;
 Though did not the light of her fair visage blast me,
 'Mid the depths of whose gentleness anger was sleeping,
 Yet did pity with such melting tenderness move me,
 That my heart's stubborn cordage was broken and rent—
 O how did those looks of meek sadness reprove me,
 That pale mourning form, by my cruelty bent.

I will sleep not again!—A proud spirit came nigh—
 I had seen him in majesty walking the earth;
 His presence was kingly—the fire of his eye
 Shone too haughty and strong for his name and his birth.
 From the throne of my royalty down did I look—
 I survey'd him with hate, not unmingled with dread
 Let men tremble before me—I cared not to brook
 Such a bold fearless front;—so he slept with the dead.

I will sleep not again!—there he stood in his pride,
 A dull, fearful calm o'er his features was cast,
 A stillness more horrible, far to abide,
 Than if wrath had been gathering fiercely and fast;
 For I read in his aspect his measureless scorn.
 Then coldly he laugh'd—as the sound smote my ear,
 I shrunk in my littleness—When will the morn
 In her orient splendour and freshness appear?

I will sleep not again, till the midnight be past,
 For its maddening horrors again will come o'er me;
 But let sweet perfum'd light o'er my chamber be cast,
 And the young virgins dance in their beauty before me.
 And bring me the wine-cup—I long to drink deep—
 For merciless thirst in its strength hath assail'd me;
 Let soft music my senses in luxury steep;
 They'll revive me again, for they never have fail'd me.

Then I'll laugh at the shadows that haunted my sleep;
 Yet I'm weak—and if slumber again should o'ertake me,
 Then see round my couch that ye strict vigil keep—
 I say that in darkness ye must not forsake me.
 If ye mark that my rest is unhealthful and curst,
 Shake it off—'tis the blessedest boon ye can give;
 For know that they're with me, and doing their worst,
 And I may not again bear such torture and live.

SIR EDWARD EAST'S SUGGESTED REFORMS IN INDIA.

No. V.

Village Arbitrators, or other Civil Sub-Commissioner in each Village.

If the Village Court of Arbitrators be revived, the complainant should have the option of applying for redress to that Village Court wherein the defendant was resident, which should proceed thereupon; or, otherwise, to the Civil Sub-commissioner in each village, unless, upon sufficient cause, shown by petition to the Barrister-Judge and Magistrates' Court, without wilful delay; and before judgment, he should direct the removal of the cause before him. But no cause should be removed from the Village Court, or Civil Sub-commissioner, after judgment, without plain and manifest injustice shown in abuse of power and truth, and this without delay.*

Complaint before Barrister-Judge and Magistrate.

The Complainant should appear before the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, or give a satisfactory reason to him, by an agent, why he could not appear in person; which agent, if accepted by the Court, should have power to bind him in all respects; but the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate should at any time have power to stay or dismiss the complaint, if the Plaintiff himself, when required, does not attend to answer.

Examination.

The Plaintiff or his agent should deliver in a short statement, in writing, of the cause of complaint, and should also submit himself to the examination of the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, on terms or on oath, in open court, as to the true grounds of his complaint; in order that the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate may ascertain the accuracy of the written statement, and the probable grounds of it, taking a minute of the examination to be preserved.

Fees of Court.

When the nature and amount of the complaint shall have been thus understood and recognized, the complainant shall pay to the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate (say one) per cent upon such amount, before any further proceedings are had, if such present payment be not dispensed with by the Barrister-Judge and Magis-

* Might not the present Ameens and Moonsiffs be advantageously employed in this manner on references to facts?

† This might be computed, and accounted for at the time of entering the complaint.

trate, for special cause assigned by him in writing on the said petition, and declaratory of his future purpose, if any. When the dispute concerns land, a different rate is to be paid, according to the computation and practice of the Mofussil Courts on other similar occasions: so that the same does not exceed a certain sum, and another rate also must be settled where the complaint is founded in tort and damages, which, perhaps, may be left to the assessment of the Plaintiff himself in restraint of his own damage, and if they be substantiated, the defendant may be made to contribute something more, or a certain portion may be retained out of the Plaintiff's damages. The requiring something reasonable to be paid by the Complainant in the first instance, as of great use in repressing frivolous and vexatious complaints, without impeding the course of Justice.*

Revenue.

It will be for the Government to consider whether any and what revenue shall be collected from legal proceedings, and in what mode.

Clerk.

It might be useful to have a clerk to the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, well versed in the native tongue, who, for a small fee, (say one rupee) would draw out petitions, if the complainant did not procure his own, to be drawn up any other.†

Petitions to be entered in a book.

Upon the presentment of every petition, the cause should be entered in a book, to be kept in open court in the order of time in which it was presented, and refer to the like number, indorsed on the petition which is to be preserved; for this a small fee (say one rupee) should be paid to the person making the entry; every cause should be called on in the order in which it is set down unless, upon cause shown in open court, the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate thinks proper to postpone or accelerate the hearing of any particular petition.

Rejected Petitions, &c.

If the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, after reading the petition, and examining the complainant as to any points which might seem material to him, saw reasonable ground for granting a summons against the defendant, it would be granted accordingly, and if the matter of complaint were in any degree doubtful, he should

* See the regulations of the Court of Commissioners in Calcutta upon this point, and the practical utility of it in the annual returns of their proceedings.

† Upon consideration, this duty had better be done by a sworn interpreter, if any; or by the Registrar, according to the present constitution of the Zillah Court

be required and commanded so to do. If the complainant were rejected, he should *instantly* return half the deposit money to the complainant, to whom it should be competent to demand back his petition, or a copy of it, and to receive with it a copy of the notes of his examination, taken by the Barrister Judge and Magistrate, [for which one rupee should be paid by him to the copying clerk, unless the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate shall order more to be paid, on account of extraordinary length,] for the purpose of presenting the same to the superior or Circuit Court of the district, in order that such court may, if it think fit, direct the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate to receive and proceed upon such petition.

Summons Fee.

Upon the granting of any summons, a certain small fee, in proportion to the distance at which the summons is to be served, should be settled and endorsed upon the summons, by the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, not exceeding a certain rate per mile, for the benefit of the officer serving the same; and the summons, made returnable within a week or fortnight, or more, according to the distance and other circumstances of mutual accommodation, should be served by a peon of the Judge and Magistrate, if near, or if at a distance by a sub-commissioner of the village-district, as the Judge and Magistrate should order.

Process to compel Appearance.

If the defendant did not appear to the summons, nor authenticate before the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, any satisfactory reason why he did not, a *capias* should issue, as it might do in the first instance, on special cause shown to the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate and his order thereon; and if the party absconded, or resisted the process, so that he could not be taken at the return-day, an alias *capias* should issue, which should be proclaimed in the town or village at, or nearest to his usual or last known residence; and if he still absconded or resisted, his real and personal property should be seized and kept in pledge to answer the plaintiff's demand [all prior liens on it being preferred] which the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate should then proceed to examine *ex parte*: admitting the defendants, nevertheless, to come in, pending the enquiry, on giving bail or security; and if the demand were found to be just, he should award execution or damages, payable out of the security given, or property so seized, as far as it extended, to cover that debt or damages; restoring the overplus, if any, to the party or his representatives, when demanded in open court; and if it were not sufficient, then proceeding against the bail, if any, and keeping the judgment in force against the debtor's person on other property, till the whole demand should be satisfied.

Proceedings on Appearance.

If the defendant appeared, he should be examined on oath, by the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, as to the subject matter of the complaint; except so far that he should not be bound to criminate himself by his answer; and the full substance of his answers relative to the questions put, should be taken down by the Judge and Magistrate; as should also his refusal to answer any certain question, as it might tend to criminate himself, so that the Judge and Magistrate might exactly understand what were the points of difference between the litigant parties. Having ascertained those points to the best of his judgment, he should *instantly*, in the presence of the parties, write them down, and read them over to the parties, desiring to know from them whether he understood the points of difference correctly, as they severally meant to represent them, and whether there was any other matter of difference between them than those noted down; and should conclude his written statement of the issues accordingly, or correct it until it appeared to be complete.*

Question of Reference to Arbitration.

It should first be enquired of the parties, whether it was their mutual intent to refer such points of difference, (if of fact) to arbitration, or to the ordinary course of justice in court. If to arbitration, then whether they could agree upon some one arbitrator of their own choosing; for more than one should never be accepted, if possible to be avoided. If so, then the Judge and Magistrate should refer such points of difference so written down, and the arbitrator agreed on, who should make his award thereon in writing, within such time as should be originally allowed, or subsequently extended by the Judge and Magistrate, *toties quoties*, unless sufficient cause were shown against it by either of the parties: The award when made, should be referred to the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate; and unless sufficient ground were laid before him within one month, for impeaching its justice, on the ground of corruption, or wilful misconduct of the arbitrator, or plain and manifest mistake, apparent upon the face of the award itself, either in conclusion of law or fact, such award should be conclusive between the parties, and should be preserved in the registry of the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate's Court.

Failure of Reference.

* If the reference failed, from the defect of the award itself, or from the death of the arbitrator, or his neglect or refusal to pro-

* * Something like this took place in the early part of our legal history, vide the Year Books.

ceed before its conclusion, or, if, after another reference should be made by the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, on application of either party: and so, *toties quoties*, unless the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate should see cause to order otherwise.

Issue of Law.

If the difference between the parties were only on matter of law, or in part on matter of law, reserved at first, or appearing in conclusion, then the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate should himself decide the point, and award accordingly, or correct the award made by another, in respect of any erroneous legal conclusion appearing upon the face of it. And if his decision were objected to by the note in writing, delivered into Court within three days, the Judge and Magistrate should, at the expense of the party objecting, state such point and objection to the Judges of Circuit or superior Court, who should with due expedition return their answer; if of English law, upon their own judgment simply; if of Hindoo or Mus-sulman law, then upon their judgment formed after advising (if the point be not notoriously plain) with the Pundit or Mouleevce respectively of their Court; and upon such answer received, the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate should declare the same in open Court, on a given day, after prior notice in Court for that purpose, to enable the parties or their agents to attend.*

Reference to Village Court.

If the litigant parties should not agree upon an arbitrator of their own, the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate should refer the matters in issue [to the Village Court of Arbitration, if that be revived, or otherwise] to the Sub-Commissioner in the village district where the dispute had arisen; or if that were objected to, for special and just reason assigned, then to the adjoining Village (Court, or) Sub-Commissioner: or if any Village Arbitrator were objected to for a just cause assigned, and if both parties required that the trial should be had before the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate, or they cannot agree by whom else it shall be tried, just cause having been shown by one of them in open Court why it should not be tried by any Village Arbitrator or Court at or near the place where the dispute arises, then, upon the payment or approved security given by each party (if both agree) of (say three per cent) upon the amount of the property, debt, or damage in dispute, or upon the payment or approved security given of (say six per cent) upon the same by

* To preserve the uniformity of the law, and secure to the subject his right, liable to no man's caprice, questions of law should always be drawn to the decision of the Court. And where, to save expense, no regular appeal is allowed, this summary mode of obtaining experienced advice, will be found to answer the general object.

the Complainant, (the whole or any part of which may be afterwards adjudged to be repaid by the Defendant in the costs, should the Plaintiff succeed, and the Court so think fit,) which sum should be received by the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate as a fee of Court: the trial should be had before himself in the ordinary course; provided the value or damages in dispute should not exceed (say 8000 rupees.) The costs should be in his discretion.*

Jurisdiction of Superior Court.

But if the value or damages in dispute should exceed (say 8000 rupees) then, unless all the parties concerned should agree upon the nomination of an Arbitrator who should accept the reference, or unless the Complainant shall desire leave to withdraw his complaint, the Barrister-Judge and Magistrate should certify the petition with all his notes in writing relative to the same to the Superior Court, as the foundation of process to be afterwards issued on the complainant there of the party, according to the forms of proceeding in such Court; there to be dealt with according to law and right.

The best course of proceeding in the Superior Court has been humbly submitted to consideration, in the two former parts of these suggestions, particularly in the first.

SONNET.

Occasioned by viewing a group, of Venus lamenting over the body of Adonis, recently presented to the Liverpool Royal Institution.

SHE grieves—but not with violence of grief:
 Its wilder feelings have subsided now:
 The trembling lips, fix'd eye, and pallid brow,
 • The tranquil sorrow that rejects relief,
 In homage to a love so dear and brief;
 Are all the heart's deep misery will allow—
 And worthy of such tenderness as thou;
 O'er whom she mourns! A loftier port the chief,
 Who leads embattled warrior hosts, may bear;
 But manhood's earlier energy is thine,
 Its graceful form, and frost undim'd by care:
 And still those lips, as e'en in death, divine,
 Have charms a goddess might descend to share,
 And feel earth's bitter anguish to resign.

* The per centage on a trial before the Barrister-Judge himself ought to be more than before an ordinary Arbitrator; the more so, as it will be by the choice of the parties for superior talent, integrity, and dispatch.

THE LIBRARIES OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE French Asiatic Society has lately made several striking improvements in the *Journal* which has been published by them for the last five years. They have not only considerably enlarged this work, and enriched it with maps and lithographs, but although not announced by the prospectus, a new direction appears in some respects to have been given to it; such at least was the impression we received on reading the first number of the *NEW JOURNAL ASIATIQUE*. Although the articles are few in number, they are delightfully varied. The researches on erudition, languages, and geography, still occupy their accustomed places, but they do not monopolize the whole space. An original essay, as piquant in style as it is clever in substance, and which cannot fail to please those even who are not convinced by it, proves that the editors have felt the necessity of sometimes abandoning philology, in order to touch on the application of it, to make their science popular, and in fact to apply those elements and facts collected together, by a laborious erudition, to the advancement of philosophy. But we will return again to the article as well as to the whole number; we have only time at present to give our readers a sketch of the article '*Voyage*,' which is last, and of which this is the substance.

M. Schulz, Professor at the University of Giessen, and Member of the Asiatic Society, quitted Paris in the middle of the summer of 1826, for the purpose of making a Literary Tour through, more especially, the Persian Empire. 'The varied acquirements, and solid information, of this young scholar, and the zeal with which he is animated,' says M. Saint Martin, 'leads us to hope and expect that this journey will furnish an abundant harvest of new and valuable observations on the languages, literature, antiquities, geography, and history of the eastern nations.' M. Saint Martin here gives an extract from some of the letters addressed to him by M. Schulz, during his stay at Constantinople. It contains many curious and interesting particulars, some details of manners, and many facts of great interest to literature. M. Saint Martin had expressed to M. Schulz, a desire to possess an exact catalogue of all the manuscripts contained in the various libraries of Constantinople. The traveller made great exertions to execute this wish, but it was not without some difficulty that he succeeded. A short time only had elapsed since a firman had been issued, forbidding any of the libraries of Constantinople to sell either Arabic, Persian, or Turkish manuscripts, to any but Mussulmans. The dragoman or interpreter of the French embassy, having solicited for M. Schulz an entry into the mosques, to which, as it is well known, most of the libraries are attached, the *Keis-ehendi* gave a very decided refusal; saying at the same time,

that it was not the custom of the Porte to grant such a permission to any but ambassadors. The young traveller, however, having made an acquaintance with several *ulemas* and others, who overpowered him with kindness and attention, was at length enabled, through their recommendation and exertions, to examine, at his leisure, the richest and most splendid of these establishments. M. Schulz expresses the most lively gratitude for the politeness and attention which he invariably received in his visits to these libraries. If he had any thing to complain of, it was the excess of civilities, almost wearisome, with which he was constantly overwhelmed, whenever he was discovered, in spite of his Turkish costume, to be a Frank and a Christian. 'Nothing,' he observes, 'can be more absurd than to believe that the population of Constantinople, however intolerant and fanatic it may be represented to be, by the greatest number of European journals, can read and not feel indignant at the notorious want of veracity which seems to pervade every thing that is put forward by them, with regard to this capital, and on every thing that has occurred in it for some years past.'

He appears to find some difficulty in stating the precise number of libraries in the vast circumference of Constantinople; many of them are almost unknown; which are, nevertheless, as rich in good works as the most celebrated. He mentions thirty of the most considerable, which he had visited at the time of his writing. It would have required several months, merely to copy the catalogue of the numerous manuscripts which they contain; he has therefore directed his attention almost solely to the historians. He will, no doubt, amongst these, meet with very many valuable works, the very names of which are totally unknown in Europe, or which are generally believed to be lost. In confining himself, thus, to one particular object, he has been enabled to make an extensive catalogue, in the Turkish language, of all the historical and geographical works to be met with in sixteen of the principal libraries of Constantinople; and this catalogue is now in the hands of M. Saint Martin.

M. Schulz has also made several extracts, from four different historians; neither of whom, as he believes, are yet known in Europe. These authors are *Ibn Alathim*, *Ibn Alasakir*, *Ibn Aladim*, and *Ibn Nial-toun*. The first is, according to M. Schulz, an excellent Arabian historian, and is held in great estimation throughout the East. As to the works of *Ibn Alasakir* and *Ibn Aladim*, on Damascus and Aleppo, 'they are,' he says, 'productions in every respect colossal. It is difficult to conceive how one man could ever even copy, not to say compose, a work of such gigantic magnitude as that of *Ibn Alasakir*; which makes eleven volumes in folio, or which, according to calculation by no means exaggerated, is composed of from twenty to twenty two thousand pages in folio, of the smallest possible writing, that is to say, of a million of lines, and from fifty to sixty millions of letters! According to this account, *Ibn Alasakir* may,

from the present moment, he regarded as one of the most voluminous writers of any age or country; for, according to our calculation, he has written, on the history of two cities, exactly a hundred of our octavo volumes; and these sixty millions of letters seem to be the *ne plus ultra* of what can possibly be written by one man during the longest life. But the manuscript, which has most particularly occupied M. Schulz's attention, during his stay at Constantinople, is the great work of Ibn Khaldoun, which M. Von Hammer had declared not to exist in any of the libraries of that city. M. Schulz has, however, most fortunately found it in seven volumes folio. He has copied and translated several chapters from it, on the history of the Berbers. And, lastly, M. Schulz has sent M. Saint Martin several very useful Armenian works, and to M. Lajard some engraved Persepolitan stones; one of which, of the most exquisite workmanship, presents the remarkable combination of Greek characters, of a very ancient form, and much anterior to the age of Alexander, with the figure of a winged lion, similar to that which is found on the great bas-reliefs of Persepolis.

REGRET.

Translation from the 'Œuvres Poétiques de Mad. Dufrénoy.'

REASON and time have tranquillized my woes;
No fraudulent sentiment's unsettled gloom
'Takes from my nights the sweetness of repose;
And grateful studies now my days consume.

My eyes, that were so long surcharged with tears,
Can look up calmly on the clear blue sky:
The silent, sombre grove has lost its fears—
And I can gaze on flowers without a sigh,
That bend above their foliage pensively.

And, now, to every wish my friends disclose—
Their every tender wish—my bosom yields:
And, now, my life flows on—as tranquil flows,
As flows the peaceful brook thro' verdant fields.

Yet sometimes, when a bright day sinks in shade,
A softened sadness steals upon me yet:
Him I regret not whom my love betray'd,—
But ah! love's brilliant day I still regret!

Derby, Feb. 29, 1828.

* N. *

JOURNAL OF THE ENGLISH EXPEDITION FROM INDIA TO EGYPT.

CHAPTER VI.

Description of Point de Galle—Insalubrity of the Air—Peculiarity in the Canoes of this part of the Island—Productions of the Coast and of Ceylon generally.

THE town of Point de Galle is large and well situated; the fort, of which the extent is very considerable, is inhabited principally by English, Dutch, and Portuguese; there are also, however, a great number of Malays and Mahomedans. The harbour is good, but is only capable of receiving a very limited number of vessels; the entry to it is difficult, which renders the assistance of an experienced pilot necessary, in order to avoid the sands and shoals, with which it is so thickly interspersed.

Large vessels are compelled to remain in the bay, which is perfectly secure during the fine season, that is to say, from the month of October to March, although it is dangerous throughout the remainder of the year. It is, nevertheless, an excellent landing place. Vessels coming from Europe almost always touch at this part of the coast, which is one of the most southern points of the island. France also, during the last war, constantly kept cruisers here, which made many considerable captures. The site of Point de Galle is extremely flat towards the sea, but it is sheltered by mountains, which rise majestically behind it in the form of an amphitheatre, and the summits of which are covered with various kinds of foliage, but particularly cocoa trees. Their sides also are covered along to the water's edge with plantations, and really present a magnificent prospect; but this is one of the principal causes of the great insalubrity of the air. The highest of these mountains is that which bears the name of the *Corn Mill*.

On this picturesque coast of the island of Ceylon, as well as throughout almost the whole peninsula of India, the verdure is perpetual, and the varied tints of the foliage are more exquisitely beautiful, than it is possible to imagine. Trees stripped of their leaves are never to be met with; in the immense forests with which this country abounds, the rays of the sun have no power to penetrate through the thick shade of trees of every species and height, which prevent even the circulation of the air; hence this dense atmosphere is impregnated with miasma, which is so pernicious, especially to Europeans, and which produces the dangerous fever to which I have before alluded, and which is called in the country the *jungle fever*. The troops which are engaged in

these unhealthy countries, are often attacked by this cruel disorder. In 1803 it made such dreadful ravages in the island, that whole companies were destroyed by it ; and few men escaped it entirely. The sixty-fifth regiment lost its whole company of grenadiers, with the exception of a single officer. This company had served in the campaign against the King of Kandy. The troops had scarcely returned to their cantonments, when upwards of two thousand sepoys fell a sacrifice to it ; and the number of victims was still more considerable, amongst those who followed in the train of the army : the Kandyan territory was in fact strewn with dead bodies. The only method of avoiding this malady is to keep the troops in constant motion. Those who remain for any length of time in a state of inaction, eventually fall victims to it. I witnessed many proofs of this during an incursion which we made in 1805 into the interior, under the command of General Weyms. The detachment under his immediate orders was exercised every day, and not a single man was lost. But another detachment, which had been left on the frontiers to ensure our communication, and favour our retreat, not having taken the same precaution in maintaining constant activity, perished entirely a few days after its entry into Colombo. The soldiers, who had embarked in gun boats, suffered also considerably. The inhabitants themselves often feel the ill effects of this insalubrity of the air, and are subject to periodical fevers. The culture of rice, which is very general in the island, may also contribute in some degree to these maladies. The rice fields, being in fact almost entirely under the water and in marshy ground, fill the air with pestilential miasma.

The situation of Point de Galle is extremely favourable to commerce. Estates of every description, especially fruits, are very abundant, which affords, to such vessels as pass these latitudes, every convenience for renewing their stock of provisions. The climate is agreeable and temperate, notwithstanding its vicinity to the Line. It is to its geographical situation that this port is indebted for this advantage ; placed at the southern extremity of India, it participates in both the monsoons, and is continually refreshed by sea breezes.

The skill with which the natives of this place construct their canoes, which are peculiarly light and elegant, and the dexterity with which they manage them, are really worthy of notice. Each of these canoes consists of the single trunk of a tree, which is hollowed by the aid of fire, then rounded and finished with great care ; and of which the length is generally about twenty feet, and sometimes even more. Two bamboos serve as masts, to which are attached a sail of an immense size, when compared with the smallness of the boat. The extent of surface which it offers to the wind is so great, that, the canoe being perfectly straight and without any keel, would undoubtedly upset in the slightest storm, if care were

not taken to establish its equilibrium, by means of a large piece of wood, supported laterally in the canoe by long poles.

Thus secured against the danger of upsetting whilst under sail, these little barks, which draw about two feet of water, cut through the waves with astonishing rapidity. They never carry more than two men, who use them for fishing, and are not afraid, even in this frail machine, to venture into the open sea.

The coast, near Point-de-Galle, is one continued forest of cocoa-trees, which are very abundant here, as well as throughout the whole island. A great quantity of cordage is manufactured from the fibre which covers the nut, both in the town and surrounding neighbourhood. It is taken off with great care when the fruit becomes ripe, but before it begins to dry; it is then thrown into water, in which it is suffered to remain until the filaments have become susceptible of being detached from one another without difficulty, it is then beaten, and wrought into rope. This rope makes excellent cables, and is generally preferred to that made of hemp, on account of its great elasticity. It is very dear, and forms no inconsiderable branch of commerce, in 1813, four hundred thousand francs' worth was exported. When not in use, these ropes require to be well powdered with salt, to preserve them; and great care is necessary, to prevent their exposure to fresh water, which rots them.

The cocoa nut is one of the most profitable articles of commerce belonging to the island. Nearly three millions are exported annually, which are sold for as much as four pounds sterling a hundred. Large merchant vessels generally take in a considerable quantity, to fill up the empty spaces between decks, and amongst their cargoes. But their principal utility consists in the oil which is extracted from them. The pulpy portion of the nut, dried in the sun, and cut into pieces for the purpose of extracting the oleaginous juice, bears the name of *coperasse*. The exportation of this article alone, is valued at nearly twenty eight thousand rix-dollars, or about sixty thousand francs. That of *jaggery*, or the sugar extracted from the cocoa tree, is also very considerable; in 1813, it amounted to forty thousand rix-dollars.

A spirituous liquor, called arrack, which is also obtained from the cocoa-tree, is prepared in the following manner: the tree is cut, and immediately under the incision, is placed an earthen pot, which is withdrawn every morning and evening. Each time, about four bottles of water are collected. An other incision is then made, about an inch lower than the preceding one, and the earthen pot replaced as before; the water which then oozes from it is added to that previously extracted, and greatly increases its strength; in this state, it is called *toddy*, or wine of the palm tree.

This wine is put into tubs, where it is suffered to ferment; it is then distilled, and the arrack extracted from it. The hoghead, which contains from about three hundred and fifty, to four hundred

bottles, sells at Point-de-Galle, for about two hundred francs of our money. A considerable quantity is also exported.

Of all the trees which are foreign to our climates,* that which most excites the astonishment and admiration of a European on his arrival in India, is the cocoa-tree, on account of the multiplicity of purposes to which every portion of it is applied. The fruit of its nut, and the oil which it affords; the milky liquid which it contains, and which forms such a refreshing and agreeable beverage; the fibres of its shell, from which rope and even cloth are manufactured; its wood, which is used for building and for fuel; its leaves, which serve for the covering of roofs, and for making mats; the spirituous liquor which is extracted from its flower; and even the heart of the tree, which is very delicious to the palate; every portion of the cocoa-tree is useful for some purpose, and is therefore of course extremely valuable. Besides this, the inhabitants ornament their houses with its leaves, and, on particular occasions, display great taste in decorating triumphal arches with them. They have, also, a peculiar manner of making garlands of them, with which they line the road, when any great personage is expected to pass. They also plant stakes, at certain distances from each other, on both sides of the way, and attach cords to them, from which these decorations are suspended. The Kandyens are particularly skilful in this kind of ornament, which they vary *ad infinitum*.

There exists, at Ceylon, a species of palm-tree, which very much resembles the cocoa-tree, but that its fruit hangs in clusters of from three to four feet long; its pulp, when dried and granulated, becomes a kind of sago. This tree is called, by the inhabitants, *kettule*; its botanical name is *caryota urens*. A liquor, which is called by them *tellegie*, is extracted from it; it is then boiled,* by which process, a species of brown sugar, of a very good flavour, is obtained from it. This sugar is refined for the chiefs, who use a considerable quantity of it, and hold it in high esteem.

The bread-tree, which the English took so much pains to bring from Otaheite, is here very common. This tree produces a fruit about the size of a small melon; the flavour very much resembles that of the artichoke, but it is more mealy. It was mentioned by Knox, in 1681, more than sixty years before Bougainville and Cook made their observations on its importance.

The Dutch took every care to conceal the numerous riches of Ceylon; and the English were, no doubt, ignorant that this tree, which they were so desirous of naturalizing in their Colonies, was so abundant in a neighbouring island, from which they would have found no difficulty in bringing away any quantity.

* Another tree of the same family, which is called by the natives, *Jack*, produces a very large and excellent fruit; the kernel of this fruit, when roasted, is very similar in taste to the chesnut. The

Cingalese are extremely fond of it. The *Jack* is a beautiful tree, and its wood, of which many articles of furniture are made, is susceptible of receiving a very high polish; in many particulars it bears a great resemblance to mahogany.

It is also on this coast that the most celebrated shrub of Ceylon grows, the cinnamon plant. The plantations of it extend from Matura, ten leagues to the east of Point-de-Galle to Negombo, which is situated ten leagues to the north of Colombo; it is only in this part of the Island, and in the territory of the King of Kandy, that they exist.

This article forms the principal revenue of the country, which reserves to itself a monopoly of it. The crown sells annually, to the India Company, about sixty thousand pounds' worth of cinnamon, and from forty to fifty thousand pounds' worth to foreigners, by whom it is exported to America and China.

The cinnamon plant flourishes in a sandy soil, of dazzling whiteness. The whiter the sand, the more perfect is the shrub. It is cultivated by a particular and very numerous caste of Cingalese, the *chalias*, who enjoy great privileges, and are directed in their labours by particular Chiefs.

The cinnamon plant, which is called by the natives *gorouclou*, is a species of laurel, (*laurus cinnamomum*.) The shoots of two years' growth are cut, when the sap is strong, in the months of April and August. The bark is then easily taken off, the interior of which is carefully cleaned, placed in the sun to dry, and formed into sticks, of the length of about three feet. They are then made up into bundles, of a uniform size, weighing generally about eighty-six pounds, and are deposited in magazines belonging to the Government, at Colombo and at Point-de-Galle. The *chalias* are bound to furnish a certain quantity every year to the Government, which pays them a fixed sum. In order to effect this, they are authorised to cut it wherever they may meet with it, even in the gardens of private individuals, who are forbidden to cultivate it. The cinnamon, thus conveyed to the magazines of the Government, is delivered to the East India Company's agent, who has it packed and put on board vessels expressly destined for its conveyance.

At Point-de-Galle, and at Colombo, they profit by the same opportunity, to embark a great quantity of pepper, which is thrown on the bales of cinnamon, and is said to improve and preserve it. The Company, in consequence, have the greatest portion of the pepper, which they obtain from their possessions on the Malabar coast, first conveyed to Ceylon. Not that Ceylon does not produce a sufficient quantity, but that the Company, no doubt, finds it more advantageous to make use of the articles afforded by its own colonies, than to purchase those of a colony which does not belong to it.

Out of twelve different kinds of cinnamon plants, which grow in Ceylon, there are only five which possess an aromatic bark.

Amongst the others there is one in particular, from which the odoriferous gum, which is known in Europe by the name of camphor, is distilled.

The pepper-tree is a creeping plant, which the inhabitants of Ceylon place at the foot of a peculiar kind of palm-tree, of which it very soon attains the summit. The fruit is disposed in clusters. There is none but black, although in Europe we are accustomed to hear white pepper spoken of. This is, in fact, only distinguished from the other, by the different mode of preparation. The seed is permitted to remain for a certain time in water, after which it is easily separated from the black husk in which it is enveloped. These details are so little known, even to those under whose direction the commercial affairs of the Company are placed, that I was assured by one of its own officers, that the Court of Directors had once offered a premium for the cultivation of white pepper. This, as may be imagined, did not a little amuse those who were acquainted with this spice, and its cultivation.

The betel is also another creeping plant, like the pepper-tree, and is always placed, by the Cingalese, at the foot of a palm or some other large tree. The natives chew the leaves of this plant, mixed with the nut of the areca, (a species of palm-tree,) pounded with lime. All the Indians make use of this mixture to a great extent, which has the disagreeable effect of dyeing their mouths and lips a deep red, and turning their teeth perfectly black.

The coffee-tree flourishes in great abundance at Ceylon; the quality of the bean is excellent, and a large quantity is annually exported.

The Government rents out its mines of precious stones to different speculators, but reserves to itself a monopoly of salt, which brings in a vast revenue. The salt-pits are worked at very little expense, and the produce is sold at a very high price. All is profit in this branch of the public revenue.

The Pearl Fishery, which presents too many interesting particulars to be passed over in silence, brings annually considerable sums into its coffers.

CHAPTER. VII.

Description of the Pearl Fishery—Appearance of the Coast during the season of the Fishery—The Expedition receives reinforcements from Bombay—Order for its departure to the Coast of Malabar.

It is on the western coast of the Island of Ceylon that the banks of pearl oysters are found. A proclamation is issued every year by the Government, for regulating the conditions of the fishery. This proclamation specifies the day on which the sale is to be made, and also determines what banks are to be explored; whether at Arippo, Chilou, or Condatchy. It also limits the number

of boats which may be employed during the season of the fishery, which generally lasts two months. On the day stated, the Government receives the different offers, and adjudges it to the highest bidder, who, from that moment, becomes an important personage. Those who have been outbidden then apply to him, in order to purchase the right of fishing with a certain number of the boats which are allowed him. The owner of the fishery generally makes considerable concessions, but he is not the less responsible to the Government for the price of his lease.

Some days before the commencement of the fishery, those interested in it repair to the appointed spot, and there, on an uncultivated plain, where, the preceding day, a single house only, destined to the proprietor of the fishery, was to be seen, an innumerable collection of huts are immediately raised. Some stakes driven into the ground, interlaced with large bamboos, and covered over with the leaves of the cocoa tree, are the only materials of which these huts are composed; and yet these ephemerical habitations often afford shelter to more than a hundred and fifty thousand people. Speculators arrive in crowds, from all parts of India, and, in the midst of the infinite variety of costumes and languages which is presented by this scene, the eye and ear are equally delighted and astonished.

This immense market is extended over the plain for more than a league and a half, and presents an appearance of perpetual movement. In the centre of this vast bazaar, a space is reserved for the proprietor of the fishery, in which he establishes, what is here called *coutils*; that is to say, divisions or folds, enclosed with stakes, in which the oysters are deposited, and exposed to the powerful rays of the sun. They dry and putrefy in a very short space of time, in which state the pearls are extracted from them with great ease. These enclosures are interspersed with gutters, which serve to draw off the water, and the ends of which are furnished with a very fine wire-work, which retains such pearls as may have escaped from the shells. The most considerable of these enclosures, as well as the gutters which intersect them, are paved with brick, cemented with lime, at the expence of the Government.

The enormous mass of oysters with which they are filled, and which are decomposed by putrefaction, exhales, to a considerable distance, a most offensive odour, by which, however, the people do not appear to be in the least incommoded; and, indeed, by a strange exception to the general rule, this exhalation is not so injurious as might be feared: for, during two succeeding years in which I was present at the fishery, not a single soldier of our regiment was indisposed. Europeans and sepoys, all equally enjoyed perfect health.

When in a sufficiently advanced state of decomposition, the oysters are put into troughs made of the hollowed trunks of trees;

and sea water thrown over them, with which they proceed to clean them. The men employed in this operation are all placed on one side of the trough, and the superintenders at the centre and extremities of the other. The object of this disposition is to place the latter in such a situation as to enable them to see that none but useless shells are thrown aside. These shells are, however, always examined a second time, and are frequently found to contain *coque de perle*, which is also valuable to a certain extent. The workmen dare not lift their hands to their mouths, under penalty of receiving an immediate blow from the switches with which the inspectors are armed for this purpose. It sometimes happens, however, in spite of this, that the workmen make an effort to swallow pearls of great value; but if they should unfortunately be discovered in the attempt, they are immediately bound to a post, and a violent purgative administered to them by force, which soon compels them to restore the stolen article. As soon as all the shells are removed, the trough is carefully emptied, and the pearls by that means scattered on the sand; they are then washed several times in water, and the finest and most valuable set apart. The remainder are spread out on white cloths and dried in the sun. The very small pearls are then separated from the others, and this portion of the labour is generally performed by women.

They next proceed to sort and classify the whole produce of the fishery; this operation is performed by means of sieves of different sizes, placed one within the other, the meshes of which gradually diminish in size. The pearls which remain in the first net work, are the most valuable, and so on with the others. Those shells which contain no *coque de perle*, are of no use, except for making lime. The mother of pearl is very beautiful, but scarcely fetches any price, on account of its extreme thinness.

The oyster banks being situated at the distance of fifteen miles from the shore, the signal for departure is given every evening at midnight; the boats, when favoured by the wind, are carried on with astonishing rapidity, and arrive at their destination by day-break. The fishery then commences, for which the signal is given by the firing of a cannon from the shore. The banks to be explored are marked by buoys, and the government vessels placed there on guard, will permit no boats to fish out of the precincts of these limits.

Every boat carries twenty men; with the exception of the cockswain and pilot, ten amongst this number are always divers, of whom five are constantly in the water at the same time. In order to descend with greater rapidity, the divers place their feet in a kind of stone stirrup, attached to the end of a cord fastened to the boat; they are besides furnished with another cord, to which a net is affixed.

At the depth of about ten or twelve feet from the surface, they

encounter the soil, which having reached, they hasten to fill their nets with every thing which presents itself; they then loosen their stirrups, and rebound to their boats. This tedious and dangerous operation is continued in this manner, one set of men being alternately relieved by another, from six in the morning until ten at night, when the sea-wind is still fresh. One of the guard vessels then gives the signal for returning to the shore, the boats immediately assemble, and the little fleet, favoured by the sea breeze, reaches the coast about four or five in the morning. Each boat is directed towards its respective *coutto*, and there disembarks the produce of the fishery. It is then divided, the proprietor taking his portion, and all those who have been employed in the fishery a certain share*. This finished, and the oysters placed in the enclosures, the market commences; people buy, sell, and speculate on the receipts of the sailors, which must frequently be very considerable; as it is by no means rare to see these men retire with from forty to fifty pagodas, or about three or four hundred francs.

The oysters, thus purchased on the spot, are commonly valued at from two to four pence of our money. I myself purchased one at this price, the price of which I afterwards sold for a hundred and twenty francs; it is true that all are not equally valuable, but almost all afford a considerable profit. This vast accumulation of riches on one spot, and in the midst of such a concourse of men, naturally attracts a very considerable number of sharpers; and although a guard is stationed at each *coutto*, they do not entirely succeed in repressing them.

There are here a great number of Indians, whose only trade is that of piercing pearls, which they perform with great dexterity, and at a very trifling cost. Their instruments are extremely simple; they consist of a little wooden stool, filled with holes of different dimensions, on which they place the pearls according to their various sizes, and a kind of bow with which they move a small stick, with a very fine needle attached to its extreme end, and with which the pearl is pierced instantaneously. The roundest pearls are called *amis*. I have seen them of various colours; some of a dazzling and transparent white, others blueish, some of a magnificent rose colour, and others again the colour of gold and silver. The rose colour pearls are held in the highest estimation at Ceylon. In Europe the preference is principally given to the whitest pearls; but in the East, those of a yellowish tinge are considered the most valuable.

The pearl is a disease of the oyster, which takes seven years to develop itself completely. If the shell is not taken at that period,

* The boatmen, as well as the divers, receive their pay in pearl oysters, which they sell in the bazaar.

either the animal dies, or the pearl is lost. It frequently happens, when the season is stormy, that the oysters suffer greatly, and their produce is considerably less. The pearl oyster is about the size of our common oyster, but is of an oval form, and flat on one side. The testaceous fish which it contains, has a beard resembling that of the muscle. The divers bring up, in the same nets with these oysters, a great variety of other shells, some of which are extremely beautiful. Amongst others, that called in the country, *chank*, which the Hindoos make use of in their funeral ceremonies, and which is consequently exported, in large quantities, to Bengal, to the profit of the Government. The religious belief of the brahmins induces them to throw, with each corpse which is consigned to the waters of the Ganges, a quantity of these shells, which is more or less considerable, according to the rank and wealth of the deceased. These same shells are also highly esteemed among the sepoy, who make necklaces of them.

Another source of profit to the Government, is the produce of the rental of the Shark Fishery. This fish is very plentiful on the coast of Ceylon. The fins and tails of the shark are dried and salted and then transported to China: the Japanese, especially, consider them great delicacies.

Before Kandy was subjected to the power of the English, the King of that country, from motives of religion, made it one of the conditions in the lease of the Pearl Fishery, that the right of sharing in it should be granted to two boats belonging to the Pagoda of Ramesowram. This privilege has been continued since the conquest, and five boats are, beside this, allotted to the other Pagodas of the island, the produce of which is divided amongst them, according to particular regulations.

The Pearl Fishery always takes place in the month of April, because the sea is then calmer than at any other season. It forms a most important branch of the revenue of the Government. I have known it to bring more than a hundred thousand pounds sterling, or two millions and a half of francs; and there have been years in which it has not been rented for less than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

Up to this moment every thing relating to our destination had been conjecture and uncertainty. Batavia had constantly been talked of, but an order to go to Cochin arrived, which completely set aside this supposition, and led us in a completely opposite direction. New reinforcements, however, joined us from Bombay; amongst which were the eighty-eighth of the line, and a part of the eighty-sixth, with several gun-boats. There being no longer any cause for our detention at Ceylon, our fleet set sail for the coast of Malabar.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Fleet passes the Coast of Malabar—Orders received from the Interior of Cochin—Arrival at Bombay.

We had a favourable wind, as far as Cape Comorin, which forms the southern point of India; the mountains of the Ghauts, and the chain which divides the Peninsula, terminates here. From the moment of our quitting this point, we had, unfortunately, nothing but contrary winds. The *Suffolk*, which wanted some repairs, left us, after having given the order for our proceeding to Cochin, where we found another, with directions for us to set sail immediately for Bombay. We continued our course along the coast, being always careful not to lose sight of it, in order that we might profit as much as possible by the land breeze, which sometimes came to our assistance. To avoid being driven back, we cast anchor, whenever the wind went down, or the current was against us. The land and sea breezes reign alternately in these latitudes, in a singular manner: they are, however, extremely useful to navigators. Dampier says, with regard to them.

‘The sea-breeze rises in the morning, about nine o’clock; sometimes rather earlier, and sometimes later. It approaches the coast so gently, that one might almost say, it feared to do so. It is merely a light breeze, which has the appearance of stopping to take breath, and at times even seems on the point of retiring altogether. I have often waited for this gentle zephyr with the greatest impatience, as on shore, for the enjoyment of its delicious freshness, so at sea, for its utility.

‘When it first rises, the sea, which is perfectly calm, and without even the slightest ripple, appears to blacken towards the horizon. This change of colour gradually extends itself, until it reaches the shore. A half an hour after its arrival at the coast, the wind begins to blow more briskly, and continues to augment in force until noon. At this time it has attained its greatest strength, which remains undiminished until three. It then gradually declines until about five; at which time, either a little earlier or later, according to the season, it becomes entirely hushed until the return of morning.

‘The land breezes are also extremely remarkable, and quite contrary, in their nature, to the sea-winds; for they come in a direct line from the interior of the shore, during the night, and blow, consequently, in a diametrically opposite direction, succeeding each other also alternately, by the admirable dispensation of Providence.

‘The land breezes begin to rise about nine in the evening, and continue to increase in force until midnight; they generally last

* ‘Treatise on Winds and Tides,’ vol. ii. p. 27. (London edit. 1699.)

until nine or ten in the morning. It is not possible, however, to determine the precise time at which they cease, as it varies greatly, according to the season. On certain coasts they rise earlier, and blow with greater violence; this depends on the localities. Their influence also extends to a greater or less distance, according to the height of the shore; but it is ordinarily felt at three or four leagues at sea.

The sea breezes are always most gratefully welcomed on the coast, to which they bring an exquisite freshness. The land winds, on the contrary, are generally extremely hot, more especially on the coast of Coromandel than on that of Malabar. Whilst at Ceylon, from the effect, no doubt, of the high mountains by which the island is surrounded, these winds are very fresh and agreeable.

We passed in sight of Cananore, Tellichery, Mangalore, Goa, and entered the harbour of Bombay on the 31st of March, without having met with any thing worth notice during this tedious passage.

On our approach to the port, we were hailed by a ship of war, which announced, that General Baird, who was charged with the command of our expedition, was on board. This General had arrived from Calcutta, and was to fill the post which had originally been assigned to Colonel Wellesley, who did not appear very well satisfied with this displacement, not doubting that it might lay the foundation for great military fame. It was then, however, that, having been sent into the interior, he took a prominent part in the Battle of Assaye, in which he gained considerable élat, having succeeded in saving the reserve of the army which gave way before the Mahrattas. The latter, who had been disciplined according to the European mode, by the Generals Deboyne and Perron, were, in fact, on the point of triumphing over the English troops, when they were charged in flank, by a division under the command of Colonel Wellesley, and obliged to seek safety in flight, at the very moment in which they anticipated only victory. The carnage was frightful, and the loss great on both sides, but the English remained masters of the field; their reputation was saved, and India still continued to believe them invincible. Time will show whether they will be enabled to perpetuate their empire there for ever, or whether they will one day be compelled to abandon it in favour of a new conqueror. The Indians have a proverb which signifies, that to have conquered their country is not to have conquered their manners and customs.

CHAPTER IX.

The Expedition at length ascertains its destination.—Preparations for its departure.—Arrival at Bombay.—The Fleet sails for the Red Sea.

WE were at length made acquainted with our destination. We were to cross the Red Sea, for the purpose of carrying on the war

in Egypt. Admiral Blauvelt had preceded us, with a part of the eighty-sixth regiment, four battalions of sepoys, and a detachment of artillery and engineers. We learned also, that we were to be joined in this war, by an expedition which was to leave England under the command of General Abercromby.

We had been at sea so long, that our provisions had become nearly exhausted, water especially we were greatly in want of; we were consequently obliged to remain for a short time at Bombay, the capital of the presidency of that name.

This town is situated in an island, which is only separated from the continent by a small arm of the sea. Opposite to it is Coulaba, called also *Old Woman's Island*, which is defended by a fort, and has a light-house, for the guidance of vessels entering the port. Bombay is large, and protected by magnificent fortifications. There are several basins or docks, here, in which a great many vessels have been built for the English Navy. They use a great deal of the wood called teak, in the building of ships; it is extremely hard, and very much resembling oak, but is much heavier, and more durable.

It was here that I saw, for the first time, tanks used, instead of casks, for holding water on board. All the vessels built here are furnished with them; the form of these tanks renders the stowage a great deal more easy; they occupy less space, contain a much larger quantity of water, and appear, in fact, under every consideration, to be better adapted to the purpose.

All the workmen employed by the inhabitants of Bombay are Parsees, (originally Persians,) who, during the wars and conquests of the Mohammedans, under *Thamàs Kouli Khan*, were forced to quit their country. They are handsome, well-made, industrious, and rich. The commerce of Bombay is almost exclusively in their hands, and the finest vessels that are seen in this port belong to them.

The harbour is spacious and secure. The ships of war and merchant vessels are well built, and on a large scale. The *lascars* or sailors, by whom they are manned, are considered the best seamen in India. They frequent the Chinese and European seas, as well as the Persian Gulf.

Cotton is one of the principal branches of the commerce of Bombay. The fort contains an immense quantity, disposed in bales; which, in order to economise space, they compress by means of a very ingenious process. But the want of air greatly detracts from the natural elasticity of the cotton. It is thus that an advantage is often purchased at more than an equivalent loss.

Bombay has a naval establishment, maintained by the East India Company, which consists of twenty ships, and from ten to twenty cannon, destined solely to give chase to the numerous pirates which

infest these coasts. The means, however, which are thus taken for their repression, have not prevented these pirates, although much less formidable than formerly, from still holding possession of two little islands at the entrance of the port, those of Hunnary and Kunnary, and which serve them as places of refuge.

It is hardly possible to conceive why the Company tolerates this abuse. The only fact which can at all explain this conduct is, that, if these islands were taken, the naval establishment would then become useless. Be that as it may, a few freebooters insult the Masters of India, and two miserable little islands defy their power, and annoy their commerce.

The Governor of Bombay is at the head of the Council. The King's troops, as well as those in the Company's service, have each a Commander-in-Chief.

I was extremely desirous of visiting the beautiful monuments of Elephanta and Salsette. These are Hindoo temples, remarkable for their great antiquity, and the peculiar celebrity which they enjoy throughout India. But I had, unfortunately, no opportunity for gratifying my curiosity, which caused me very sincere regret.

As we had to cross a sea which was very little known, and considered rather dangerous, it was thought advisable to separate our fleet, in divisions of four or five vessels. We had taken in a fresh stock of provisions, made what repairs were necessary, and being in perfect readiness, we set sail, and quitted Bombay on the 7th of April.

CHAPTER XI

Our Division doubles Cape Guardafui, and enters the Arabian Gulf—Arrival at Mocha.

AS far as fortune allowed us a passage as we could have possibly desired, we reached the shores of Africa, and soon after, having doubled Cape Guardafui, entered the Arabian Gulf. The coast which presented itself to our view was high and rugged, and exhibited no traces either of vegetation or habitations of any description. We here met with a *daou*, or small Arab vessel, whose captain announced to us that a French frigate had recently been seen in that latitude. We continued our course along the coast of Africa, but having arrived as high as Burnt Island, we directed it towards Cape Aden, on the opposite shore, which forms a part of Arabia Felix. The weather was fine, the winds light, the heat alone rather incommoded us, and in one night we crossed the Gulf, and arrived in sight of the town of Aden.

The wind being in our favour, we unfurled our sails, in order to pass the straits of Babelmandeb. The island of Perim, which occupies the centre of it, renders this passage extremely narrow and difficult; the island is flat and uncultivated, and presents to the eye

nothing but sandy deserts. A few hours after losing sight of it, we cast anchor in the bay of Mocha.

We here joined General Baird, who was on board the *William* transport, and learnt then, for the first time, the unfortunate loss of *La Forte*, a frigate of fifty guns, as well as several other ships belonging to the expedition at Jeddah; happily however, every thing had been saved.

The town of Mocha is large. It is defended by two forts or batteries, which, however, from their bad condition, would be perfectly useless, if called on to repel the attack of ships of war. These forts are mounted with old pieces of artillery, which are infinitely more dangerous for those who work them, than for the vessels against which their fire may be directed. The town of Mocha has, indeed, been several times bombarded, as well by the French as by the English, and always with success.

The approach to the coast is by no means easy; it is sheltered and protected by a reef, which extends very far into the sea, south of the bay. The houses and mosques are whitened with lime; this gives them an appearance of cleanliness, which is, I believe, very far from really belonging to them.

An extensive commerce is carried on between Mocha and India. The Arabs who inhabit it are insolent and superstitious, and they are so false and deceitful in all their transactions, that no European can treat with them without great mistrust. In the immediate neighbourhood of the town, the country is flat and sandy, but at the distance of a few leagues from it, is situated *Chimney Mountain*, so called from the great resemblance of its summit to the top of a chimney. This mountain serves as a guide to navigators; its being seen in a direct line with the principal mosque, is a certain indication to them of having passed the reefs, and thus enables them to enter the bay with perfect security.

This part of the coast of Arabia is flat, barren, and sandy, but the interior, which is mountainous, is interspersed with beautiful and fertile valleys, abounding in dates, wheat, ruyrrh, tobacco, and aromatic plants; the finest coffee in the world is also grown here.

Mocha is governed by a *Doulah* or governor, in the name of the prince, who, under the title of *Imam*, reigns over Yemen as an independent state; his residence is at Sana. The person who then filled the office of doulah, was an Abyssinian, and had formerly been a slave. The idea attached to slavery in the East, is totally different from that which we entertain in Europe; it is almost always from amongst those who bear its yoke, that men, destined to fill places of trust and importance, are selected, and who, having once entered on an honourable career, rapidly raise themselves to power.

We remained some days at Mocha to take in water, although it

was by no means good. The springs are said to be situated at the distance of three quarters of a league from the town.

We quitted the bay on the 9th of May, after having been rejoined by the *Anna Amelia* with a part of the tenth regiment, and the *Whaler*, a fourteen gunned brig of war belonging to the India Company.

CHAPTER XI.

Navigation of the Red Sea—Arrival at Jeddah—Union of the Anglo-Indian Expedition, with that which came from the Cape of Good Hope—First Accounts of the Arrival in Egypt of those troops which had been sent out from England.

THE Red Sea being still very little known, we were obliged to navigate it with extreme caution, having the lead constantly in readiness, and being always careful to take in some of our sail on the approach of night.

We were greatly in want of good charts. The English ones were excessively defective. D'Anville's were the only ones that were at all accurate. Such, therefore, of our ships as were unprovided with these, were extremely desirous to have copies of them. I myself assisted in taking several.

The western coast of the Red Sea, (that of Abyssinia,) is very high, whilst that of the east is on the contrary absolutely flat, the mountains of this part of Arabia being situated in the interior of the country.

We passed near to the islands of Jebel Zeghirc. These islands appear, from their peculiar conformation, to have been volcanic; they are high, desert, and have not the slightest traces of vegetation.

We had scarcely passed them, before we found ourselves surrounded by shoals; fortunately, however, we did not touch once. As we had very little time to spare, we could not make any observations on these shoals. A voyage, for the express purpose of exploring the dangers of these latitudes, would be of great utility to those who frequent them.

We next passed the isles of Sahagar, situated in the fourteenth degree of latitude; they are about nine in number, of very small extent, and nothing more than uninhabited rocks.

That of Jebel-Tor is high, and has a peak which is said to have once been a volcano. This island is also uninhabited, and equally sterile with the others.

We were now approaching Jeddah, and the passage was hourly becoming more dangerous. On the afternoon of the fifteenth of May, we were hailed by a boat filled with Arab pilots. We took two on board; but, before they had been in the vessel many minutes,

they became so completely intoxicated as to be utterly useless to us in the moment of danger. About midnight, we found ourselves in the midst of the breakers. The wind was fresh. We immediately lowered our sail, and made a signal to the other vessels of the fleet to do the same. At day-break we again hoisted sail, but, in order to direct the ship's course with safety, it was necessary to station one of our officers at the mast head, from whence he gave notice of the reefs we had to avoid. The whole day was spent in beating up through this archipelago of coral, from which we could not obtain a single glimpse of the coast. At length, however, about three in the afternoon, we came in sight of the port of Jeddah; but at such a distance, that we could not possibly hope to reach it before night. Our whole division, therefore, cast anchor near one of the reefs. Fortunately the night was fine, which rendered our situation less dangerous than it would otherwise have been. As soon as day appeared, we again hoisted sail, and it was indeed time to do so. Our cable had suffered material injury, and had it been cut by the coral, we should have been inevitably lost.

The entry to the port of Jeddah is extremely difficult; it is a very narrow passage between two breakers, which are called the *doors* of the port; and in the centre of this passage is a rock, entirely hidden from view by the water which covers it. *La Forte* frigate had struck on this rock a few weeks before; and received very considerable damage from the shock. One of her bulwarks was entirely submerged in water, and her keel pierced completely through. We had no other resource, consequently, but to freight a merchant vessel, on board which to place every thing that could be saved from the frigate. We also thought it prudent, after this unfortunate accident, to place a beacon on the rock which had caused it, to put those vessels which might afterwards approach the port, on their guard.

We entered it on the 17th of May, and anchored at the distance of a league and a quarter from the town. The reefs which surround this port break the extreme violence of the waves, and, therefore, greatly shelter it.

The divers of Jeddah are very renowned, and really perform wonders. We were ourselves witnesses of their dexterity, as we employed these men to rescue the effects which still remained in the frigate. Furnished with a bit of horn, which completely stops up their nostrils, they remain under water for an astonishing length of time. Our seamen were frequently excited to mirth by the little incidents to which these divers gave rise, and not less so by the extreme drunkenness of the pilot, who had conducted us through the channel; this man would, at a single draught, empty a bottle full of brandy. The Arabs, who were attracted on board by curiosity, were scarcely less diverting, by the terror with which the grunting of our pigs inspired them, whenever they approached their house,

We here met General Baird, who had arrived before us. This Commander, accompanied by his Staff, paid an official visit to the Sherif of Mecca, by whom he was received with great politeness : an exchange of presents was made between them, and a formal promise given by this prince, to favour, by every means in his power, the object of our expedition. He did nothing, however, towards its success ; and his policy, as the result proved, led him towards the side of the French : but it is well known that an Arab's promises are far from their execution.

The inhabitants of Jeddah are still more overbearing than those of Mocha. Their attachment to the religion of Mohammed is carried even to fanaticism ; and they treat, with the utmost contempt, all those who profess a different belief. The reception given by them to the unhappy pilgrims who come from India, is most ungracious : and it is only astonishing that they should wittingly expose themselves to such indignities. Not content with ill-treating them, the inhabitants strip them of all they possess : so that, knowing the indignities to which they are subjected, this pilgrimage may indeed be said to be meritorious.

The Arabs of Jeddah are handsome and well made ; and, in this respect, are infinitely superior to those of Mocha. The town is also larger, and more commercial, and is only about fifteen or twenty leagues distant from Mecca. This port maintains some large ships, and a great number of small coasting vessels, which carry on the commerce with India. An immense multitude of Mohammedan pilgrims, from every part of the vast peninsula of the Ganges and the Persian Gulf, flock here annually, to accomplish the pilgrimage which every Musulman is bound to perform once in the course of his life. It was a great piece of artifice in the policy of Mohammed, to have this duty imposed on his followers, as he has, by this means, perpetuated the importance of those places in which he executed his pretended mission.

Some days after our arrival, we were joined by the expedition from the Cape of Good Hope : it was convoyed by the *Romney* and the *Victor*, the one a fifty, and the other a twenty-two gun-ship, under the command of Commodore Popham. The reinforcement brought by it consisted of the 61st regiment, a company of the 8th light dragoons, and a strong detachment of artillery.

We now only waited the order for departure, when a vessel, despatched from Suez by Admiral Blauckett, arrived. She brought us the news of Sir Ralph Abercrombie's arrival in Egypt, with an English army, and of the victory which had immediately followed. The troops were advancing under the walls of Alexandria. The admiral also announced, that he had landed a detachment of troops from Bombay, which had immediately commenced its march towards Cairo, there to join the army of the Grand Vizier.

U I N S.

Yet time has seen, that lifts the low,
 And level lays the lofty brow,
 Has seen this broken, incomplete,
 Big with the vanities of time,
 But transient things, sink of their own decay.

OVER the plain and meadow

The latest rays pour,
 And long-shoots the shadow
 From forest and tower.

Let the peasant beware him
 When day takes his leave,
 For shadows shall scare him
 In the dim light of eve.

In the gloom is a power,
 And a voice in the wind,
 And they walk at this hour
 Whom the tomb could not bind.

Though dark desolation
 Hath trod in their halls,
 They were chiefs of a nation
 Who dwelt in these walls.

They were proud as the proudest,
 And famous in song,
 And their war-cry rose loudest
 The closed ranks among.
 But the hall is forsaken,
 The spear and the shield;
 And the trump shall not waken
 The chief to the field.

Though no high towering dome
 Rise proud in the air,
 This once was a home
 For the lovely and fair,
 But the stern and the tender
 Lie lowly at last,
 And the power and the splendour,
 And glory are past.

Here the steps of the stranger
 Sound lonely and loud,
 And Time, the avenger,
 Hath levell'd the proud.
 In the place of their rest,
 Lo! the spoiler hath come,
 And the bird found a nest,
 And the reptile a home.

TURKISH MANNERS AND OPINIONS.—BY M. PALEOLOGUS.*

IN spite of the endeavours of some writers, who represent the Turkish Government as a model of perfection, and who seem to insinuate that they would be glad to live under Musulman institutions, we may be permitted to think, that every thing is not quite faultless in the country of the Janissaries and Imams. If with us justice is slow in its administration, every one will allow that there it is rather too summary. Literature still enjoys considerable freedom in Europe; in Turkey, there are few presses, fewer books, and, above all, no philosophers. There is some hardship, it is true, in the summary punishment even of European states, but at Constantinople a sack and the sea is the asylum of the unfortunate. Opposition to the sovereign will is practised with much greater impunity in Europe than at the Court of the Grand Signor.

If any of our readers should feel disposed to adopt contrary opinions, we earnestly recommend them to read M. Paleologus's dialogues on the manners of the Osmanlies. M. Paleologus is more competent than any one else to treat on this subject: he was born at Constantinople, and has always lived amongst the people whose character he portrays. He is an ocular and auricular witness of what he describes, and moreover a man of talent.

His dialogues, to the number of twenty, are now before the public. They represent every class of society, each speaking the language natural to it, and exhibiting, free from all disguise, their passions, habits, and prejudices. The author designedly introduces into the speeches of his interlocutors numerous proverbs, with which the conversation of the Osmanlies abounds; every class of this population is furnished with those peculiar to itself. Thus, whilst the people with terror repeat that, 'in order to preserve tranquillity, it is absolutely necessary to be blind, deaf, and dumb;' the heir presumptive to the crown, brought up in dissimulation, frequently pronounces these characteristic words, '*We must kiss the hand we cannot wound.*'

Nothing can be more instructive than the picture of the education of a young Sultan; shut up in the seraglio, under the eye of a suspicious and always discontented favourite, he learns from infancy to disguise his thoughts and sentiments, and to lay plots of every description; the ferocity of his mother awakens in his young heart a similar passion. 'Why cannot I, my beloved son, this instant see thee mounted on the throne?—Thou wilt, I am con-

* See an account of this work in 'The Oriental Herald,' vol. 14, p. 64.

vinced, on that happy occasion, grant me a dozen heads; wilt thou not, *caplaneur*? (my son). How can I possibly refuse my honoured mother such a gift? I will immediately deliver over to you a hundred heads, will only be *the week's allowance*. 'A hardened heart, and perfect sang-froid, are absolutely necessary, in order to reign well.—Your heart is not yet hardened, but that will no doubt change.' 'Thanks be to God, it will.' 'I can expect that.' 'Without doubt: *situation* is everything. Above all, my son, I advise you to chastise the Russians, as well as all the other petty *kral*s (kings), whom thy father's weakness, as well as that of thy other ancestors, has rendered so insolent and overbearing.' 'That is precisely my project.' 'Exterminate all these presumptuous wretches, and remain sole master of the whole world; there is but one God in heaven, there should be but one king on earth.'

The fourteenth dialogue, in which the speakers are a doctor and an artisan, and the subject of their discourse, public affairs, and the reforms of the Sultan Mahmoud, is not the least curious of the collection. They figure to themselves the desolation, the fury of the Janissaries, compelled to renounce their former habits of plunder, and to bow to the discipline of Europe. 'Religion is lost,' they exclaim; 'let us examine whether they have washed our hands and our heads, if our garments are free from dust; if not, there is an end to Islamism!' They then speak of the revolt of the Greeks, and the assistance afforded them by the Kings of Europe. 'Happily,' adds one of the speakers, 'the Grand Vizier of one of these *Kral*s, that of the *Nemchis*, (Austrians) warns us of all our danger; although an infidel to all appearance, he is said to be a thorough Musulman at heart.' Another observes, 'We must not believe this minister to be sincere, *The thoughts of the fox are not easy to divine*.' 'What does it signify?' replies the doctor, 'when we no longer have occasion for him, we shall know how to get rid of him. *The common end of the fox, is the shop of the furrier*.' It is thus that the hopes and fears of the Osmanlies are expressed in proverbs.

Another dialogue on the same subject is given, between the Grand Vizier and the *Reis Effendi*, (the Minister for Foreign Affairs,) which is treated with more gravity. Two statesmen held a conversation on the proclamation, in which the Powers have announced their mediation between the Porte and the Hellenes. The utmost contempt for the Christians reigns throughout their discourse. The *Reis Effendi* proposes dissimulation to the Vizier. 'Feign to cede,' says he, 'and when the Greeks have laid down their arms, and the Europeans have retired, fall on them suddenly, and you will exterminate them; they will at first cry out against this, but every thing will soon be quieted again: *The dog barks, but the caravan passes on*.'

'The *Reis Effendi* then declares, that the Allies are very little

‘touched by the interests of the Greeks; that it is only to spite the Turks, that they have taken up their defence; that all the boast of their pretended feeling for the sufferings of their fellow-Christians, is the mere work of book-makers and newspaper scribblers. The Grand Vizier then expresses his astonishment that Governments should lend an ear to such rubbish. ‘Oh! that I were but Grand Vizier, for one single day,’ says he, ‘I would Franks; it would suffice to bring them back to their senses. I would soon settle the business, I assure you.’

We have only ventured to cite a very small portion of M. Paleologus's work, and it appeared to us advisable to select those dialogues which bore some reference to the affairs of the moment. Had we analysed those which treat on the private manners, customs, and opinions of the Osmanlies, what abundant quotations might we have made!

The author paints with energy, the vices of the Mussulman clergy, from the Imam down to the mendicant dervish. It is Spain under another name; all the vices of the clergy are united in the person of the dervish; he alone, without a single obstacle, works on the gross credulity of the people. He lives on the public ignorance.

M. Paleologus is not less powerful in his description of the Janissaries, living at the expense of the unfortunate, and anticipating with anxiety plague or fire, in order to profit by the spoils. The whole work is highly deserving of attention.

SONNET TO THE MEMORY OF JOHN KEATS.

LIKE to the tinkling of the pilgrim rills,
Unseen amid green shadows,—lilies' bowls—
Whence Dryads drink the spring-dew of their souls—
Lilies! whose leaves the life of freshness fills!
Like to that woodland music—when, from hills,
Tree-shrouded, the hoarse wind-wave wildly howls—
Is thy lyre's breathing;—mocking earth's controls,
Glideth the stream which from yon heaven distils.

And let the winds howl on!—the myriad voices
Of waving forests echo the wild shout!
Calmly, yet ceaselessly, the brook rejoices,
While trees their leaf and life are wearing out.
The cloud may bear the rivulet to heaven,
Whilst the dark trunks to rot on earth are given!

THOMAS M****.

ARBITRARY PROCEEDINGS AT BOMBAY, AND SPECIMENS OF INDIAN LEGISLATION.

Our readers are aware that the Calcutta Government have lately, with the sanction of the Council of Directors, and the approbation of the Board of Control, passed certain Stamp Regulations for Bengal. After they had been passed several months, the Government found that the regulations for the collection of these stamp duties could not be enforced, unless they were first registered in the Supreme Court. A motion was accordingly made to the Supreme Court, and, after long argument by Counsel, employed by the inhabitants of Calcutta, the Court decided upon registering these Regulations. The Judges gave written judgments, which were originally inserted in 'The Government Gazette,' and have been since re-published in 'The Oriental Herald;' and from those judgments it appears that the Court were unanimously of opinion that, though the taxes or or duties might be imposed by the local authorities, as directed by the 53d G. III. c. 155, s. 98, nevertheless, the regulations for their enforcement, under the 99th section, must, equally with all other regulations which affect persons within the jurisdiction of the King's Court, be first registered in those Courts.

This unanimous judgment of the Supreme Court of Calcutta appeared in the Calcutta 'Government Gazette,' on the 30th July, 1827, and reached Bombay on the 31st August, in the same year. On the 29th of the same month, (August,) the Governor, in council, of Bombay published a regulation (of which a copy has been sent to us) for the collection of duties; namely, 19, 20, and 21, of 1827, passed on the 1st January preceding; and another regulation, (28,) dated the 1st August; in which the dates are fixed, from which all the new regulations are to take effect, namely, the 1st September and the 1st November following. Thus, notwithstanding the proceeding by the Calcutta Government, in applying to the Supreme Court there to register the regulations; notwithstanding the unanimous judgment of the Supreme Court there, of the necessity of such registration; the Bombay Government passed these regulations, and fixed the time for their enforcement, without any registration in the Supreme Court of their Presidency.

This, however, is not the most extraordinary part of the conduct of the Bombay Government, respecting these regulations. By the same 99th section, the mode of enforcing fines, penalties, and forfeiture, for the non-payment of such duties or taxes, and for the breach of the regulations, is pointed out; namely, by indictment, information, or suit in the Supreme Court. Having committed one breach of the law, by ordering the above regulations to be enforced, without previous registry, in the Supreme Court, the Government of Bombay, in order to make this effectual, commit another and

more flagrant breach. They altogether put aside the Supreme Court's jurisdiction, and, of themselves, erect another jurisdiction in their own servants, for the recovery of the penalties and the taxes or duties.

By section 3, clause 2, Regulation 19, the collector's decision is to be *final*, unless supported by the advice of the revenue Judge.

By section 4, clause 1, the collector may, twenty days after demand of payment of the revenue due, levy the same, by distress and sale of the defaulter's property; and, if the property be not sufficient, he may apprehend, and confine the defaulter in jail; and the collector's certificate is to be the sheriff's warrant, *equally with the usual legal process, in ordinary cases of arrest in execution of judgment for debt.*

By section 7, the revenue Judge is to decide all suits against the collector, or any person on his establishment, &c. The same section, clause 2, says, the revenue Judge shall possess the same powers as if he were conducting a criminal investigation, as senior Magistrate of the Police.

By section 8, the decree of the revenue Judge is made appealable to the Sudder Adawlut, that is, one of the Company's courts.

These provisions relate to the land revenue; and they are repeated, when applied to other duties, by section 14 of the same Regulation; and the same enactments run throughout the Regulations, ousting the Supreme Court's jurisdiction, and erecting a tribunal of their own, for the punishment even of *British* subjects. That such proceeding is utterly illegal, is not only clear, but well known to the Bombay Government itself, not only from the statute, which points out the tribunal before which fines, penalties, and forfeitures, and duties, and taxes, are to be recovered, (namely, the Supreme Court,) but from its being actually stated by the Judges of the Supreme Court, at Calcutta, that they must all be recovered before the Supreme Court; and which judgments excited so much attention, that they were inserted in all the Calcutta Papers, and read and talked about by every one in India. The Chief Justice, Sir Charles Grey, says, 'I do not find any thing which is repugnant to law, nor do I think that it will in effect be oppressive to the inhabitants of Calcutta, considering that it must be enforced by proceedings in this Court.' The Bombay Government, therefore, cannot say that it was from ignorance, however much of it we may give them credit for, that they have erected a new Court within the jurisdiction of, and in opposition to, the Supreme Court at that Presidency.

But this is not all. It is well known that the spirit and letter of the whole of legislation for British India, is, that British subjects shall not be amenable to the Courts of a mercantile company, but to those alone of the King; and though this principle may be said

to be trenched upon by the 107th section of 55, G. III., which makes British subjects, *residing ten miles from the Presidency*, subject to the local civil judicature, that section still gives an appeal to his Majesty's Court. This principle is carried so far, that though justices of the peace are appointed by the Government, they must still derive their authority from the Crown; namely, from commission under the seal of the Court.

It is well known, that the King's Court supersedes every other within its jurisdiction; this may be collected, not only from principle, but from almost every statute on the subject. It required an Act of Parliament, namely, section 113 of the same statute, to empower the Company's Courts, of the highest jurisdiction, even to *arrest*, in civil or criminal process, within the Presidencies, which they could not do before.

Many other, and equally strong objections, to these regulations, might be pointed out; but the two already mentioned are sufficient: namely, that, *these Regulations for the collection and enforcement of the duties and taxes have been passed, and the time fixed for their enforcement, without registration in the Supreme Court; and a new tribunal erected by the Government, in contravention of the law, and in opposition to the Supreme Court.*

It appears from Regulation 28, that the Stamp Regulation had also been passed, and was to be enforced from the 1st November last, though it has never been published at Bombay, and no printed copy of it was to be obtained there.

There is one other observation to be made. No tax or duty is valid, unless previously sanctioned by the Directors and Board of Control, and such sanction is expressly to be mentioned in the Regulation. Regulations 19 and 20 contain no such mention, though they are evidently not mere regulations for the collection of duties, but are actually impositions of duties. Thus, chapter 6 of Regulation 19, section 30, clause 1, is as follows: 'The following fees shall be levied in the Court of Petty Sessions, and in the offices of the magistrates of police, on the Island of Bombay; ' appendices B and C are to a similar effect. It may be that these fees have, in some other documents, received the necessary sanction; but, nevertheless, it is contrary to the express words of the Act, to pass them without the mention of such sanction, nor could the Judges take judicial notice of them.

None of the previous Regulations, passed during the year 1827, and which had already taken effect, could be obtained at Bombay. On application at the office of the Government Paper, 'The Courier,' for printed copies of them, the answer was, that they were published for the Government, and not for the public!!!

• We give, as specimens of British-Indian Legislation, a few extracts from the Regulations above adverted to.

CHAPTER II.

Rules for the Collection of the Tar called 'Market Fers' on Shops and Stalls, on Beating the Battakee, on Country Music, and on the Erection of Wedding Sheds and other Places of Public Amusement.

SECTION 9, clause 2.—The Collector of land revenue, at Bombay, shall make a quarterly assessment on each and every shop and stall, within the town and island of Bombay, according to the rates enumerated in Appendices B and C.

Section 10.—All persons desirous of erecting wedding sheds, or other places of temporary amusement, in or upon any part of the public street, or roads, shall apply for license to erect the same, to either of the Magistrates of Police, who are hereby authorised and required to grant such license, unless they see good cause for refusing the same, and to direct the Engineer officer, attached to the Court of Petty Sessions, to measure off and mark out the space of ground required, or so much of the same as they or either of them may think proper. And on the space of ground being so marked out and measured, the Engineer officer is hereby required to deliver a certificate, of the space so marked out and measured, to the party obtaining the said license, and a duplicate of the same to the Collector of Bombay; and the said Collector is hereby authorised and required to make an assessment upon each and every person enclosing such space, so marked out, as aforesaid, at the rate of five rupees a night, for every space not exceeding ten square yards, so taken in and enclosed, and for every such space exceeding ten square yards, at the rate of one rupee a night for every square yard so enclosed.

Section 11.—Any person presuming to enclose any part of the public streets or roads, for the purpose of erecting a wedding shed, or other place of temporary amusement, without having previously obtained such license as aforesaid, from one of the Magistrates of Police, and such certificate as aforesaid from the Engineer officer, shall forfeit the sum of five rupees a night, for every square yard so enclosed, as a penalty; and any person taking in or enclosing a greater space of ground, than what was marked out and measured off by the said Engineer officer, and included in such certificate as aforesaid, shall be surcharged, and shall forfeit, as a penalty for the same, at the rate of five rupees a night, for every square yard so enclosed, which shall not have been so marked out, and measured, and included in such certificate.

Section 12, clause 1.—All persons, desirous to use or employ country music *without doors*, shall apply for a license in writing so to use or employ the same, to either of the Magistrates of Police, who are hereby authorised to grant such license, unless they should see good reason for refusing the same. The license shall be in the
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form of Appendix D, specifying the *number of days* for which it is granted, and intimating, moreover, that it is of no effect, until countersigned by the Collector, in testimony of the *fees* imposed by regulation on the use of country music.

Clause 2—All persons, *using or employing such music as above described*, shall be assessed at the rate of one rupee a day, for the period specified in their license; and any person so using or employing such music, without a license granted and countersigned as above, or for any period exceeding the number of days specified in such licenses, shall be liable to a fine of five rupees for every day that such *unlicensed music* shall be so used or employed.

Section 13, clause 1—All persons, desirous of giving *public notice* by beat of battakee of the *sale of any house, building, land, or other immoveable property*, or of the sale of any goods or chattels, or of publicly offering or giving any other kind of lawful public notice by beat of battakee, shall obtain a *license*, in the mode prescribed in the preceding section, in the form of Appendix E, from either of the Magistrates of Police, and procure the countersignature of the Collector upon the same; and the Collector, previously to affixing his countersignature, shall levy the following fees upon each license respectively, &c. &c. &c.

	Rs. Qr. Reas.		
For giving public notice by beat of battakee of the sale of any house, land, or other tenement, for each notice . . .	2	2	0
For giving the said public notice of the sale of any goods or chattels, for each notice	1	0	0
For giving the said public notice of any reward that may be legally offered, or for any other public notice, for each notice	1	0	0

Section 14, clause 1—All fines, penalties, and forfeitures, incurred under this chapter, shall be adjudged and determined, upon oath, by the Collector, (himself,) if he be a Justice of the Peace, and if not, then by any Justice of the Peace acting within the Presidency of Bombay; who is hereby authorised and required to levy the same, on warrant, under his hand and seal, by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels.

CHAPTER IV.

Rules for levying a Tax on Carriages and Riding Horses, on the Island of Bombay.

SECTION 24, Clause 1.—There shall be assessed and levied, in the Island of Bombay, on every four-wheel carriage, 40 rupees per annum; on every two wheel carriage on springs, 30 rupees per annum; on every wheel carriage without springs, except such as are drawn by bullocks, 20 rupees per annum; on every two wheel carriage, used for riding, and drawn by bullocks, 15 rupees per annum; on every two wheel carriage, used for carrying loads and

drawn by bullocks, 5 rupees per annum; and on every riding horse, 6 rupees per annum.

Each military officer shall be allowed two riding horses, exempt from assessment.

All carriages and horses employed by Government, shall be exempt from assessment.

Section 26, clause 1.—The engineer officer, attached to the Court of Petty Sessions, shall perform the duties of assessor, and shall make quarterly returns, to the collector of land revenue, of the number of carriages and horses assessable, and the amount and names of the owners respectively; and if any person shall wilfully obstruct the assessor, or any of his deputies in the due execution of such office, or shall refuse, or wilfully and unnecessarily delay, to give the list required by Clause 1, of Section 25, upon demand made under the authority of the assessor, he shall for such offence, upon conviction thereof, on the oath of one or more credible witnesses, before the Court of Petty Sessions, forfeit such sum as the said Court may adjudge, provided it does not exceed the sum of one hundred rupees; and such penalty shall be recoverable, by distress and sale of the offender's goods and chattels, in the usual manner.

CHAPTER VI.

Rules for levying Fees in the Court of Petty Sessions, and in the Offices of the Magistrates of Police.

Section 30, Clause 1.—The following fees shall be levied, in the Court of Petty Sessions, and in the offices of the Magistrates of Police, on the Island of Bombay:

	Rs.	Gr.	Reas.
For every complaint instituted, when filed in the office of a Magistrate of Police*	0	2	0
For every complaint instituted, when filed in the Court of Petty Sessions*	1	0	0
For summoning each party to answer before the Magistrate.....	0	1	0
For summoning each party to answer before the Court of Petty Sessions.....	0	2	0
For every voluntary affidavit.....	0	1	0

Section 31, clause 1.—The Clerk of the Petty Sessions, for the time being, shall receive the whole fees above mentioned, and is hereby authorised and empowered himself to levy them, or to appoint, at each office of Police, some proper person, who shall levy the sums taken in pursuance of the provisions of this Chapter, and shall be accountable to him for all such sums.

* So that a poor palanquin bearer, who may have been ill used by his European master, (a rare occurrence!) if he dares to complain to a single magistrate, must pay three days' wages, or if to the Petty Sessions, six ditto—his wages being seven and a half rupees per month!

List of the Rates at which Shops and Stalls, within the Bombay Division of the Town and Island of Bombay, shall be assessed according to Regulation 19, A. D. 1827.

Description of Shops or Stalls.	Rate to be paid per quarter.	Description of Shops or Stalls.	Rate to be paid per quarter.
	Rs. gr. reas.		Rs. gr. reas.
Attarecs or perfumers.....	1 2 0	Fuddia, or Grain retailers....	1 0 0
Aullers.....	0 1 20	Goat Butchers.....	0 3 84
Bakers.....	0 3 80	Goldsmiths.....	1 2 0
Bangle sellers.....	1 2 0	Ironsmiths.....	0 1 20
Bhutiars, or Country eating houses.....	0 3 0	Leather Merchants.....	0 1 20
Billet wood sellers.....	0 1 20	Liquor sellers.....	0 0 96
Brick makers.....	0 3	Mat makers.....	0 1 20
Carpenters.....	0 3	Milk sellers.....	0 0 60
Cattle Butchers (slaughterers) 1	1	Mutton Butchers.....	0 3 84
Cattle Butchers (sellers).....	1 0	Oil makers.....	1 0 0
China ware shopkeepers.....	1 2	Pearl and Coral sellers.....	2 0 0
Chowkeseys or repairers of jewels.....	1 1	Pice shopkeepers.....	5 0 0
Chuman sellers.....	1 0	Polishers.....	0 1 20
Cloth shops.....	1 0	Rattanners.....	0 1 20
Cooleys.....	0 0 48	Rice sellers.....	0 0 96
Coppersmiths.....	1 0 0	Ruffoogers, or repairers of Shawls &c.....	0 1 20
Cotton sellers.....	0 1 20	Seed shops.....	1 1 0
Dyers.....	1 0 0	Shoemakers.....	0 1 20
Earthen pot makers.....	0 0 48	Straw sellers.....	1 2 0
Europe shops (including the shops of natives, wholesale purchasers of European investments).....	5 0 0	Sweetmeat makers.....	1 0 0
Fowl sellers.....	0 1 20	Tailors.....	1 0 0
		Toddy sellers.....	0 0 60
		Turners.....	1 0 0
		Wood Warehouse, 1st Class..	1 2 0
		Wood Warehouse, 2d Class..	0 3 0

Scarcely a fortnight had elapsed, however, after the publication of these regulations, (which appeared in the 'Bombay Courier Extraordinary' of August 29th, 1827,) before a new and *increased* rate of taxation was resolved on, and published in another 'Bombay Courier Extraordinary' of September 10th, 1827, of which the following short extract will furnish a specimen :

THE COURIER EXTRAORDINARY.

Judicial Department.

THE Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to publish for general information the following Regulations passed by the Honourable the Governor in Council, and Notification issued from the Territorial Department Revenue.

A Regulation for increasing the Taxes on Carriages and Horses at the Presidency, made with the sanction of the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and passed by the Governor in Council at Bombay, on the 3d September, 1827.

WHEREAS it has been deemed expedient, that the taxes, hitherto levied on carriages and horses at the Presidency, should be increased, the following rules for that purpose have been enacted by the authority of the Governor in Council, with the sanction of the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, and with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, and shall have effect from the date of promulgation.

Section 1, clause 1— Clause 1, sec. 24, Reg. 19, A. D. 1827, is hereby rescinded.

Clause 2—The taxes on carriages and horses, used on the island of Bombay, shall in future be assessed and levied according to the following rates: on every four wheel carriage, four rupees per month! on every two wheel carriage on springs, three rupees per month! on every two wheel carriage without springs, except such as are drawn by bullocks, two rupees per month! on every two wheel carriage used for riding and drawn by bullocks, one rupee and a half per month; on every two wheel carriage used for carrying loads and drawn by bullocks, if the wheel be of the breadth of two inches and a half, one quarter of a rupee per month! if the wheel be narrower than above specified, three quarters of a rupee per month. On every riding horse, one rupee and a half per month.*

If the great art of good government be (as some writers contend) to draw as much as possible from the industrious poor, in order to pamper the luxuries of the indolent rich, then are the Governor and Council of Bombay among the best of rulers on the earth; and their Honourable Masters in England, among the greatest benefactors, in thus keeping their distant subjects from the evils of surplus wealth!

THE BROKEN HEART.

SHE stood, in the glorious morn of her life;
 Ere her beauty had come to its prime;
 And she vow'd that for ever she'd quit the world's strife,
 For the hopes of her early spring time,
 Like a perishing dream of the night had gone by—
 Her fount of delight was all broken and dry.

* Just three times as high as the tax imposed only a month before: namely, six rupees per annum; the present rate being eighteen, or, by lunar months, nineteen and a half rupees per annum.

Her soul's inmost love, which a lov'd one had spurn'd,
 She vow'd to her God should be given—
 In her heart's sinless shrine, that the incense which burn'd,
 All pure should be wafted to heaven :—
 In her cell's hallow'd stillness she deem'd to have peace,—
 That all rebel repinings for ever should cease.

So she looked her last with a tearless eye,
 On a world she loved no longer—
 She passed from its pleasures without a sigh— „
 As the holy flame grew stronger,
 She deem'd her fond longings were thrown to the wind—
 That her earthly affections were all left behind.

She entered those precincts of horrible gloom,
 Whose threshold is pass'd again never—
 The silence, but not the deep rest, of the tomb,
 There she found had its dwelling for ever.
 A desolate calmness, all cold and unblest,
 Pervaded those shades—'twas not laden with rest.

With its vigils and fasts, stern devotion was there,
 But its comforts were barren and vain ;
 All heartless and cold was the murmuring prayer—
 All feeble the languishing strain.
 The tide of existence stood stagnant and still,
 Yet her heart's early throbbings came back at their will.

Then she thought of the world from which she had pass'd—
 It seemed robed in the hues of delight,—
 A more beautiful green o'er its bosom was cast,
 And the beings who walk'd it were bright
 With beauty and love, then did sorrow arise
 Within her fair bosom, and gush from her eyes.

And the vision of him who had won her first love,
 In slumber came often before her,—
 In the accents of strong deathless passion he strove
 To tell her he yet did adore her.
 Then the flood-gates of bliss once again were unseal'd,
 But the convent's lone gloom with the morn was reveal'd.

The present was dark as the valley of death—
 The future, a dull hopeless void ;
 All chill'd was the glow of religion and faith,
 And the dreams of the past were denied.
 Yet she drank of the cup which her destiny gave,
 Till its waters o'erflowed,—then she sunk in the grave.

PACHO'S TRAVELS IN CYRENAICA AND MARMARICA.

[Concluded from our last Number, p. 501.]

It is not given to every man, to acquire reputation by an excursion into a little corner of the earth, which is, as it were, at one's door, and under one's eyes. But M. Pachó has proved himself to be precisely the man to explore Cyrene. Every thing goes on wonderfully well when the traveller is suited to his journey; but, unfortunately, this perfect accordance is uncommonly rare. If Ledyard had been sent into Cyrenaica, he would have rapidly traversed that country; on his return, he would have printed some concise and energetic notes, stamped with a sort of genius; the scenes and the ruins would have furnished him with picturesque representations; he would have described the manners of the inhabitants, by their resemblance or their contrast with those which he had observed at the other end of the world: but we could not expect any thing complete or finished from him. This companion of Cook was merely a traveller; he had not the patience to compare the ruins which he had seen, with other ruins of past time which are spoken of in books; he had no taste for such an occupation, and a quarter of the time which it would consume, would have sufficed him to reach, a second time, the Polar Circle, or to go to Tombuctoo, if death had not prevented him. Even Belzoni himself, who from a quack became an antiquarian, though he might delight in the midst of the ruins of Cyrene, was no writer. He was anxious to be moving, rather than curious to relate well; and required a striking, gigantic, and, so to speak, a dazzling subject; composed of facts which needed no embellishment, which the most meagre statement could not fender dull, and such as, when once in circulation, pass from mouth to mouth, like the news of a victory: he revelled in the pyramids, the obelisks, and the tombs of the Pharaohs. On a subject of ordinary interest, and containing nothing of a popular description, he might have produced a work useful to science; but it would have been shapeless and charmless, with but little embellishment; good as a book of reference, but tiresome reading.

Very different from this will be the work of M. Pachó, if he complete it as he has begun it. He has not only made a very useful voyage; he has not only filled up a chasm in the geography of the north-east of Africa, designed with care all the monuments which offered themselves to his view, copied numerous inscriptions with unequalled fidelity and exactness, collected plants, determined a latitude approached from more than sixty different points, and, lastly, studied the manners and customs of the inhabitants: but on his return amongst us, he availed himself of the advice of our learned men, he searched in libraries for all that related to the country which he had just visited; and, when he began to write about it, he

reduced his journal to a just proportion, and by carefully expunging all those private details which interest none but the traveller himself, gave a proof of his taste in a subject which demanded it. In short, this man, buried so long in Libya, (for the voyage to Cyrene was not his first enterprise,) has shown himself a skilful narrator. Clear and precise in technical details, he knows how to relate an historical fact, to describe a country and its manners, and to analyse and communicate the immediate impressions of the scenes of nature on his mind. Many of these merits we have already remarked on, in our account of 'The Historical Introduction to Cyrene;' the rest became evident to us, in perusing 'The Account of Marmarica.'

Every one, by consulting his memory, will easily find the situation of Marmarica. It is that part of the shore which extends to the left of the Nile, behind the island of Crete, and opposite to Greece; a small country, in some parts capable of culture, and which appears in every respect to belong to Egypt. Indeed it may be said to have had the same origin as Lower Egypt; for if one was, according to the expression of the ancients, the daughter of the Nile, the other was, at least, fertilized by its alluvial discharges. The ancient Egyptian tradition, so confidently related by Herodotus, will be remembered. The Egyptian priests used to say, that before the time of Menes, the Nile flowed through Memphis, and lost itself among the sands of Lybia; but that prince made it a new bed on the east of this town, and forced it to return between the two chains of mountains which form its valley. In the time of Herodotus, not only was the ancient bed of the river visible, but also the embankment that closed up its entrance, which the Persians preserved with the greatest care. Even now this channel is not unknown; it may be traced across the desert, and passes to the west of the lakes of Natron. It is even said that decayed timber, masts and yards, the wrecks of ships which formerly navigated it, still point out its track; the Arabs continue to give it the name of *Bahr bela mâ*, or the 'sea without water.' It is traced on the map of M. Pacho; and, from the direction which he gives it, it would seem that the river took its rise in Marmarica below the Lake of Mareotis. But at the same time that Egypt is indebted to the new bed of the Nile for the Delta and its wonderful fertility, does not the eastern part of Marmarica owe, to the ancient course and rich *alluvia* of the same river, those germs of fruitfulness, which distinguish it from the arid sands by which it is surrounded. But we will leave this conception, which may possibly have no foundation, and pass on to the exact information which M. Pacho gives us.

All the country, comprised between Alexandria and the Gulph of Bomba, covers an extent of one hundred and fifty-six leagues from east to west. A tract of cultivable land stretches along the sea-coast, and extends ten, or fifteen leagues at most, towards the south,

Beyond that lies nothing but a burning desert, where, at long intervals, one meets with small spots of fruitful land, which Strabo, the philosophical geographer of antiquity, very ingeniously compared to the spots on the leopard's skin. The tract of land which has been mentioned, is crossed on every side by chains of hills, rising progressively in height the further they are removed from the sea-coast, which are intermingled with plains, and sometimes during winter discharge large torrents of water down their sides. The soil of Marmarica bears testimony on every hand to great natural changes, at the same time that its state of devastation presents a picture of great human revolutions. Sea-shells are incrustated on the rocks, plants petrified by the sea are scattered over the hills, and the substratum of the soil is composed of bay-salt and granite intermixed; in short, an assemblage of minerals of different kinds, incongruously heaped together, forms the general characteristic of this country. 'In traversing it,' says M. Pacho, 'the traveller experiences a painful sensation. The uniform nakedness of the place renders him more sensible of the destruction of the towns, and of the absence of their inhabitants. He sees before him nothing but gloomy plains and burning hills; he advances, but the aspect is the same; and in the midst of this vast picture, without life as without colour, scarcely is he informed of the presence of man by the distant bleating of the flocks, and the black specks of the Arab tents.'

This picture of the desert, which separates Egypt from Cyrenaica, explains, in some degree, the ignorance in which Europe has remained with regard to the Libyan Pentapolis, in spite of its vicinity and all the charm of its ancient recollections. In Marmarica, however, inhospitable as it is, dwell Arabs who are mild, peaceable, and benevolent towards strangers; while in Pentapolis, where the earth is as fertile and delightful as ever, the present inhabitants are vile and bigoted, and feel nothing but hatred and contempt for those who are not Musulmans. The first form the tribe of the *Aoulad-Aly*, the second that of the *Haraby*.

According to the documents which M. Pacho has been able to collect, the population of the country, comprised between Alexandria and the mountains of Cyrenaica, amounts to about 38,000 souls. All the men are armed, but they do not all possess horses; the number of horsemen amounts at most to 4,000.

Marmarica, or rather its most easterly parts, formed, in ancient times, the Egyptian states, called Mareotis and Libya, and it is still subject to the Pasha of Egypt. But his authority extends only to the west of *Berek-Marsah*, or, according to other reports, to the foot of *Catabathmus Magnus*, farther towards the west, which would assign him a much greater extent of territory. To reconcile these accounts,—the one given by M. Pacho, and the other by a German traveller, (M. Scholz,) who preceded him without having

at all times the same success,—it is only necessary to remark, that, between the territory of the Dey of Tripoli, and that of the Viceroy of Egypt, there exists a considerable space, which is not, properly speaking, under the power of either of them, but may be considered as the hereditary domicile of the ancient aboriginal tribes. This (and the nature of the place is singularly adapted for the purpose) is the resort of the vagabonds who have deserted their tribes, and of the disreputable hordes, who flock together from all parts of the north of Africa, to rob, to plunder, and to commit still greater atrocities. Under the name of *hedjads*, with which they disguise themselves, they scour the neighbouring countries, and receive, from the pious Musulman, the reception which he supposes he is giving to the real *hedjads* or pilgrims, who, coming from Morocco, and other northern parts of Africa, direct their steps towards Mecca. In general the sovereignty of the viceroy of Egypt, in all that part of his government, is purely nominal; but he has not neglected by his severity to inspire with a salutary fear the inhabitants of the desert, as well as all those who live near the valley of the Nile. He has done more; and by a trick, which we will relate hereafter, he has destroyed the organization of the celebrated tribe of the Aoulad-Aly, whose bravery caused him much inquietude.—The Dey of Tripoli does not exercise a more real authority over Cyrenaica.

Having given a general idea of the country which M. Pacho has illustrated in his first volume, we proceed to follow him. We shall have cause to be astonished that he has contrived to extract so much information from a country so barbarous and obscure; and we may take it as a good omen for the volume which he is preparing on Pentapolis, where the monuments of art, rivalling the scenes of nature, will present him at every step with picturesque appearances to describe, and interesting recollections to detail.

Experience has often proved that, in Africa, an escort is sometimes more injurious than useful to the researches of the traveller. If he takes one, he secures his life against insidious attacks, but he becomes, so to speak, the subject of his protectors; if, on the contrary, he ventures alone, or with his own people, into these savage countries, his motions are unrestrained, but he is incessantly surrounded by dangers. M. Pacho assures us, that, even though his slender pecuniary supplies had not deprived him of the power to choose between these two modes of travelling, he should have preferred the adoption of the latter. He limited himself to two guides, whom he took to point out to him the situation of the wells and the monuments. A young Orientalist, M. Muller, who had already accompanied him to Syouah, wished still to follow in his train. The little caravan included altogether about nine persons; they took with them twelve camels and four dromedaries: the former were intended to carry the baggage of the travellers, whilst the

latter, being lighter, were to serve for more rapid excursions. Having at length obtained a letter from the Viceroy of Egypt to the Dey of Tripoli, M. Pachó quitted Alexandria, on the third of November, 1824.

The environs of this town are so well known, that he does not stay to describe them. A very narrow neck of land extends between the sea and the lake Mareotis, from Alexandria to Aboukir; which, on that side, has always been the settled boundary of the base of Delta. M. Pachó employed one day in visiting the ruins of Aboukir, the ancient *Taposiris*, which had already been explored and described by several members of the commission of Egypt. He searched in vain for some vestiges of Egyptian art; he could discover nothing which bore the peculiar and perfectly distinctive characters of it, with the exception of a temple, the date of which cannot be placed higher than the first Lagides; all else is purely Grecian, Roman, and Arabian.

'I then thought,' says M. Pachó, 'and in the end I was convinced, that the Egyptians had raised no monuments, nor built any towns in Marmarica, before their submission to the Turks, and that, previously to that period, this country might have been inhabited only by wandering tribes, and perhaps also by the *Berberes*, and the *Africo-Phœnicians*. If the Egyptians, anterior to the conquest of Alexander, had established colonies and erected monuments on this coast, some traces of them would be seen. The extraordinary solidity of their monumental architecture gives countenance to this opinion, and the hieroglyphic emblems, with which they were wont to adorn it, would at least be found engraven on some of the ruins. Had new edifices displaced those of the Egyptians, the same reason still exists; and here, as in other places, the vestiges of antiquity would be discovered on more modern monuments.'

Aboukir forms part of the *Ouadi-Mariout*, or valley of Mareotis, famed in antiquity for its vineyards, and which, in the time of Makrizy, (the 14th century of our era,) was still covered with gardens and houses, which extended themselves as far as the province of Barkah. Of those groves and gardens, mentioned by the Arabian historians, there remains not the least vestige; and what is more, not a single tree, though wild, overshadows the country. Its vegetation is generally woody, but never ramiferous, not even in the trenches, which serve to carry off the rain water; but, on every side, the ruins of ancient towns show that this district was formerly very thickly peopled. The soil, though for the most part clayey, is in some places cultivated in rice and corn fields, by one of the four bodies, or *bednat*, of the great Arab tribe of *Aoulad-Aly*. Nevertheless, there, as in the Oases, you find ruins and monuments lost in the midst of the sands, which proves the encroachment of the desert on the cultivable lands.

'The reason of it is,' says M. Pacho, 'that the Christians, and after them the Arabs, from religious motives, established their dwellings far from those of the ancient inhabitants, which being thus abandoned, the trees that surrounded them have perished for want of care, and, this bulwark being destroyed, the desert has advanced. It is probable that, in a few more centuries, the sands, impelled by the south winds, and continuing their encroachments, will end by covering the face of the valley of Marcotis, till they come in contact with the waves of the opposite sea.'

Ascending from this valley, where he took occasion to sketch some Lagidian and Arabian monuments, of which the one in best preservation is a strong castle, called the *Kassr Lamaid*, and mistaken by M. Scholz, for a mosque,—M. Pacho entered the desert, which extends from the promontory *Dresich*, to within thirty leagues of Alexandria, and as far as the *Catabathmus parvus* of the ancients.

How sterile soever this desert may now be, it must have been very populous in former times, as well as the valley of Mareotis, which precedes it. It is impossible to travel for a single half-hour, without meeting some vestiges of ancient villages, reservoirs for the reception of the rains, and canals for their conveyance. Ruins of another description have induced M. Pacho to believe, by their situation on the heights, the thickness of their walls, and the wells with which they are provided, that they may be the remains of the military posts, designed, in former times, for the protection of the towns and the public roads, against the incursions of the ancient wandering tribes. 'These conjectures,' says he, 'acquire greater probability, when it is remembered that the Romans were often obliged to engage with the Marmarides, not for the purpose of subjugating those colonies, but only that they might preserve a free communication between Egypt and Cyrenaica.'

We come at length with our traveller to *Catabathmus parvus*. Ptolemy mentions two *Catabathmuses*, in Marmarica; and this name, which he gives to two ancient towns, is equally applicable, as we know, to the valleys which were within their jurisdiction. Whether the Arabs have been guided by this tradition, or simply by the aspect of the places, it is, in either case, remarkable that they also give the names of *Akabah el Soughaier*, and *Akabah el Kebir*, that is, the little and the great descent, to the very places which are called *Catabathmus parvus*, and *Catabathmus magnus*, by the Alexandrian Geographer.

The hills of *Catabathmus parvus* are about five hundred feet above the level of the sea; that is, one hundred feet less than the Great Pyramid, which is already reduced two hundred feet, by the sands which centuries have heaped around its base. But these hills are only the first step of the heights which rise progressively, as far as the mountains of Pentapolis. They extend into the inte-

rior, from the river to the Oasis of Animon. M. Pacho traversed them eleven days after his departure from Alexandria, and encamped for the night by the side of a torrent formed by the rains. Here he describes a scene, which, to us, appears full of beauty :

'The two banks of the torrent were covered with Arab tents, the dark colour of which was contrasted with the pale green of the incipient vegetation. Nature was beginning to recover from the languor to which she is reduced, in these districts, during nine months of the year. The rains were penetrating into the crevices of the earth, hardened by the scorching rays of the African sun. These genial showers had been expected with impatience ; and their arrival was celebrated with transports of joy by these Arabs, wandering in a country where the flowing of rivulets and the bubbling of fountains are unknown. How interesting is the sight the inhabitants present in this happy quarter of the year ! All the families, dispersed over the extent of land which stretches from Alexandria to the gulph of Bomba, are then in motion ; they inquire of each other which parts are first favoured by the care of providence ; if any such place is mentioned, they make haste to repair to it ; camels and mares are indiscriminately yoked to the plough, the earth is speedily turned up, and receives the grain, which, together with milk, is to form the chief subsistence of these people, who, though barbarians indeed, are hospitable and simple in their manners. The waters of the torrent had attracted the great number of Arabs, whom we found upon its banks. Such contentment reigned among them, that it was evinced even in their labours. In one place they were furnishing their plough-shares, and in another measuring out the grain they were about to sow,—preparations which were made with a liveliness and joy, remarkable in men naturally grave and taciturn. Their flocks, in particular, appeared to receive new life : the slender steed was seen bounding by the torrent, or reclined among the bushes, whilst the patient camel, feeling his limbs refreshed, and forgetting his immense size and his quiet habits, gambolled heavily upon the plain. And all this contentment of the men, and enjoyment of the animals, was produced by a sight the most common in our country—a small strip of germinating verdure, and a sheet of running water, in this arid region ! The satisfaction of their own desires disposes even the most barbarous nations to benevolence ; and, accordingly, we were kindly received by this pastoral society. My title of Christian did not produce any unfavourable impression. I told them that we were going to Derne, upon commercial business, and they appeared to believe it. The chief of the camp even wished to celebrate our arrival by a splendid repast. According to the ancient custom, which has ever been observed by these wandering tribes, he directed a sheep to be slain and served up entire to the guests. Ibrahim, which was the name of the chief, treated me with a respect and frankness, to which the Arabs had not yet alto-

gether accustomed me. I had fresh occasion to remark, that the ideas of these men frequently acquire in precision, what, from the nature of their bringing up, and their manner of life, they lose in extent.

'The projects of *Mohammed-Aly*, and, above all, his organization of the *nizam-el-djedid*, (troops after the European model,) were the subject of conversation among all the inhabitants of the country. Ibrahim addressed some pertinent remarks to me, upon the events which were transpiring in Egypt, and on the consequences which were likely to ensue, when objects, more interesting than the political discourses of the chief, attracted my attention. While the more elderly women were preparing for the hospitable meal, and spreading the carpets in the tents, the young girls, after having taken up the waving folds of their dresses, dispersed themselves about the neighbourhood to collect dried herbs and thorns, which are the only combustibles, in a country destitute of trees. I watched the rapid motion of their slender forms, and the untutored graces of their walk, or rather of their run; and I listened with pleasure to their songs, the powerful intonations of which were strongly contrasted with the voices of the young virgins. According to their usual custom, one of them recited the whole song, her companions repeating only the chorus; and whilst the former sang, to a simple and slightly varied air, the unhappy love of a young warrior for *Patmeh*, 'the finest flower of the desert,' but belonging to a hostile tribe,—representing the lover, solitary in his tent, become insensible to the spirit of revenge, unfaithful to the law of kindred, and heedlessly allowing his mare to go astray in the valley,—the others interrupted her from time to time, repeating altogether, "*Hia alem ! hia alem ! O love ! O love !*"

'The songs had ceased, and night had succeeded to the cheerful picture which had been placed before my eyes. Never before had I been equally struck with the simplicity, I will even say the happiness, of an Arab's life; and I was absorbed in a variety of thoughts, with which, however, it would be an unnecessary waste of words to trouble the reader. The voice of Ibrahim roused me from my reflections, and the *bismillah* (grace before meat) called us to commence the repast. All the principal persons in the camp assisted at this banquet; and while, by the light of the fires, the chief gravely did the honours, the young girls, dressed like the female figures in ancient statuary, presented us with a large basin of milk, from which we all drank round. But it is time to put an end to these details and resume the thread of my narration.'

We, too, will stop here for the present, at the foot of *Catabath-nus*, in imitation of one of M. Pacho's predecessors, who, dispirited by obstacles, left to our traveller the palm which he has won.

DOCTRINE OF SUMMARY COMMITMENT FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CON-
TEMPTS OF PARLIAMENT, AND OF COURTS OF JUSTICE.

No. VI.

IN 1819, (December 10th,) Mr. Courtenay called for the judgment of the House of Commons on a pamphlet, entitled, 'A Trifling Mistake, in Thomas Lord Erskine's recent preface. Shortly noticed, and respectfully corrected, in a Letter to his Lordship, by the Author of the Defence of the People. London: Printed by Robert Stodart, 81, Strand.' As a specimen of its objectionable contents the following passage was read: 'What prevents the people from walking down to the House of Commons and pulling out the members by the ears, locking up their doors, and flinging the key into the Thames? Is it any majesty which lodges in the members of that assembly? Do we love them? Not at all; we have an instinctive horror and disgust at the very name of a Boroughmonger. Do we respect them? Not in the least. Do we regard them as endowed with any superior qualities? On the contrary, individually, there is scarcely a poorer creature than your mere Member of Parliament, though in his corporate capacity, the earth furnishes not so absolute a bully. Their true practical protectors then, the real efficient anti-reformers are to be found at the Horse Guards, and at Knight's-bridge Barracks. As long as the House of Commons'-majorities are backed by the regimental muster-rolls, so long may those who have got the tax-power, keep it, and hang those who resist.'

What is substantially asserted in the above passage is plainly, that the House were protected, not by the love and confidence of the people, but by their fear; that they had rendered themselves objects of detestation; but that, as the author said, in another part of his pamphlet, 'the time, the means, the occasion (of actual resistance) must, of course, make part of the prudential question which every man must determine for himself, and concerning which, I do not wish to be his prompter; using therein nearly the celebrated language which fell from Mr. Fox on the 23rd November, 1795. 'I have a right to hope and expect,' said Mr. Fox, 'that these (treason and sedition) bills, which positively repeal the bill of right, and cut up the whole of the constitution by the roots, by changing our limited monarchy into an absolute despotism, will not be enacted by Parliament, against the declared sense of a great majority of people. If, however, Ministers, so resolute in their spirit of destruction, are determined, by means of the corrupt influence they possess in the two Houses of Parliament, to pass the bills in violent opposition to the declared sense of a great majority of the nation, and they should be

put in force with all their rigorous provisions, if my opinion is asked by the people, as to their obedience, I shall tell them, that it is no longer a question of moral obligation and duty, but of prudence. It will, indeed, be a case of extremity alone, that can justify resistance, and the only question will be, whether that resistance is prudent.' Mr. Burke, too, saw no other way for the preservation of a decent attention to the public interest in the representatives, but the *interposition of the body of the people itself*, whenever it shall appear, by some flagrant and notorious act, by some capital innovation, that their representatives are going to overleap the fences of the law, and to introduce an arbitrary power.

About the same time that Mr. Burke promulgated these sentiments, he thus described the feeling which prevailed respecting the House of Commons among their representatives: 'Sir, that there should be found gentlemen, who would annihilate the people, and acknowledge no other voice but that of this House, is to me not at all surprising; because the conduct of the most violent sticklers for this doctrine has not deserved much applause or favour from them. But that they should have renounced reason and common sense, so far as to maintain that the majority of this House is the only organ by which their sentiments can be expressed, is to me truly surprising. For where, in the name of wonder, should the House acquire the necessary knowledge or intelligence? Is it by turning over these musty volumes, or by rummaging these gaudy boxes which lie on your table? No, Sir, they contain none of these mysteries. How, then, are they to be explored? Is there any virtue or inspiration in these benches or cushions, by which they are communicated? Or does the echo of these walls whisper the secret in your ears? No; but the echo of every other wall, the murmur of every stream, the shouts, aye, and the hoots and hisses of every street in the nation, ring it in your ears, and deafen you with their din. "Deafen you," did I say? Alas! you were deaf before, or rather dead, otherwise you would have heard; for their voice is loud enough to awaken almost the dead.'*

The majority of the House of Commons, in 1770 and 1795, dissented as much from the sentiments of Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox, as they did from those of the Author of 'A Trifling Mistake,' in 1819. In the two former cases, the majorities had as much reason to dread the rage of periodical and pamphlet criticism, and much more reason to apprehend the influence of such eminent men in fanning the flame of popular discontent; it was also more competent to them, however inexcusable an infringement it would have been on the freedom of debate, to animadvert on what they might judge a criminal abuse of the license permitted to a member of their own house, than to usurp the province of a jury, in the case of one who was

not a member, nor had obstructed any of their proceedings; yet no attempt was made to punish Burke and Fox, and the avowal of their sentiments exposed them merely to the usual misrepresentations of party hostility. Mr. Fox was accused (by Mr. Abbot, now Lord Colchester) of 'making a signal to the inquiring people of England, and bidding them unfurl the standard of rebellion,' but was neither reprimanded nor sent to the Tower; the Author of 'A Trifling Mistake' was accused of holding out 'a direct recommendation to the people to use force against the House of Commons,' and was sent to Newgate. Supposing, for a moment, that Mr. Abbott and Mr. Courtenay, instead of violently perverting the meaning of the passages they reprehended, by excluding from their view the various conditions on which the offering of resistance was made to depend, had given a correct construction of their purport—granting that, by an incredible lapse into imbecility, the former had said, *sans phrase*, 'Unfurl the standard of rebellion! Compel the King to make me First Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Warden of the Cinque Ports;' and that the latter had said, as unequivocally, 'Use physical force against the House of Commons, the Horse Guards, and the Foot Guards! You are a thousand to one, what have you to fear?' Would there have been any thing in such folly to excite the slightest alarm in a sane mind? Let Members of the House of Commons ask themselves, whether it requires less than the power of a CROMWELL or a BUONAPARTE to pull them out by the ears; let them reflect on the long intervals at which such characters appear on the stage, and fix the world's gaze upon their motions; let them review the infinite combination of circumstances which called forth the latent 'merit,' which conducted these men to their 'bad empires,' the long series of acts of misgovernment, and the slow-maturing contrariety between existing laws, institutions, and national character; and they will be satisfied that, in whatever degree the clandestine calumnies of a press, under arbitrary restrictions, may have contributed to such convulsions, they never have been, and never can be, in any degree, brought on by the most unbridled licentiousness of one that is self-controlled. They will be impressed with a sober, rooted, practical conviction, that, if the opinions of orators and pamphleteers, however wild and pernicious, and 'however well sustained, are paradoxes confined to the individual who utters them, or to a few hundred followers, they fall as harmless in the middle of sixteen millions of people, as they would in a party of three or four.' *

In the debate on Mr. Courtenay's motion, 'that Robert Stodart be summoned to attend the bar on Monday next,' the speeches of individual members did abundantly partake of their corporate spirit; and, on such occasions, it is extremely common to hear a knight,

* Lord John Russell's Essay on the Constitution, p. 294.
Oriental Herald, Vol. 17.

citizen, or burgess speak as if 'he had the whole House of Commons in his belly.' Mr. Courtenay said, 'Such doctrines as these must lead to all the scenes of horror, anarchy, and confusion, from the contemplation of which every good mind must shrink. The opinions of such a writer, his wild and mischievous feelings, if not curbed, must lead to infinite calamities; not only for those who valued the rash and wicked advice, but to all who wished well to their country. Such opinions went at once to the utter destruction of the constitution of the country. Might not any individual, whom the House may hereafter punish for following such doctrines, turn round and complain against their pouring down the vengeance of the law upon him, when they left unnoticed and unpunished the real author, whose precept led the follower into crime?' Here the public opinion, respecting the House of Commons, is supposed to depend, not on the conduct of the House, but on the opinions of one private and anonymous writer; and the prevalence of his opinions is supposed to depend on the circumstance of his being at large, or confined within the walls of Newgate. Again, the bare assertion of the indisputable proposition, that a course of insolent oppression on the part of Government, however sanctioned by legal formalities, will provoke resistance, is declared to 'lead inevitably to scenes of horror, anarchy, and confusion,' whether there be a general feeling of oppression or not. And, to crown all, it is said, that 'the House' could not consistently, punish any individual who should hereafter 'follow the doctrines' inculcated in the pamphlet, that is, walk into the house, and 'pull the Members out by the ears,' if they did not first chastise 'the real author' of such an unheard-of proceeding,—him, in obedience to whose 'precept' the reformer had ventured on so hazardous a step!

Sir Francis Burdett said, 'If this motion is agreed to, the House will appear in a very extraordinary light in the eyes of the country. A few days only have elapsed since we refused the exercise of our undoubted constitutional inquisitorial power, when called upon, for the benefit of them, on the part of the whole people of England. The same persons, who so thought proper to refuse the exercise of these functions to the complaining people who demanded them, will now, I have no doubt, consent to apply all the force of our power, at the call of the honourable and learned gentleman, to a case in which, of all others, we should be silent, and wherein alone we cannot act as an impartial party. I will, on all occasions, object to converting this house into a court of justice, a jurisdiction for which we are most unfit. It is contrary to every principle of justice and law, that men should be judges in their own cause, should pronounce the law just as it pleases them, and preclude the accused from all the means of defence which the law of the land allows him.'

Lord John Russell 'thought that libels pronounced in the house,

within their own doors, should be punished with severity; but this libel having been published out of doors, in common with many others of the same description, which had escaped uncensured, he could scarcely consider the incidental reading of a passage from it, by a Member, (Mr. Stuart Wortley,) as a sufficient ground to justify the proceeding now recommended.' An incitement to punish libels spoken in the house, which would be destructive of the freedom of debate, is not at all redeemed by a rejection of the motion on narrow and inadequate grounds, implying the speaker's dissent from those on which it ought to have been opposed.

Lord Nugent wished to state in three words the reason why he should most cordially give his vote for the original motion; and so proceeded, amidst the cheering of his brethren, to give a very animated support to the prosecution and conviction of the yet unknown defendant.

Mr. Wilberforce 'had always preferred, *where it could be adopted*, that course in which they avoided taking the [prosecution, verdict, judgment, and] execution of the law into their own hands, by calling on the Attorney-General to bring the criminal into a court of justice. For when they themselves proceeded against criminals, *it might be imputed to them*, that they united together offices which ought to continue distinct, and became executors as well as makers of the law, which, *it was apprehended*, had a tendency to tyranny; and, if that mode of proceeding were applicable to the present case, he should certainly give it the preference.' But if it should *not* be considered applicable, that is, if a verdict could not be expected from a jury, he had no objection to incur the imputation of uniting incompatible offices, and of defying apprehensions, founded on human infirmities, from which they were by privilege exempt! 'He could almost pardon any thing more readily, than a cold, mean attempt to keep *within* the bounds of danger, and, at the same time, trifle with the security of the constitution, and the greatness and glory of the country which he loved; and whose greatness and glory, he hoped, would be transmitted, notwithstanding all the malice of its enemies, unimpaired to prosperity.' So that, if men would *not go beyond* the bounds prescribed for their conduct, and expose themselves to the danger of being lawfully convicted of offences, Mr. Wilberforce would concur in a proceeding, which would defeat their prudence, and punish them for guilt which they were unpardonable for not manifesting more plainly! If men will think themselves safe within those judicial safe-guards, which it is the highest glory of the constitution to preserve inviolate, Mr. Wilberforce thinks it the privilege of our representatives to overleap the sacred fence, and bring in that arbitrary power, against whose approaches, whether direct or insidious, it is their obvious duty and noblest privilege to protect the country.

When the consideration of this subject was resumed, December

13th, Mr. Ellice informed the House that he was authorised to say, that Mr. John Cam Hobhouse was the author of the pamphlet; whereupon, after some discussion as to points of form, the House sentenced Mr. Hobhouse to be imprisoned in Newgate.

The Court of King's Bench having refused to discharge Mr. Hobhouse, when brought up on a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and even to hear him support the objections he had stated to the Speaker's warrant, he published an elaborate 'Argument for the King's Bench, on application for a discharge,' &c. Having been intended for the ears of the Judges, it is probably more technical than an argument against the doctrine of constructive contempt would otherwise have been; but what is chiefly to be regretted in this production is, that its author has laid much more stress on technical formalities than they could bear, and, by making the aggravations of his case depend on circumstances entirely insignificant, has thrown into shade the essential violations of justice which characterised it. Those were, first, that he was condemned, not for any act whatsoever, but for mere opinions: secondly, that his accusers were also his judges. To have been heard in his defence by such judges, would have been but an idle ceremony, nay, an insulting mockery, to which it would be a degradation to any man to submit. Yet this is the tone of remonstrance and oburgation used by Mr. Hobhouse on this occasion: 'I am not cited; I am not heard—I am not seen; but judgment is passed upon me in my absence, and the order for imprisonment issued at once! Here are giant strides! Is this England? Is this the land of liberty, of justice, and of law? Is this the country of trial by jury? Will not the Judges interpose, to say this shall be done no more? Condemn a man in his absence, for that which the tribunal condemning have no proof whatever, that he ever did! I say that the House of Commons, up to this moment, do not know that I committed the very act for which they condemned me. They cannot know it; and yet the whole House present, with the exception of the Member for Westminster, voted me guilty of a high contempt, and proceeded to the lawless judgment and condemnation of an absent man.' 'If this is to be borne, no man is safe for an instant; any man may be torn from his bed; the Judges might be dragged from the bench; our liberties, and ~~and~~ our lives, would be at the disposal of any Member of the House of Commons, who might choose to tell a falsehood. The decision of the Judges, backed by the opinion of all England, would stop the progress of this frightful usurpation; a single word would be enough.'

The usurpation that is thus exclaimed against, as pregnant with such dreadful consequences, is that of a power to condemn, *without hearing*, the accused. But a Court that is capable of judging in its own cause, and of condemning a person unheard, would as certainly condemn him after hearing the ablest and most satisfactory

defence that ever was, or could be, made. Mr. Owen, Mr. Stockdale, and Mr. Reeves were acquitted by juries; but would they not have been infallibly condemned by the House of Commons, after hearing the very same defences which were addressed 'to their juries? Would any conceivable eloquence have taken off *one* vote from the number of those accusers? 'In *all* cases of privilege,' says a zealous apologist for the practice of the House of Commons in such cases, 'they have only to decide *ex manifesta re*. The contempt stares them in the face; the author is designated in the fact itself; the House have to adjudicate, and not to try; to give judgment, and not to hear evidence; what is said is not a defence, but a supplication to the mercy of the Court.' What, then, could Mr. Hobhouse propose to himself by making a defence at the bar of the House? He could not plead, Not Guilty, like Mr. Tooke. Against Mr. Tooke there was only the evidence of the guilty printer, Mr. Stockdale. Against Mr. Hobhouse, there was his own voluntary confession to Mr. Ellice. He would not have said that the offensive passages were 'interpolated,' nor that the manuscript had been printed and published without his consent. Being therefore the acknowledged author of the publication, it is most wonderful that he should have entertained a hope of being able to 'show, from the context, that the House had *misunderstood* him;' and still more, that he should have written the following passage:—'I may say, with the utmost truth, that, had they called me before them, and had I chosen to acknowledge their jurisdiction, *it was impossible that they should have come to the conclusion, that I had been guilty of any breach of their privileges, or had done any thing to be complained of anywhere.*' If Mr. Hobhouse was not disposed to retract his opinions, and express contrition for his temerity, (the only species of defence to which such judges ever listen,) if he still conscientiously adhered to the sentiments avowed in his pamphlet, he would have found a more becoming model for his conduct, in the deportment of Alderman Oliver, March 25, 1771, who, when called on for his defence, said:—'I own, and glory in the fact laid to my charge; I know that whatever punishment is intended, nothing I could say would avert it. As for myself, I am perfectly unconcerned, and as I expect little from your justice, I defy your power.'

Mr. Hobhouse then contrasts the case of Flower with his own. Flower was refused to be liberated, when brought up on *Habeas Corpus*; but Flower had attacked one of the Members by name, (the Bishop of Llandaff,) and there is a circumstance attending his committal which distinguishes it from mine on the face of the return. His warrant stated, that he had *been informed* of the complaint made against him; and, in fact, Lord Kenyon, who gave judgment on the case, laid great stress upon Flower having been heard. Now, from the very circumstance of the publications of

Flower and Gale Jones having been attacks on *individuals*, Sir Samuel Romilly argued, as well as from other reasons, that they were not attacks upon the privileges of either House of Parliament. And as to Flower's having been heard in his defence, and, to use the words of Lord Kenyon, 'having had the same opportunity of calling witnesses that every other defendant has in a court of justice,' it only proves, that Lord Kenyon was totally insensible to the infinite difference between the circumstances under 'which Flower, and every other defendant in a court of justice,' could meet their prosecutors, and affords no countenance whatever to the conjecture, 'that Lord Kenyon must, with his sentiments on the subject, have discharged Mr. Hobhouse. Referring to Lord Kenyon's judgment on this case, Sir Samuel Romilly said, 'When the following observations with which he (Lord Kenyon) concluded, are fully considered, it will be impossible that such a precedent can have weight with any unprejudiced tribunal: "Having heard the case argued, I am of opinion that the party must be remanded, beyond all doubt, unless we wish to upset all the law of Parliament;—unless we choose to lend our hand to do that most sacrilegious act, to endeavour to overthrow the constitution of the country, this person must be remanded!" This is not the language of a Judge; it deserves only to be considered as the opinion of a member of that body, whose commitment was complained of.* The following passage, in the same judgment, may also be referred to, as showing the perturbation of mind which suggested such rash, erroneous, and inapplicable political speculations. Lord Kenyon said, that, if ever the time should come, that any malignant, any factious, any bad man, should wish to overturn the constitution of the country, the first step he would take, he dared say, would be by *attacking* the Courts of Justice, and the privileges of both Houses of Parliament.'

Mr. Hobhouse considered the following passage, in the judgment of Lord Ellenborough, so favourable to him, 'as, if acted upon, to make his discharge inevitable.' His Lordship said: 'If a commitment appeared to be for a contempt of the House of Commons generally, I would, neither in the case of that Court, nor of any other of the superior Courts, inquire further. But if it did not profess to commit for a contempt, but for some matter appearing ~~on the~~ return, which could, by no reasonable intentment, be considered as a contempt of the Court committing, but a ground, palpably and evidently arbitrary, unjust and contrary to every principle of positive law or national justice; I say, that, in a case of such a commitment, if it should ever occur, but which I cannot possibly anticipate as ever likely to occur, we must look at it and act upon

it as justice may require, from whatever Court it may profess to have proceeded.' Mr. Hobhouse adds, 'that Lord Ellenborough's above-quoted opinion exactly applies to the case under consideration, is apparent. It is not in this return said, that the committal is for a contempt *generally*. The matter appears on the return, which matter, I say, could, by no reasonable intendment, be considered a contempt of the Court committing. And had the matter not appeared, Lord Chief Justice Vaughan's opinion would have vitiated the warrant. [Burchell's case, 6, St. Tr., 1005.] It cannot, by any reasonable intendment, be considered a contempt of the Court committing; for it is, as appears by the return, and as before argued, an offence at common law, and which, the statutes provide, shall be tried at the usual Courts.' How could Mr. Hobhouse imagine, that Lord Ellenborough, if he had then presided in the Court of King's Bench, or his successor, would concede that his 'Trifling Mistake' was not a contempt, because it was an offence at common law? Were not the matters which appeared on the return, in the cases of Flower and Sir Francis Burdett, equally offences at common law? Every contempt is an offence at common law, and ought to be treated accordingly. The matter which Lord Ellenborough had in view, as one that, by no reasonable intendment, could be considered a contempt, was something which the Court committing did not even *profess* to regard in that light, and which, he might therefore well say, he *could not possibly anticipate as ever likely to occur!* The House of Commons may commit every day for libel, without interruption from the Courts in Westminster Hall: they may adjudge the most innocent paper a high contempt, without those Courts presuming to inquire into the merits of the case; but if a case, which could not possibly be anticipated, should ever occur, a commitment which the House, however corrupt and arbitrary, had no interest to order, then the Court of King's Bench would 'look at it,' and interpose its authority, for the protection of the liberty of the subject! Then, as Lord Kenyon said, 'a Court of Justice will not swerve from its duty, but will decide according to law!' Such is the law under which Englishmen are content to live!

THE SCOTTISH COVENANTER.

The light is rising o'er the sky,
Softly and sweet the wild flowers bloom;
And gently early breezes sigh
Around the Covenanter's tomb.

Thus beauteous shone the morning bright,
And hills and meadows smiled in pride:
The martyr, 'midst the dawning light,
The band of murderers desried.

And like a firm, unyielding rock,
That scorns the wildly raging flood,
He met the angry tempest's shock,
Resisting even unto blood.

The partner of his life stood by,
Unmoved, undaunted, when he fell;
Nor shed a tear, nor breathed a sigh,
Her spirit's agony to tell.

Yet, when that bloody scene was done,
And they had left her to her woe,
She wept beside that murdered one,—
Her last, her dearest friend below.

He sprang to glory—many a song
Then fired him with a strange delight,
The welcome of that blissful throng,
Who fell in persecution's night.

They suffered not, nor died in vain;
Their God hath heard their groans, their cries:
Scotland is freed from error's chain,
And purest light is o'er her skies!

She loves that holy light, which threw
Such radiant beauty 'thwart the gloom,
And chang'd her wild night's deepest hue
To morning's fairest, loveliest bloom.

The spirits of her martyrs stand,
Their mantle o'er her they have thrown;
Nor will she rest, till every land
Truth's pure and holy word hath known.

Lord, be thou still her strength, her shield;
Protect her by thy mighty power;
O, let her not to error yield,
Nor shrink in danger's darkest hour!

Morpeth.

SARAH ELIZABETH.

BISHOP HEBER'S JOURNAL.

WE had intended to give a long review of 'Bishop Heber's Journeys in India,' recently published, by Mr. Murray, in two quarto volumes; but found, at the close of the month, that their contents were already almost wholly before the reading public, in various channels, from the 'Quarterly Review,' which made free use of the materials, before they were published in volumes, to the weekly and daily papers, in which almost every thing of interest has been extracted. We can speak in the highest terms of the general character of the work; but, as it is our object to present the readers of the 'Oriental Herald,' rather with matter not likely to have been already seen by them, than with repetitions of what has appeared before, even when of higher interest, we have confined our larger review of Bishop Heber's volumes to the 'Athenæum,' and shall offer only one or two extracts from it here, from among the very few which have not already been laid before the public through other channels. This, indeed, has been the only reason which induced us to prefer the portions selected, to others of equal interest; but, where so much has been already republished, the novelty of an extract will be, at least, one of its recommendations. We may add, that the book is beautifully 'got up,' to use a technical, but expressive, phrase; that the illustrations are of peculiar interest; and that it deserves the popularity which it will, no doubt, enjoy. The following are the portions we have selected, as specimens of the powers of observation, and style of writing, of the lamented author:

Unhealthiness of the District of Terrai.

'Mr. Boulderson said, he was sorry to learn from the Rajah, that he did not consider the unhealthy season of the Terrai, as yet, quite over. He, therefore, proposed that we should make a long march of above twenty miles, the following day, to Ruderpoor, in order to be as short a time in the dangerous country as possible. I was, for several reasons, of a different opinion. My people and sepoys had already had two long marches, through very bad and fatiguing roads. That to Ruderpoor, was described as worse than any which we had yet seen. As Ruderpoor is reckoned only a shade less dangerous than Tandah, to halt there on the Sunday would be impossible, and we should have, on that day also, a march of twenty-five miles, through the forest of Bamoury. Besides my reluctance to subject the men to so great fatigue on such a day, I had always understood that lassitude was among the most powerful predisposing causes to fever, and I could not think, without uneasiness, of any of them being tired out, and lagging behind, in so horrible a country. The direct way to Ruderpoor lay through the Nawab's territory; and Manpoor, the intervening station was by no means

a desirable one, either from its air or the mutinous character of its inhabitants. A little to the right, however, was a village named Kulleanpoor, within the Company's border, and, at least, not more unwholesome than its neighbours. The distance was eight or nine short coss, which would do nobody any harm. There would remain a stage of six or seven miles to Ruderpoor on Sunday, which might be done without any nightly travelling, and leave both men and cattle fresh next morning, for our long march to the mountains. For Europeans, there was, in either place, little risk; our warm clothing, warm tents, elevated bedsteads, musquito nets, (a known preservative against malaria,) and our port wine, would probably be sufficient safe-guards; but for the poor fellows who sleep on the ground, and are as careless of themselves as children, it behoved me to take thought, and Mr. Boulderson, for the reasons which I have mentioned, agreed with me in the opinion that Kulleanpoor should be our next stage.

'I asked Mr. Boulderson, if it were true that the monkeys forsook these woods, during the unwholesome months. He answered, that not the monkeys only, but every thing which has the breath of life, instinctively deserts them, from the beginning of April to October. The tygers go up to the hills; the antelopes and wild hogs make incursions into the cultivated plain; and those persons, such as dāk-bearers, or military officers, who are obliged to traverse the forest in the intervening months, agree that not so much as a bird can be heard or seen in the frightful solitude. Yet, during the time of the heaviest rains, while the water falls in torrents, and the cloudy sky tends to prevent evaporation from the ground, the forest may be passed with tolerable safety. It is in the extreme heat, and immediately after the rains have ceased, in May, the latter end of August, and the early part of September, that it is most deadly. In October, the animals return; by the latter end of that month, the wood-cutters and the cowmen again venture, though cautiously. From the middle of November to March, troops pass and repass, and, with common precaution, no risk is usually apprehended.

'November 20th.—The way to Kulleanpoor turned out exceedingly bad, rugged, and intersected by nullahs, and "gools," or canals, for the purpose of irrigation; so that our baggage, though sent off at five in the evening of the 19th, did not arrive till five the next morning, and both camel-drivers and sepoy complained a good deal. It turned out, however, that they had been themselves partly to blame, in not, according to my directions, taking a guide, and consequently losing their way. The country is, by no means, ill-cultivated thus far.—Vol. I. pp. 453, 454.

A Tyger Hunt.

'The young Raja (of Ruderpoor) mentioned, that there was a tyger in an adjoining tope, which had done a good deal of mischief, that he should have gone after it himself had he not been ill, and

had he not thought that it would be a fine diversion for Mr. Boulderson and me. I told him I was no sportsman, but Mr. Boulderson's eyes sparkled at the name of tyger, and he expressed great anxiety to beat up his quarters in the afternoon. Under such circumstances, I did not like to deprive him of his sport, as he would not leave me by myself, and went, though with no intention of being more than a spectator. Mr. Boulderson, however, advised me to load my pistols for the sake of defence, and lent me a very fine double-barrelled gun for the same purpose. We set out a little after three on our elephants, with a servant behind each howdah, carrying a large chatta, which, however, was almost needless. The Raja, in spite of his fever, made his appearance too, saying that he could not bear to be left behind. A number of people, on foot and horseback, attended from our camp and the neighbouring villages, and the same sort of interest and delight was evidently excited which might be produced in England by a great coursing party. The Raja was on a little female elephant, hardly bigger than the Dmian ox, and almost as shaggy as a poodle. She was a native of the neighbouring wood, where they are generally, though not always, of a smaller size than those of Bengal and Chittagong. He sat in a low howdah, with two or three guns ranged beside him, ready for action. Mr. Boulderson had also a formidable apparatus of musquets and fowling-pieces, projecting over his mohout's head. We rode about two miles, across a plain covered with long jungly grass, which very much put me in mind of the country near the Cuban. Quails and wild fowl rose in great numbers, and beautiful antelopes were seen scudding away in all directions. With them our party had no quarrel; their flesh is good for little, and they are in general favourites both with native and English sportsmen, who feel disinclined to meddle with a creature so graceful and so harmless.

At last we came to a deeper and more marshy ground, which lay a little before the tope pointed out to us; and while Mr. Boulderson was doubting whether we should pass through it, or skirt it, some country people came running to say that the tyger had been tracked there that morning. We therefore went in, keeping line as if we had been beating for a hare, through grass so high that it reached up to the howdah of my elephant, though a tall one, and almost hid the Raja entirely. We had not gone far, before a very large animal of the deer kind sprang up just before me, larger than a stag, of a dusky brown colour, with spreading but not palmated horns. Mr. Boulderson said it was a 'mohr,' a species of elk; that this was a young one, but that they sometimes grew to an immense size, so that he had stood upright between the tips of their horns. He could have shot it, but did not like to fire at present and said it was, after all, a pity to meddle with such harmless animals. The mohr accordingly ran off unmolested, rising with

splendid bounds up to the very top of the high jungle, so that his whole body and limbs were seen from time to time above it. A little further, another arose, which Mr. Boulderson said was the female; of her I had but an imperfect view. The sight of these curious animals had, already, however, well repaid my coming out, and from the animation and eagerness of every body round me, the anxiety with which my companions looked for every waving of the jungle-grass, and the continued calling and shouting of the horse and foot behind us, it was impossible not to catch the contagion of interest and enterprise.

At last the elephants all drew up their trunks into the air, began to roar, and to stamp violently with their fore feet; the Raja's little elephant turned short round, and in spite of all her mohout could say or do, took up her post, to the Raja's great annoyance, close in the rear of Mr. Boulderson. The other three, (for one of my baggage elephants had come out too, the mohout, though unarmed, not caring to miss the show,) went on slowly but boldly, with their trunks raised, their ears expanded, and their sagacious little eyes bent intently forward. "We are close upon him," said Mr. Boulderson, "fire where you see the long grass shake, if he rises before you."—Just at that moment my elephant stamped again violently. "There, there," cried the mohout, "I saw his head!" A short roar, or rather loud growl, followed, and I saw immediately before my elephant's head the motion of some large animal stealing away through the grass. I fired as directed, and, a moment after, seeing the motion still more plainly, fired the second barrel. Another short growl followed, the motion was immediately quickened, and was soon lost in the more distant jungle. Mr. Boulderson said, "I should not wonder if you hit him that last time; at any rate we shall drive him out of the cover, and then I will take care of him." In fact, at that moment, the crowd of horse and foot spectators at the jungle side began to run off in all directions. We went on to the place, but found it was a false alarm, and, in fact, we had seen all we were to see of him, and went twice more through the jungle in vain. A large extent of high grass stretched out in one direction, and this we had now not sufficient daylight to explore. In fact, that the animal so near me was a tyger at all, I have no evidence but its growl, Mr. Boulderson's belief, the assertion of the mohout, and, what is perhaps more valuable than all the rest, the alarm expressed by the elephants. I could not help feeling some apprehension that my firing had robbed Mr. Boulderson of his shot, but he assured me that I was quite in rule; that in such sport no courtesies could be observed, and that the animal in fact rose before me, but that he should himself have fired without scruple, if he had seen the rustle of the grass in time. Thus ended my first, and probably my last essay, in the "field-sports" of India, in which I am much mistaken, notwithstanding what Mr. Boulderson said, if I harmed any living creature.—Vol. I. pp. 460. 460.

Opium Gathering—Hoolee Festival—Indian Women.

' March 4.—We marched seven coss, or about sixteen miles, to Amba Rambt, or, as it is generally called, Ambera. The country during this march becomes more rugged and woody, but is still tolerably well cultivated; and, after passing a low but rocky chain of hills, I was glad to see that the people were at work in their poppy-grounds, and that the frost, to all appearance, had not extended far in this direction. The opium is collected by making two or three superficial incisions in the seed-vessel of the poppy, whence a milky juice exudes, which is carefully collected. The time of cutting them seems to be as soon as the petals of the flower fall off, which is about the present season. Sugar-mills are seen in every village, but no canes are now growing. The crops of barley and wheat are very thin, and the whole country bears marks of drought, though not by any means so decidedly and dismally as Jyepoor.

' Ambera is a large village on the slope of a hill, with a nullah not far from it, now standing in pools, and some large trees. At some little distance, it is enclosed by rocks fringed with wood, and the scene would be beautiful, if it were less parched and sun-burnt. The morning had been again cold, but it was very hot during the day. We must now, indeed, expect to be more or less inconvenienced by heat, and may reckon ourselves fortunate in the frosty mornings which have so long favoured us. The people of Ambera were very noisy all day and great part of the night, in the merriment of the Hoolee. In the course of the evening, a man came to us who said he was a Charun from Cattywar. He had not his distinctive dress on, which I was curious to see. I told him, therefore, to bring his "burra pugree," or large turban, and that he should have a present. He promised to do so, but never returned, and had, possibly, laid claim to a character which did not belong to him.

' I was to-day talking with Dr. Smith on the remarkably diminutive stature of the women all over India, a circumstance extending, with very few exceptions, to the female children of Europeans by native mothers; and observed that, one could hardly suppose such little creatures to be the mothers or daughters of so tall men as many of the sepoys are. He answered, that the women whom we saw in the streets and fields, and those with whom only, under ordinary circumstances, Europeans could form connexions, were of the lowest caste, whose growth was stunted from an early age by poverty and hard labour, and whose husbands and brothers were also, as I might observe, of a very mean stature. That the sepoys, and respectable natives in general, kept their women out of our way as much as possible; but that he, as a medical man, had frequently had women of the better sort brought to him for

advice, whose personal advantages corresponded with those of their husbands, and who were of stature equal to the common run of European females.

March 5.—About two miles beyond Ambera, the road descended a steep pass overhung with trees, into an extensive forest which we traversed for fifteen miles to Chotee Sirwan, a small station of police sepoy, near which our tents were pitched. The tract, however, is not entirely without inhabitants. Soon after descending from the ghât, we came to a Bheel hut, whose owner we engaged, by the promise of a reward, to guide us through the jungle, and afterwards passed two or three little hamlets of the same nation, with small patches of cultivation round each. The huts were all of the rude description, of sticks wattled with long grass, and a thatch of the same, with boughs laid over it to keep it from being blown away. They were crowded close together, as if for mutual protection, but with a small thatched enclosure adjoining for their cattle. Their fields were also neatly fenced in with boughs, a practice not common in India, but here, I suppose, necessary to keep off the deer and antelopes from their corn. The soil is poor and stony, and few of the trees of large size. There is, however, a better supply of water than I expected, none of the nullahs being perfectly dry, even in this thirsty year, but standing in pools, as Bruce describes the rivers in Abyssinia. The whole country, indeed, and what I saw of the people, reminded me of the account which he has given of the Shan-galla. All the Bheels whom we saw to-day were small slender men, less broad-shouldered, I think, and with faces less Celtic than the Pabarees of Rajmahal, nor did I think them quite so dark as these last. They were not so naked as the two whom I met at Umeerghur, having a coarse and dirty cotton cloth wrapped round the head and shoulders, and a sort of plaited petticoat round their loins, of the same material. Two of them had rude swords and shields; the remainder had all bows and arrows resembling those which I had seen before, except that the arrow-heads, not being intended for striking fish, were fixed. The bow-strings were very neatly made of bamboo-slips plaited. Their beards and hair were not at all woolly, but thick and dishevelled, and their whole appearance very dirty and ill-fed. They spoke cheerfully, however; their countenances were open, and the expression of their eyes and lips good-tempered. Few of them appeared to know any thing of Hindoostanee.

At Chotee Sirwan no supplies were to be obtained, except water from a nullah at some distance, and boughs for the elephants and camels. Some tradesmen from the Tannah at Ninnore had brought supplies for sale sufficient for the day, but nothing further; and I was again, with reluctance, but from sheer necessity, compelled to give orders for continuing our march on the Sunday. The weather was extremely hot during the greater part of the day, but this is

obviously among the most advantageous months for passing the jungle. The long grass is now burnt, or eaten down by the cattle,—the marshes are nearly dry,—and those prevailing causes of disease removed, which, at other times, of the year, make this tract no less deadly than the Teraï. Even the tygers are less formidable now that their covert is so much diminished. The prospect, nevertheless, is dismal: nobody can say,

“Merry it is in the good green wood”

The rocks seem half calcined; the ground is either entirely bare and black, or covered with a withered, rustling grass; the leaves which remain on the trees are dry and sapless, crackling in the hand like parchment; and the bare scorched boughs of, by far, the greater number give a wintry appearance to the prospect, which is strangely contrasted with the fierce glow of the atmosphere, and a sun which makes the blood boil and the temples throb. A great proportion of the trees are teak, but all of small size. There are some fine peepuls, which retain their leaves in the moist dingles by the river-side, and the pink blossom of the dhák, and a few scattered acacias, the verdure of which braves even the blast of an Arabian desert, redeem the prospect from the character of unmingled barrenness. Still it is sufficiently wild and dreary. Abdullah observed, and I was struck with the accuracy of the comparison, that the huts, the form of the hills, and the general appearance of the country and people, greatly resembled the borders of Circassia and Georgia.

‘This being the great day of Hoollee, all my Hindoo servants came to pay their compliments, and bring presents of red powder and sugar-plums. The event was rather costly to me, as I was obliged to make presents in return. But it is the “dustoor,” and who in India can transgress that unwritten and common law of the land?’

‘Cashiram and the servants were very full of two adventures which had befallen them in their night’s march. The first was, that they had heard people for some time running among the bushes near them, as if watching to seize the camels; but that, on one man looking out and seeing the sepoy, all appeared to take flight. The other was, that a very large tyger crossed the path a little before day-break, so near that they could not have mistaken any other animal for him, particularly as the moon shone bright. He stopped as if to look at them for a moment, and then passed quietly, or, as they said, “civilly” on, as if neither courting nor fearing an encounter. All the suwatts were very full of the change which had taken place in this country. “Five years ago,” one of them said, “a thousand men could have hardly forced their way through these jungles and their inhabitants; now I was safe with sixty.” I asked, if small parties were safe? and they answered, “By no means;” that, “the Bheels were as great robbers and murderers as ever where they had the power,” but that “they were very much afraid of the red”

coats." I forgot to mention before, that, on our first approaching the Bheel villages, a man ran from the nearest hut to the top of a hill, and gave a shrill shout or scream which we heard repeated from the furthest hamlet in sight, and again from two others which we could not see. I asked the meaning of this, and my suwaris assured me that these were the signals to give the alarm of our coming, our numbers, and that we had horse with us. By this means they knew at once whether it was advisable to attack us, to fly, or to remain quiet, while; if there were any of them of their number who had particular reasons for avoiding an interview with the troops and magistrates of the lowlands, they had thus fair warning given them to keep out of the way. This sounds like a description of Rob Roy's country; but these poor Bheels are far less formidable enemies than the old Mac Gregors. In the afternoon we walked up to one of the nearest hills, where were some huts of this unfortunate nation. They were all shut up, and an old man, who came to meet us, said that they were empty. He himself, and a young man, who was, he said, his nephew, remained alone in the place; all the rest were with their cattle in the jungle.

Dr. Smith, who has an excellent ear, and knows Hindoostanee well, was able to converse with these people more readily than any of our party, and said that it was chiefly in accent and tone that their language differed from the dialect usually spoken in Malwah. They speak in a drawling sort of recitative, which Dr. Smith imitated, and found them catch his meaning much better than they otherwise could. The old man said, that they had suffered much from want of rain, that their crops had been very scanty, and there was little pasture left for the cattle, and, what was worst of all, they expected the pools of the neighbouring nullah to dry up before the end of the hot weather. When that happened, he said with much resignation—"they must go down to Doongurpoor, or some other place where there was water, and do as well as they could." Both the men were evidently in fear, and even trembled; they showed an anxiety that we should not go near their huts, and were unwilling to trust themselves with us as far as our tents, though they perfectly understood my promise that they should have something to eat. I pressed the young man to shoot one of his arrows at a mark, but he had only two with him, and he looked at us all round, as if he feared we wanted to make him part with his means of defence. I succeeded, however, in re-assuring him; he shot at and hit a tree about 100 yards off, and, on my praising his skill, let fly his other arrow, which went straight enough, but struck the ground near the root. He held his bow and arrow in the English manner, differently from the Hindoostanees, who place the arrow on what we should call the wrong side, and draw the string with the thumb; his arrows were not ill-made, but his bow was what a "British bowman" would call a very slight one. The applause which he

received, and the security which he now felt, made him familiar. He sat on the ground, to show us the manner in which his countrymen shoot from amid the long grass, holding the bow with their feet, and volunteered aiming at different objects, till I told him there was no need of more trials. I asked him what game he usually killed, but apprehend that he misunderstood me, for he said, with some eagerness of manner, "that he only used his bow in self-defence." He now was very willing to come to our camp, and his uncle followed him. I gave them three anas between them, for which they were very thankful. One of the suwarrs told me that the guide in the morning expressed much delight and some surprise at my keeping my word with him, in giving him the promised buckshi-h, a pretty clear proof how these poor people are usually dealt with.

'The police thanna consists of three or four huts, with a small stage elevated on four poles for a sentry to stand on, so like those used by the Cossacks on the Circassian frontier, as to add greatly to the resemblance of scenery discovered by Abdullah. I again, in the course of the evening, longed for my wife to see these things with me; and though, after all, this is a country into which it is not likely that I should by choice take her, yet I know that there is much in it which would amuse and interest her.

'March 6th.—We proceeded this morning about seven miles, through a very wild forest of rock, wood, dingles, and dry ravines, to Panchelwas, a small village inhabited by a mixed population of Bheels and Rajpoots, and under the government of the Ranah of Banswara. To this place we were told was a direct road over the hills from Neemuch, which would have saved us at least eight miles, and which I found, on reference to Sir John Malcolm's work, is laid down in his map of Central India. It is so rugged, however, and so infested by the unsubdued tribes of Bheels, that few travellers, except beggars and pilgrims, go that way. The houses of Panchelwas are built in the same manner with those of the Bheels, but are larger and neater; and there were one or two shops, and the work yard of a wainwright, which showed our return to something like civilization. The carts here are very strong and low. The wheels have no spokes, but are made of the solid circles of the stem of a large tree, like those of children's carts in England. They have no axletrees of the kind used in Europe, but the wheels are placed below the carriage, and secured like those of wheelbarrows.

'The country, though still as wild as wild could be, had improved both in greenness and beauty during this morning's ride, and, on the other side of Panchelwas, became extremely pretty. We crossed a river, the Mhye, which, notwithstanding its distance from the sea, though shallow, was still broad, and not stagnant, with rocks on each side crowned with wood and some ruined temples, while the hills were not only greener and better wooded than

any we had lately seen, but assumed a certain degree of consequence of size and outline. At last, our path still winding through the wood, but under the shade of taller and wider spreading trees, and over a soil obviously less burnt and barren, we came to a beautiful pool, with some ruined temples, and a stately flight of steps leading to it, overhung by palms, peepuls, and tamarinds; and beyond it, on the crown of a woody hill, the towers of a large castle. This was the palace of Banswarra, and, on advancing a little further, the town came in sight at its foot, with its pagodas, ramparts, and orchards.

'I was much surprised to find, in such a situation, so large and handsome a place, of which I knew nothing before, except as one of those states which have been noted in India for the wildness and poverty of their inhabitants, and for their abominable custom of murdering the greater part of their female infants. This cruel and most unnatural sacrifice it has long been the endeavour of the British Government to induce its vassals and allies to abandon. Major Walker, when Resident at Baroda, thought he had succeeded with the greater part of them; but, it is believed, by most officers, on this side of the country, that the number saved was very small in proportion to that of the victims. Unhappily, pride, poverty, and avarice are in league with superstition to perpetuate these horrors. It is a disgrace for a noble family to have a daughter unmarried, and still worse to marry her to a person of inferior birth, while they have neither the means nor the inclination to pay such portions as a person of their own rank would expect to receive with them. On the other hand, the sacrifice of a child is believed, surely with truth, to be acceptable to "the evil powers," and the fact is certain that, though the high-born Rajpoots have many sons, very few daughters are ever found in their palaces; though it is not easy to prove any particular instance of murder, or to know the way in which the victims are disposed of. The common story of the country, and probably the true one, (for it is a point on which, except with the English, no mystery is likely to be observed,) is, that a large vessel of milk is set in the chamber of the lying-in woman, and the infant, if a girl, immediately plunged into it. Sir John Malcolm, however, who supposes the practice to be on the decline, was told that a pill of opium was usually given. Through the influence of Major Walker, it is certain that many children were spared, and, previous to his departure from Guzerat, he received the most affecting compliment which a good man could receive, in being welcomed at the gate of the palace, on some public occasion, by a procession of girls of high rank, who owed their lives to him, and who came to kiss his clothes and throw wreaths of flowers over him as their deliverer and second father. Since that time, however, things have gone on very much in the old train, and the answers made by the chiefs to any remonstrances of the British officers is, "Pay our daughters' marriage portions, and they shall live!" Yet these very men, rather than strike a blow, would submit to the cruellest martyrdom.

Never may my dear wife and daughters forget how much their sex is indebted to Christianity!

'The walls of Banswarra include a large circuit, as much, as I should think, as those of Chester; but in the one, as well as the other instance, a good deal of space is taken up with gardens. There are some handsome temples and an extensive bazar, in which I saw a considerable number of Musulmans. We took up our abode without the walls, in a little old palace, with a pretty garden and a large cistern of water, now dry, which has been appropriated by the Rawul to the use of Captain Macdonald. From this house is an advantageous view of the city and palace; the trees are finer, and the view more luxuriant than any thing, Gunrowor always excepted, which we have seen since our leaving Bhurtpoor.' Vol. II. pp. 80, 89.

TO SOME TRANSPLANTED FLOWERS.

Ye will not bloom in stranger earth,
Ye waste no balm on foreign air;
Torn from the land that gave ye birth,
Ye deem it not one effort worth
To pay—what had been needless care,
Had those who'd save, but deigned to spare!

Since Nature hath no more her right,
Ye will not languish on with less,
Winter, and banishment, and night,
Warm not in vain such things of light;
Rooted in home and happiness,
Lived ye, whose death defeats distress.

How wise are Flowers! *They* come with Spring,
Or herald her from snow-beds white;
They dwell with every lovely thing,
In sunny vales, where wild birds sing,
Where dew drops glitter, chrystal bright,
And—*they* can close their eyes at night!

Or watch the shooting stars, the moon,
The glow-worm, and torch-bearing day,
The harmless lightning flash of June,
Or hear the cricket's merry tune,
And know that *they* can rest all day—
Or wake but in the breeze to play.

They're nought to do but breathe and shine;
They are admired by every one;
Or, seen but by the eye Divine,
He did to *their* brief date assign
That *they* should never be alone,
And die, when all life's joy was gone!

Yet, with a sense of solitude,
A heart, that's now all memory,
A will, though powerless, not subdued,
A frame, that waits 'neath clime so rude,—
I cannot rest, *I* cannot fly—
Nor, saddest soon, in exile die!

ON THE MEDICAL SERVICE OF INDIA.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—In the hope that the information contained in the accompanying letter, if published in your widely-circulating 'Herald' may be useful to many of my late fellow-students, and others similarly situated, and may excite a more general interest in a not unimportant part of our Indian policy, it is respectfully offered for a place in its pages, by your most obedient servant,

A YOUNG PHYSICIAN.

To A. D., Esq., M.D., &c. &c. &c.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am now to give you, in compliance with your request, what information I can on the medical service of India, drawn chiefly from the experience of twenty-five years' duty in that quarter of the world; and you will not think this information the less to be relied on, from your knowledge that retirement from the service has, some time since, placed me beyond the reach of fears and wishes.

You acquaint me, that, having, at much expense, finished your education on the Continent, and having taken a degree of M. D. in this country, you are desirous to know what prospects the East India Company's service holds out to a medical man, now entering it, with the intention of devoting the useful part of his life to the service, and with the hope, should he survive, of returning, in from twenty to twenty-two years, to his native country, then in his forty-fifth year. The proportion of medical men who retire, to the numbers who enter the service, in the above-stated period, is reckoned about one to thirty-two.* From the suppositions which follow in your letter to me, I observe that you have provided yourself with an 'East India Register,' and that you draw the conclusion from the Company's 'Regulations on the Pay granted to Officers on Retirement,' of a fact that never yet has occurred; namely, that there is a possibility of a medical officer's being able, after seventeen years' actual service in India, to retire on the pay of superintending surgeon, 300*l.* a year, or even that of a member of the Medical Board, 500*l.* a year; and the words of the Regulations certainly warrant such an inference, being as follow:

1. A member of the Medical Board, who has been in that situation not less than two years, and not less than twenty years in India, including three years for one furlough, is permitted to retire from the service, and allowed 500*l.* per annum.

2. 'A surgeon of a General Hospital,' (there has been no such appointment in India for a great many years,) 'or superintending

* Badenach on the Indian Army.

surgeon, who has been in that situation not less than two years, and whose period of service has not been less than twenty years, including three years for one furlough, as above, is permitted to retire from the service, and allowed 300*l.* a year.

On the contrary, you may safely take my word for it, that these grades of retiring pensions, namely, 500*l.* and 300*l.* a year, are not attainable in a shorter period than forty-two and thirty-two years, respectively.

The preference, you inform me, you are advised to give to Bombay, is founded on good grounds, as far as I am informed, this being the least objectionable Presidency for a medical man, because promotion is not quite so tardy there as in the others; the proportion of the highest situation there, namely, that of member of the Medical Board, being as one to forty-one of the total medical establishment; at Madras, as one to seventy; and, in Bengal, as one to one hundred and seventy-five; otherwise, as to badness, they are all, I believe, pretty much upon a level. You may depend upon it, that all the advantages the medical service in India now holds out to those who shall be unfortunate enough to enter it, after from seventeen to thirty years' actual service in that most destructive climate, are described and included in the following Regulation, from the above quoted Register:

'All other surgeons and assistant surgeons, attached to the military,' (I never heard of any other,) 'are permitted to retire from the service *on the pay of their rank*, after having served in India not less than twenty years, including three years for one furlough; that is, surgeons on the pay of captain, 191*l.* 12*s.*, and assistant surgeons on the pay of lieutenant, 118*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* per annum.

It is here proper, I should tell you, that the period of service of a medical man, in India, before his promotion, in routine to a surgeoncy, is about fourteen years,—during which time he has the pay of lieutenant; from his promotion to a surgeoncy, and for about sixteen years after it, in all, thirty years' service, or, until he shall have attained, what is now considered, the staff-situation of superintending surgeon, he has the pay of captain. I need not trouble you with the amount of this pay, in rupees, or reduce it into English money; let it suffice to assure you, that if ever, as a medical man, you make the experiment, you will find it just sufficient to meet your current expenses in India, and no more.

You ask what are the incidental advantages or allowances attached to the medical branch of the service in India; and I answer, NONE WHATEVER. Certain medical contracts, for medical supplies, from which some advantages, in cantonment at least, were derived, and which were always regarded as something given to the surgeon, in the way of compensation for the expensiveness of his medical education, and the lateness of his arrival in India; these contracts have been abolished in Bengal and Bombay, for several years, and

by the latest accounts, they have been done away with at Madras also, without any consideration, or equivalent, being granted to medical men in lieu of them; but, with the *privilege*, I am informed, of purchasing, and keeping up, at their own proper cost, from their lieutenant's, and captain's pay, all their surgical and midwifery instruments, hitherto supplied to them from the Company's stores, free of expense. This expense, as you know, is very considerable in the first instance, and must continue so in a climate like that of India, where articles, of this sort, so very soon rust and spoil. So that the pay of medical officers is not superior to that of their military brethren, with whom they rank: while their retiring pay, beyond that of captain, falls very far short of that of officers of the same number of years standing in the service.

One very great hardship, medical men labour under in India, is, that belonging, as they do, to the whole army, they are marched about from one regiment to another, often at the remotest distances, not only without reason or advantage, but generally to the great detriment of the service; and apparently for the diversion only of the Adjutant-general's office, and to show its superiority over, and contempt for the Medical Board. The utility of medical men, while thus journeying, many hundred of miles, and crossing each others paths, is wholly sacrificed. They are, however, much harrassed in this way; and this is one great cause of the greater mortality among them, than even among their military brethren.

If you have interest at the India House, get a writership if you possibly can. In this case, from the high emoluments of civil appointments in India, you would be able to realize a handsome independency in twenty-two years, have 500*l.* on a three years' furlough to England, should you in the course of your service require a furlough, and the pension of 1000*l.* a year on retirement, after the above period of service, to the amount, of one half of which pension you would have contributed yourself, from a small monthly per centage, out, of your salary while in India; the other half being made up by the directors out of the funds of the Company. If 1000*l.* a year, to retire upon, after twenty-two years' service in India, is not more than enough for a civilian of the Company's service, what sum ought to be sufficient for a surgeon to retire upon, after an equal length of service? The directors say 191*l.* 12*s.*

One reason, if I am rightly informed, for this attention to their civil servants, as assigned by the Court, was the loss in India, of twenty-five per cent. on exchange with this country, and the depreciation of the rupee from 2*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 8*d.*; this same rupee, being, nevertheless, immediately ordered by them, to be issued to the military branch of the service at 2*s.* 6*d.*, one third more than its intrinsic value. The loss on exchange might not have been considered as applicable to the Military, at least to by far the

greater proportion of this branch, *as where there is no saving, there can be no remittance.* The directorial patronage of a writership, by the way, is worth about 3000*l.*

But if this appointment of a writership be unattainable by you, by all means lose not a moment in taking orders for a chaplaincy. This is an excellent appointment in India. During your cure of souls in India,—an infinitely better thing than that of the bodies of the Company's lieges, and out of sight, less troublesome, or of scarcely any trouble at all,—you would have to change your station not above once, or twice, during the period of your service, and that to your advantage. In regard to the labour of converting the heathen, you would make no more Christians than you happened to beget,—have major's pay, from the moment you entered the service,—a good roof always over your head,—with a due share, of course, of surplice, burial, and other fees; and, to crown the whole, 365*l.* a-year, on retirement, after fifteen years' service in India; being just double the pay allowed to a surgeon who may have served twice the time, as by the before quoted Register:

'A chaplain, after eighteen years' service in India, including three years for one furlough, is allowed to retire on the pay of lieutenant-colonel, 365*l.* per annum; after ten years, if compelled by ill health to quit the service, on the half-pay of lieutenant-colonel, 200*l.* 15*s.* per annum; after seven years, on the half-pay of major, 173*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*'

I beg of you to contrast this with the provision made for a surgeon, and you will want no other dissuasive against entering this service: 'A surgeon, after twenty years' service in India,' [and he is no better provided for after thirty years,] 'including three years for one furlough, is allowed to retire on the pay of captain, 191*l.* 12*s.* a-year; after ten years, if compelled by ill health to quit the service, on the half-pay of lieutenant, 73*l.* a-year; and, after seven years, on the half-pay of ensign, 54*l.* 15*s.* a-year.'

Waste no more of your time, therefore, or of your money, on medical studies; but, sinking your doctor's degree, throw physic to the dogs, and, in preference to an assistant-surgeoncy, if not past the proper age, take a cadetship. This is worth about 500*l.* During your service in India as lieutenant and captain, as to pay, you would be on a par with assistant-surgeon and surgeon. As major, you pass the surgeon; and having served twenty-two years, you may retire the day after your promotion, on 292*l.* a-year; as lieutenant-colonel, in succession, on 365*l.*, (your surgeon contemporaries being still surgeons;) and, finally, as colonel, with off-reckonings, from 1000*l.* to 1200*l.* a-year.

The fate of a surgeon in India is, fourteen years' service, on lieutenant's pay, and sixteen on that of captain's; thirty-two years' service to enable him to reach superintending surgeon's pension, 300*l.* a year; and forty-two years to bring him to that of the Board,

500*l.* a year; medical officers being compelled to serve two years in these situations, whatever their previous length of service may have been, to entitle them to retire on the pensions attached to these offices; a hardship and most illiberal piece of injustice, inflicted on no other commissioned officer in the Honourable East India Company's service. But as these appointments are not attainable in less than thirty or forty years, to all of shorter service they might as well not exist.

To conclude, as you are fond of your profession, and may wish to remain in it, it might be most advisable for you, in these times of peace, to remain at home; and now that the Royal College (most absurd and illiberal) monopoly is at an end, you might practice, with good success, as an independent physician in the metropolis, provided you be content with moderate fees. You would be unfortunate indeed, if you did not more than double, in the first year, the Company's ultimate recompence of twenty and thirty years' service, and you would have a still better prospect of success, as a general practitioner, a degree being no more an obstacle to practising as such, in civil life than it is in the navy and army; but, if, after all, you are still unhappily bent on going out to India, in the medical service of the Company, and live in the manner and at the expense you can hardly avoid there, you may return to England, after from seventeen to thirty years service in India, with broken health, both of body and mind, to enjoy the *Honourable Company's* RECOMPENCE for your services, of 191*l.* 12*s.* a year; a sum, after the habits you will have acquired, scarcely proper and sufficient to find you a respectable lodging, leaving the trifling *et ceteras* of meat, clothes, and fire, wholly unprovided for. Heartily wishing you a better fate, I remain, my dear Sir, your's faithfully,

A RETIRED SURGEON.

TO WILLIAM MAXFIELD, ESQ., PROPRIETOR OF EAST INDIA STOCK, LONDON.

SIR,—Having perused, in the 'Oriental Herald' of April last, the debates that took place at the East India House, in Leadenhall Street, at a Court of Proprietors, on the 16th of March, 1827, respecting the Bombay Marine, I was much gratified to perceive the able, disinterested, and honourable manner, in which you brought to its notice the sufferings of a corps we had toiled in together for several years; and, although you were far my junior in the service at that period, believe me I now rejoice at seeing you elevated to one of the highest seats in the Court of Proprietors, supported by four stars, and endowed with wisdom, and an anxious desire to see justice done to all parties, however remote.

And as the honourable Chairman seemed disinclined to admit the

correctness of the observations you made on the conduct of the Superintendent, who has gone to another world, to render an account of all his deeds, and whom, it appears, the honourable Chairman had been instrumental in getting appointed to preside over the Bombay Marine,—it may not be improper here to mention that the officers of the corps, and myself in particular, were witnesses to unbecoming behaviour, more than you have charged him with in that debate; and I sincerely hope that the wisdom and justice of the Honourable the Court of Directors, will never again permit them to yield assent to such appointments.

Dispersed as our corps is at present, allow me, Sir, to tender you my individual thanks for your generous and friendly exertions in behalf of the Bombay Marine, a service that I trust will never be surpassed in meriting honour and applause, whenever and wheresoever it may have the means to obtain it.

Believe me, Sir, to remain with sincere respect and esteem, your obliged and obedient servant,

A BOMBAY MARINE OFFICER
of Forty-four years standing.

East Indies, Oct. 1, 1827.

P. S. The circumstance you allude to in the debate, (page 153 of the 'Oriental Herald' for April, 1827,) respecting the 'Hastings' frigate, and Ernaud timber or store-ship was, I believe, the act of the Marine Board at Calcutta.

SONNET.*

Suggested by the unexpected Death of a beloved Brother.

OUR spring of life ! How sweet, how passing sweet,
Together did we spend that season dear,
My brother ! And since, for many a year,
How seldom hath it been our chance to meet !
And now hath Death, insatiable and fleet,
Thy course arresting in its bright career,
Placed thee, lamented, on a timeless bier,
And seal'd our parting in this world complete !
Yet shall we meet again, I fondly trust,
Where pain and grief shall know no second birth,
To hail that greater spring which waits the just,
Mid friends beloved on this dim speck of earth,
And where, near streams that vital freshness give,
The pure in heart shall see their God and live !

* From Dr. Drake's 'Mornings in Spring.'

GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE LATEST INTELLIGENCE CONNECTED
WITH THE EASTERN WORLD.

BENGAL.

The General News from Bengal during the past month is meagre and unimportant. We except that relating to the proceedings at Calcutta relative to the Sugar Duties and Colonization, of which we have made a separate article in the beginning of the present Number. The following are among the miscellaneous extracts which the latest papers yield.

‘Cholera Morbus, we are concerned to learn, is prevailing to a considerable extent in the Native part of Calcutta, and many of the cases have terminated fatally. The violence of the disease, we apprehend, is to be attributed to the unprecedentedly great power of the sun this season through the day, and the coldness of the nights, arising from the north winds, which now begin to prevail. This month, (November,) so far as it has gone, has not been so healthy as it usually is, bad cases of fever being by no means unfrequent.’

‘With a view to caution the commercial community against the attempts now making to betray into acts which would render them liable to the penalties of the stamp regulation, the following facts are detailed, upon the authority of a party on whom we can rely.

‘Two days ago a respectable looking Native broker came to the office of an agency establishment in this city, and tendered the sum of fifty thousand rupees on loan for six months, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, which was accepted of, and a stamped receipt offered for the same—upon which the broker consulted with another Native who accompanied him, and declined paying for the stamped paper, stating that he would be quite satisfied with the receipt of the parties upon plain paper, which not being acceded to, they left the house; and circumstances having occurred to excite suspicion, they were traced directly into the office of the Collector of Stamps. * The parties returned on the following day, and after further negotiation, they paid down one hundred rupees to bind the bargain, in the usual manner, when a receipt for the 50,000 rupees was made out upon stamped paper of the prescribed value, which being objected to by the brokers, upon the ground, that a receipt upon plain paper was all that was required, it was explained to them, that the party borrowing the money was willing to pay for the stamp, and that the receipt would at all events be as good with

* Here is one of the blessed fruits of the new system of taxation. Such doings were heretofore unheard of among gentlemen in Calcutta.

a stamp as without it. They then departed, accompanied by two sircars of the borrowers, and proceeded to complete the transaction, at the private dwelling house of the dewan of the Collector of Stamps. A common sircar, in the employ of the father of this dewan, had, by this time, been announced as the nominal lender of the money, but which was now refused, under the pretext, that the brokers had only been employed to negotiate the loan upon the condition of procuring a receipt upon *unstamped paper*.

‘Any comment upon the above appears quite unnecessary; but the public will do well to be upon their guard. The brokers have since declared, that Ramchundar Ghoossal, the dewan of the Superintendent of Stamps, was the sole person who employed them in the transaction—that they received the hundred rupees paid as earnest money from his own hands, and that it was he who instructed them to take a receipt in the name of his father’s sircar, above referred to.’

‘The Honourable Company’s Steamer, *Irrawaddy*, reported on the 19th instant, (Nov.) brings twelve lacs of rupees, being the whole amount collected in Rangoon at the date of her departure, (the 12th instant,) of the balance of the crore of rupees. The place was perfectly quiet, and the new Woonghee had evinced every desire to keep faith with us, if Government should enable him to do so. The King has issued orders for the payment of the whole amount, and no doubt is entertained that it will be ultimately paid, although not without delay and much difficulty in the collection. From the conciliatory character of the present Viceroy, it was considered that the present tranquillity was not likely to be interrupted.

‘Mr. Maingy, the Civil Commissioner, had arrived at Moulmein from Tavoy. Previous to fixing himself there, he is to visit the adjacent districts, and great advantages are anticipated from his talents and activity. It was supposed that he would make immediate arrangements for cutting timber in the immense teak forests of the country, which promises to be very productive.’

‘Sarkies Manook, the Armenian merchant at Rangoon, who rendered himself so conspicuous during the war, has boasted, it is said, that it was he who overturned Mr. Crawford’s commercial treaty. As we do not recollect what that treaty was, we are unable to estimate the merits of this vaunted stroke of policy, either as it respects the Burmese Government or our own.’

General Orders by the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council,

‘Fort William, 30th October, 1827.’

‘His Majesty Solyman Jah Nusseer-ood-deen Hyder, Son of his late Majesty Aboul-Moosuffer Moiz-ood-deen, Shah Zumeen

Ghazee-ood-deen Hyder, having ascended the throne of Oude, on the 20th instant, the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to direct, that a royal salute and three volleys of musketry shall be fired from the ramparts of Fort William, and at all the principal stations of the army, in honour of that event.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

GEORGE SWINTON.

*' Acting Chief Secretary to Government. ' **

' A most lamentable accident, we are concerned to say, happened on the 21st of October, within four or five marches of Almorah, by which an amiable and beautiful young lady lost her life.

' Captain Salmon and his family, it appears, had gone to the Hills for change of air, on account of health. On the day mentioned, Miss Salmon, in company, we believe, with her relative Captain Hearsey, was crossing a Sangah, or torrent bridge, when, shocking to relate, it broke down, and both were precipitated into the torrent; the gentleman was saved, but the strength and rapidity of the current, along with the shock of the tremendous fall, overpowered the young lady, and she sunk to rise no more.'

The following is from the Calcutta Government Gazette.

' The Editors of the Native papers of Calcutta, are entitled to much credit for their candour, and for the ingenuous simplicity with which they confess how little benefit they derive from their speculations. One Persian paper has been long abandoned, through want of support; and we apprehend the Hindi paper, the ' *Udanta Martanda*, does not meet with that encouragement which it deserves. The Native community, it is clear, continues insensible to the importance of periodical illumination, and the European portion of the society takes no real interest in its dissemination through the local dialects. Paragraphing is cheap patronage, but the Native Press, evidently does not thrive upon such insubstantial fare as declamatory anticipations of the marvellous effects it is to produce.' †

* The cypher of to-day succeeds the cypher of yesterday! but we learn that the *real* king, the low and worthless minister keeps his place. We have not heard whether a fourth crore loan is to be the nuzzer on this occasion to the Honourable Company. But by all accounts, some such aid was sorely required by the Government in India; yet at such a time, the Company is harrasing the Indian Government to make them remittances of one or two millions in specie! Where it is to come from, we have not been able to learn.

† So long as the Press was free, and the Natives could, without fear, make their anonymous complaints, the Native newspapers flourished. Since the licensing and domiciliary-visit regulations, they have of course

NOTICES OF AN EXCURSION ALONG THE ARRACAN COAST.

' On the 26th January, the party anchored off Cheduba, and visited the site of the cantonments, which is now overrun with luxuriant grass, although the barracks are in good order: the population of the island has much increased of late, and is now estimated at between eleven and twelve thousand at least, there being two thousand and three hundred houses, and five individuals to one house, being below the usual average.

' On the 31st, a visit was paid to the volcanoes, which are about fourteen miles from the cantonments: the route lay through a highly picturesque country, and several villages were passed: of the last half of the distance, about five miles proceeded through a thick jungle, with occasional patches of grass, and watered by hill streams, along the borders of which extended plots of tobacco, and red pepper cultivated, with some cotton: the tobacco was of luxuriant growth. The plantain was every where in great abundance. The approach to the crater, for about two miles, was along a barren ridge, between two deep ravines, the interval between which was scarcely wide enough for an elephant to pass. As it approaches the summit, the path widens, and the ravines become more rugged. The two principle volcanoes are on the summit of the mountain, and about three quarters of a mile apart. The diameter of the crater visited, was about three hundred feet, and the mud thrown up, was strongly impregnated with sulphur: specimens of pyrites were numerous. There are no elephants in Cheduba, and the approach of such an animal to the shrine of the Naga, was supposed by the people to be a novelty by no means agreeable to the latter. As mentioned in our last, worship is addressed by the Mugs to the crater of the volcano, as the shrine of the serpent deity, or rather, probably, as one of the ventilators of Patala; the region immediately below the earth, which, according to the Hindoos, is the domain of the Naga race.

' The party, after resting for the night at a village at the foot of the hill, returned to the cantonments by a different route, through a cultivated and populous country: around the villages, hemp, tobacco, cotton, and sugar cane, were in cultivation, and the stubble of an extensive rice crop was observable. The rice is trodden out here by buffaloes, but the husking is performed by the wooden mill, generally used by the Burmans. It is worked by two men, and will clean about thirty maunds of paddy in a day.

' Leaving Cheduba on the 2d, the party anchored off the Hayes on the evening of the same day, and went on shore to the old station

withered and died one after another; and of the few that remain, all, but one, have been intimidated, or cajoled, or bought over; they are accordingly, tools in the hands of Government secretaries, and of their tools, their Native moonshies or chief servants.

of Juggao, which is a thriving place; the Commissary of Stores, and officer in charge of the boat establishment, occupy Bungalows, pleasantly situated on an elevated ridge, about a mile from the beach. The cultivation on this side of the island is extensive, and cattle and poultry abundant.

‘After paying some visits to the Islands between Ramree and the main land, and navigating to the head of Combermere bay, the party proceeded to Sandoway. The town is much extended. The cantonments are situated on the right bank of a river, and the ground being well cleared and drained, maintains its character for salubrity. The 68th N. I. had only fifteen men in hospital out of six hundred.

‘From Sandoway, a journey was performed by land to Ghoa, the chief town of the Tongkhwen division. The distance was about one hundred and twelve miles. The route for the greater part of the way, lay through thick forests of lofty trees, or along the beach of the sea, sometimes up the beds of mountain streams and occasionally over extensive plains covered with long grass. Red and spotted deer were numerous, and traces of wild elephants frequent. The coast was studded as far as the eye could discern, with rocks and islets, which must make it dangerous at all seasons, and quite impracticable in the south-west monsoon. The road was intersected by several creeks which were not fordable, and which, in the rains, must render the land communication precarious. The division of Tongkhwen, extends from near Sandoway to Cape Negrais. Ghor was formerly a considerable town, but has been on the decline for some years, and now contains but about eighty houses. The people of Bassein, and those from the other side of the Yooma-dong, are beginning to resort thither, and there is every probability of its recovering its flourishing condition. The whole district is, indeed, more thinly peopled than any part of Arracan, but there is no want of resources, and with a protecting and mild government, it will, no doubt, speedily attract inhabitants.

‘After visiting the southern boundary, the party returned by sea to Ramree. The innumerable reefs and islets along the coast, and the strong set of the current to the south-east, render this navigation intricate and perilous. There is no anchorage in the neighbourhood of Foul island, in less than fifty fathoms. The town of Ramree is becoming rapidly a place of considerable trade and population. It now contains not fewer than eight thousand inhabitants.’

DISCOVERY OF COAL IN AUSTRALIA.

‘A discovery, which it is expected will turn out to be a valuable one, has been recently made by the Reverend Mr. Threlkeld, at Lake Macquarrie, in the district of Reid’s Mistake. He was about to build a chimney with what he considered to be a very fine black stone, which he had found in abundance in the neighbourhood of his dwelling, when, upon close inspection, he ascertained it to be

what is called in England cannel coal (I think it is so spelt.) The overseer of the Newcastle mines has been at Reid's Mistake to examine the coal, and he reports it to be of a very superior quality, far beyond the Newcastle coal. The vein lies almost on the surface of the earth, and can, therefore, be worked at a trifling expense. First comes a layer of inferior coal, three feet thick, which is immediately succeeded by another layer of excellent coals, about five feet thick, and then comes the cannel coal, three feet thick, which can be taken out in solid masses a yard square. These coals have been discovered on the banks of Lake Macquarie, from which an easy communication can be opened with another lake, only about one hundred yards distant, which the stock-keepers say, empties itself into the sea somewhere about Bungaree's Noab (a bay a little to the southward of Broken Bay), but the black natives insist that the lake communicates with the Broken Bay itself. Should this latter be the fact, and it will soon be ascertained, the facility of communication from thence to Sydney, by water carriage, will greatly enhance the value of the discovery; but should it turn out otherwise, still it must be considered important. The bar of the river at Reid's Mistake, communicating with Lake Macquarie, has only four feet and a half of water on it at low water; but there is good anchorage, outside, for vessels of moderate burthen, equal, at all events, to the outer anchorage at Port Macquarie, with any wind except a strong north-easter, or when blowing a southerly gale, in which latter case the port of Newcastle would be open for their reception.'

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

' A Meeting of the Society was held in November last, the Honourable W. B. Bayley, Esq. Vice-President, in the Chair. The Society on this occasion elected the Honourable Sir C. E. Grey, President, and Sir Charles Metcalf, Vice-President. The following Gentlemen were also chosen Members: Sir Edward Ryan, Captain Sterling, and Dr. Tytler. Monsieur Belanger, Naturalist at the French Government at Pondicherry, was elected an Honorary Member. Various works were presented to the Library by the Horticultural Society, the Society of Arts, and the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; also a treatise on three ancient Sculptures on Java, *Anniversaria Reipublicæ Sacræ*, by Professor Reinhardt; the *Soldier's Manuel*, by Lieut.-Col. Harriot, *Peck's Desiderata*, *Harris's Voyages*, and other books, by Dr. Tytler, and *Reflections sur les anciens peuples*, *Lessii Opera*, and *Doctrine of Ultimata*, by Dr. Burlini; a variety of objects of Natural History, from the Eastward, was presented by Dr. Tytler, and a collection of Minerals from Bundelcund, by Captain Franklin.

' With reference to the increasing zeal and activity in Geological Research of late in India, the Society resolved, that a Geological Class, or Committee, should be formed, of such Members of the

Society as may be inclined to associate for this purpose, forming such regulations as they may find expedient, to be submitted for the confirmation of the Society.

Connected with this subject, also, an application was submitted by Mr. Ross, for the use of the Society's rooms, for a short course of Lectures on Mineralogy, which was readily granted. The course will consist of six Lectures, to commence on Tuesday, the 4th of December, and to be repeated weekly, on the same day, until completed.

A paper by Dr. Tytler, on the Dugong, or Dayong, with drawings by Mr. Bennet, was read to the Meeting. The bones of four different individuals of this genus were picked up by Dr. Tytler at Raffles' Bay, on the north coast of New Holland: in one instance they were sufficiently numerous to form nearly an entire skeleton of the animal, which is placed in the Society's museum. The Dugong, from its peculiar upright position in the water, and the general appearance of the upper part of the body, is supposed to have given rise to the tales of Mermaids seen in the Eastern Seas. Although noticed by the Dutch travellers and naturalists, who termed it the Sea-cow, it was very imperfectly known, until descriptions and specimens were sent to Europe, by the late Sir Stamford Raffles, and observations from this source, by Sir Everard Home, were published in the Philosophical Transactions. The animal is not uncommon in the Eastern Archipelago, but its existence on the coast of New Holland is made known by Dr. Tytler for the first time. Dr. Tytler is disposed to think that same affinity may exist between the Dugong and the Dagon of the Philistines, as the latter was probably a compound of the head of a graminivorous animal, with the tail of a fish, and thus resembled the Sea-cow in structure as well as name.

A notice by Captain Herbert, of the site of Coal in the Himalaya, with specimens, was also submitted. This mineral is found throughout the whole line of Sandstone hills, that lie at the foot of the great Himalaya chain, forming the transition to the plains. It occurs in flat veins or seams, more or less inclined to the horizon, the greatest thickness of which has not been found to exceed nine inches or a foot, whilst, in general, they are much smaller, not exceeding, in some places, the twentieth of an inch. The composition is, in general, impalpable; but sometimes assumes the ligneous structure. Where the ligneous fibre has disappeared, the fracture is conchoidal, and frequently marked with concentric circles, similar to Cannel Coal. It burns with flame, giving out a thick smoke and bituminous smell, and leaves a reddish brown ash, of equal bulk with the original fragment. These properties refer it to the bituminous coal of Mohs.

Besides the locality of the mountain coal pointed out by Lieut. T. Cautley, in his communications to the Society, Captain Herbert

has discovered the following: 1. The Timla Pass, leading into the Dehra-doon, specimens of the coal from which place were sent by Captain Herbert, in 1817, to the late Dr. Voysey, and pronounced by him to be the brown coal of Werner.—2. The Kheri Pass, where it principally exists as lignite of considerable thickness. It is found here in two places.—3. Ascent from Bhamouri to the Bhim Tal, in the bed of the Raliya. This is considered by Captain Herbert as best entitled to attention. The largest vein is about four inches thick, and the coal has a high lustre, and occasionally a perfect conchoidal fracture, resembling Cannel coal: it burns with a brilliant flame, emitting a sulphurous smell, and being occasionally incrustated with sulphur: the specific gravity averages about 1.3.—Captain Herbert seems to think, that these indications do not authorise any expectations that coal mines of any extent will be found in the Himalays, although it is not impossible, that they may exist in the trough between the secondary sandstone that skims the great chain, and the primary sandstone which makes its appearance at Delhi and other places.

A paper, by Dr. Govan, was laid before the Meeting, containing a report on the mineral and vegetable products of the country about Nahn, with registers of the weather for April and May last.

An abstract of the registers of the barometer and thermometer, kept at Singapore, from 1820 to 1825, by Captain Davis, was also submitted.

Observations on the Geology of part of Bundelcund, Boghelcund, Saugor, and Jubulpur, were also communicated by Captain Franklin. These observations commence at Mirzapore, and include different portions of the ranges of hills belonging to the great central zone of Hindoostan. The first range of hills, the tract in which the Falls of the Touse occur, and the country to Hathi, beyond Lohargong, are of sandstone. At Hathi, it is succeeded by argillaceous or lias limestone, which is considered by Captain Franklin as the same with lias limestone of England. Beyond this, to Saugor, the overlying rocks are of trap, and, at the place below the upper surface of that rock, occur wacken and baysalt, and an earthy or impure limestone, beneath which is amygdaloid, lying on sandstone. The northern barrier of the valley of the Nerbudda consists of the primitive rocks. Jubulpur is situated at the foot of a range of granite hills. Captain Franklin is of opinion, that granite is the basis of the different ranges visited in his tour—in some places, near the surface, but in others separated from secondary formations, by intervening stratifications of primary rock. The sandstone formation is, in general, of considerable thickness, whilst the limestone differs from that found in other parts of the world, by being merely superficial, and not exceeding an average thickness of fifty feet. A collection of specimens accompanied Captain Franklin's communication, as well as a geological map and section, and a series of barometrical elevations.

MADRAS.

The following communication, from a Correspondent at Madras, contains all the news we have received from that quarter during the past month. The letter is dated the 28th of September, 1827:

At this Presidency little is now going on. The first regiment of Native Infantry have recently arrived from the Tenassarim coast, where their services were no longer required. The officers were very happy at returning, as they suffered numerous privations, particularly in procuring supplies; the sepoy look miserable and emaciated.

The cholera still continues in the ceded districts, in that part of the country where Sir Thomas Munro died in July. Lieutenant-Colonel Chambers, of his Majesty's forty-first Regiment, and his lady, fell victims to it at the end of last month, under very melancholy circumstances. They were travelling from Bellary to Bangalore, accompanied by their daughter, an amiable young lady, of eighteen years of age; and, on reaching their tents, at a village named Bagapilly, Miss Chambers was attacked with the cholera most violently. However, from the exertions and attention of her fond parents, she got over it, but was no sooner a little recovered, than her dear relatives were both stretched before her, labouring under the dreadful scourge; they both expired within a few moments of each other. The Natives, alarmed, had all run off, and left the young lady with the corpses of her parents in the tent; and in that dreadful situation she remained for forty-eight hours, when she at last got bearers, and proceeded to Bangalore, a distance of seventy miles, where she arrived on the 31st, and the bodies were buried the same evening in one grave. The funeral was attended by all the Europeans at the station, and a great concourse of Natives.

Our Acting Governor, Mr. Graeme, continues to do all he can for his friends, while his day of power lasts. He has lately appointed one of his relations, a Lieutenant Graeme, of the fifth Regiment of Light Cavalry, to be Assistant to the Resident at Mysore. The appointment had been given by the late Governor to one of his favourites; but it is said he declined it. The giving of such situations to military men is considered a great grievance by the Civil servants here. Mr. Graeme has also had some other opportunities of serving his friends, in filling up vacancies that have occurred; amongst others, that of Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army, which became vacant in consequence of the retirement of Lieutenant-Colonel Cadell, who, after a service of twenty-eight years, during a great part of which he held Staff situations, has resigned the sword, and become a partner in the mercantile house of Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co. of this place.

‘ You frequently advert to the great disadvantage to the military service, arising from officers being ignorant of the languages spoken by the sepoys, and others under their command. I send you a copy of the proceedings of a Court Martial, arising from this; also General Walker’s remarks on the subject, and another circumstance of a Police Court, where this want was sadly exhibited. The former case I copied from general orders; the latter was communicated to me by a gentleman, who had it from one of the parties concerned.

‘ The subscription, for erecting a statue in honour of the late Sir Thomas Munro, has continued increasing. Several Native princes have subscribed liberally; amongst others, the Mysore Rajah 5000 rupees; the total sum subscribed is 85,000 rupees. • A meeting of the subscribers was held, on the 30th of August, at the Presidency, when it was resolved unanimously, “ That the Committee of Management be authorised to appropriate a sum not exceeding 6000 rupees, for the purpose of obtaining a copy of the best full-length portrait now extant of the late Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, Baronet, and K.C.B., to be associated with the portraits of other distinguished characters connected with this Presidency,” &c., &c. And it is proposed, to such of the private friends of the late Sir Thomas Munro, as may be desirous of possessing an Engraving of his Portrait, as well as one of Lady Munro’s, that they should subscribe their respective names in a book opened at Messrs. Arbuthnot and Co.’s for that purpose, on or before the first day of January next. The amount of the subscription to be fixed as soon as the names are known.

‘ This latter proposition does not seem to be so much relished. I heard a distinguished officer say, the other evening, when the subject was talked of, that he had already subscribed 500 rupees for the monument, which he conceived quite enough; indeed, he added, with a shrug of his shoulders, “ I know not why I should subscribe at all, if it were not for the appearance, as I had never any reason to admire the late Governor.”

‘ Retrenchment was the order of the day, in every department, during the Government of Sir Thomas Munro. I could quote many singular instances of his economy; as an example, take the following public letter, dictated by him a few weeks after he assumed the Government of Fort St. George, as you will perceive from its date, he having arrived here in June, 1820. The matter to which it relates was this: A poon belonging to the collectorate of Madras, after having been eighteen years in the service, was struck with leprosy, and became so loathsome and disgusting in appearance, that he was discharged from his situation, and so much was he an object of abhorrence, that none of his relations would allow him to enter their dwelling. He thus became an outcast, and, labouring under so dreadful a disease, he managed to get a petition forwarded to Government, through the Collector under whom he had served, and

ported with testimonials of his former services and character, and praying for some small pension during the remainder of his miserable existence. His pay, when in employment, had only been seven rupees monthly, and he stated, in his petition, that his family had abandoned him, that he was driven off the public roads by the police peons, while endeavouring to solicit charity, and should fall a prey to starvation, if not relieved.—Here is the reply :

' To the President and Members of the Board of Revenue.

' GENTLEMEN,—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter of the 17th ult., (341,) recommending that a pension be granted to a peon in the cutchery of the Collector of Madras, who has served for eighteen years, and is disabled for further service by ill health. It will be proper that the Collectors employ one of his near relations in his stead; but, with regard to the proposal to grant him a pension, the Honourable the Governor in Council desires me to communicate the following observations to you.

' Public servants ought to be retained in employment, only while they are able to discharge their duties, and ought to provide, like others, against the infirmities of age and sickness, either by parsimony, or by engaging the affections of those with whom they are connected in life. Public allowances generally exceed those which the same class of persons would receive in private service; and, since pensions are not granted to private servants, there can be no necessity for making such a provision for public servants, when forced to retire from employment.*

' The economy of a public establishment ought, as far as possible, to be copied from that of private life, where all the circumstances, by which it ought to be affected, are well understood and carefully attended to. Occasionally there may be cases of merit, or of suffering in the public service, which are entitled to the liberality of Government, in the same manner as the just claims of private servants on the charity of their employers are admitted; but, as a general practice, the Governor in Council considers the pensioning of superannuated servants on public establishments, independently of other objections, to be attended with an indefinite expense, that is wholly unnecessary. I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) D. HILL, *Secretary to Government.*

' Fort St. George, Sept. 1, 1820.

' No comment is necessary on this affecting case; every candid and liberal mind must condemn it. The poor petitioner had no relation to fill the situation from which he had been removed, and God knows if he could have saved any thing from his pay. One word more of Sir Thomas Munro, and I have done. The world was not aware of his ability, nor conscious of his worth. In the management of public affairs, his judgment was equalled by few; his probity

* If this rule were strictly applied, then no pensions would be granted; but Governors and great men make this rule for their *inferiors* only; in their own cases they put it aside, and ask and receive pensions, however well paid when employed.

and disinterestedness were, I am confident, exceeded by none. His letters were written with strong good sense and in nervous language. In private life, I know he had a strong sense of religion, or, at least, professed to have; but he seldom showed any symptoms of compassion towards the unfortunate.

'I have not sufficient opportunities of ascertaining correctly, how far he reformed, altered, or improved, the financial affairs of his Honourable employers. The prevailing idea is, that, during his seven years' administration, considerable savings have been effected, and many judicious systems established, the benefit of which future years will more fully develop. The civil servants, in general, were disgusted with his parsimony, and always alleged that he was more liberal towards military men; but, on a candid review of both sides of the question, it is difficult to observe any great difference. It has always been considered, that the civil servants were overpaid; consequently, they have had no recent additions; officers in the military service are certainly still far worse paid than they. However, during Sir Thomas Munro's government, a general system of equalisation was adopted throughout the whole Indian Army, not as an act of his, (although it is known he was consulted on every part of the arrangement,) but by the Supreme Government, acting under instructions from home. This arrangement caused a great deal of promotion, and tended to conciliate many of the officers. To the lower branches of the army, Sir Thomas Munro was singularly kind and indulgent, having created several inferior grades before unknown here, viz., deputy-commissaries, assistant-commissaries, and deputy-assistant-commissaries, of ordnance; overseers, sub-overseers, and sub-conductors, &c.; thus holding out a prospect to deserving men of arriving at a respectable rank, although they might have come to India as recruits for the Company's army, as it was to such, and to meritorious men from his Majesty's regiments, that these situations were opened; and there are now filling them not a few men who have signalled themselves in the field of battle, and others who, through a long period of service, have conducted themselves in a manner that would do credit to any service. In these inferior arrangements, Sir Thomas Munro invariably consulted Colonel Conway, C.B., Adjutant-General of the Coast Army, an officer no less conspicuous for his gallantry in action, than for the urbanity of his manners, and his universal philanthropy, which have rendered him so generally esteemed throughout this army, and obtained for him, from all ranks, European and Native, the title of the '*Soldiers' Friend*'; a name he richly merits, as he is very forward in recommending deserving individuals, particularly when opposed to ignorance, supported by interest and high patronage.

General Orders by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, August 19, 1827.
'THE following Extracts from the confirmed Proceedings of a Native General Court Martial, held at Wallajahbad, on Friday, the 10th day of

August, 1827, by virtue of a warrant of authority from his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir George Townsend Walker, G.C.B. and K.G.T.S., Commander-in-chief, are published to the army.

‘Jemadar Bava Saib, 9th regt. of Native Infantry, placed in arrest on charges preferred by Ensign Jackson, 2th regt. Native Infantry, and is charged as follows.

‘*Crime 1.* With appearing, on the night of the 12th of May, 1827, at the Barracks where the Collector's treasure-guard was stationed, at Cuddalore, in a state of drunkenness, and then and there creating a disturbance, although repeatedly warned away by the sentry on duty.

‘2. With disobedience and neglect of duty, in not visiting the treasure bandies at twelve o'clock at night, when ordered by Ensign Jackson.

‘3. With entering, on the night of the 12th of May, 1827, the hut of sepoy Ramassamney, of the 9th regt. of Native Infantry, when he was out, and attempting, by bribery, or other means, to seduce Permmasey, a person attached to his family.

‘4. With drunkenness on the nights of the 22d and 24th of May, 1827, while on route to Madras, he being at the time attached to a treasure escort:

* Such conduct being unbecoming the character of an officer, prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and in direct violation of the Articles of War.

(Signed)

J. CLEMENS,

Captain in charge of the 9th regt. Native Infantry.

By order,

(Signed)

T. H. S. CONWAY,

Adjutant-General of the Army.

‘Wallajahbad, June 10, 1827.

‘The Court, having most maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence brought forward in support of the prosecution, as well as what the prisoner, Jemadar Bava Saib, 9th Regiment N. I., hath urged in his defence, is of opinion:

‘Finding, on the first charge—Guilty of appearing, on the night of the 12th of May, 1827, at the barracks where the Collector's treasure-guard was stationed, at Cuddalore, in a state of drunkenness, but acquits the prisoner of the remainder of the charges.

‘Finding, on the second charge—Guilty.

‘Finding, on the third charge—Not Guilty.

‘Finding, on the fourth charge—Guilty, with the exception of the precise dates, which have not been sufficiently proved.

‘*Sentence*—The Court having found the prisoner Guilty, to the extent set forth in its findings, which being conduct unbecoming the character of an officer, prejudicial to good order and military discipline, and in direct violation of the articles of war, doth sentence him, the said Jemadar Bava Saib, 9th Regiment N. I., to be dismissed the service.

(Signed)

ABDUL NUBBY, his ~~X~~ mark,
Subadar Major, 18th Regt. N. I., and President.

(Signed) B. MURCOTT, Captain,
Dep. Judge-Advocate-Gen.

(Signed) J. ROBERTSON, Lieut. 9th Regt.,
Interpreter to the Court.

'The proceedings of the Court Martial on Jemadar Bava Saib are approved and confirmed; but, under the recommendation of the Court, the Commander-in-Chief is willing to give the Jemadar the advantage of the small portion of evidence produced against him, and he is hereby restored to his rank, the duties of which, it is hoped, he will more carefully fulfil in future.

(Signed) G. T. WALKER,
Lieut.-General and Com.-in-Chief.

REMARKS BY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

'As it appears, in the proceedings of the Court Martial on Jemadar Bava Saib, of the 9th Regiment N. I., that a single European commissioned officer, who could not speak any Native *language*, together with a Jemadar unable to speak English, was sent in command of a detachment, the commander of his corps must either have acted with very little judgment, or a very bad practice must prevail in the service, which cannot too soon be put a stop to. It is the interest and the duty of every officer in the Company's service to learn the Native *languages*, as extensively as his abilities and opportunities will admit; but the Hindoostanee is absolutely necessary to enable him to fulfil his common duties, and it is expected, that, at the end of one year at farthest after his arrival in India, every officer will be completely master of it for all colloquial purposes. During that period, he will not be put on any detachment duty, unless under the command of another of the same corps; but he is expected to attend on all regimental Courts-martial, and on all general ones also, at the station of his corps. A strict examination is then to take place, and, if found qualified in Hindoostanee, he is hereafter to take his turn of all duties in common with other officers. Should he not, however, prove qualified, the next officer who is, must take his place when called upon for detachment, and, for *every day's* duty so taken for him, he must take the regimental and other duties, as they successively come to the turn of that officer; and, as the Orders of the Court of Directors for half-yearly examinations will in future be strictly enforced, the Commander-in-Chief is fully determined to attend to no recommendations for staff appointments that are not supported by proficiency in one language, at least; and should an officer be found deficient hereafter, on a second examination after his year of probation, his name will be put down as *incorrigible*, for the further decision of the Court of Directors.

'There is also another point in these proceedings, which the Commander-in-Chief finds it necessary to notice: The third charge is assuredly introduced for the protection of the property of an individual in a hired prostitute. Now, it is a principle common to all Courts, that a complainant must plead with clean hands; and no Court, at least none under British influence, can be empowered to protect an immoral action. It must, then, be understood, that hereafter no such charge is ever to be admitted on any Court martial.

(Signed) G. T. WALKER,
Lieut.-General, and Commander-in-Chief.

'A miniature painter, who had obtained the permission of the Court of Directors to come to India in the prosecution of his profession, arrived, a few years ago, in Bombay. Having letters of re-

commendation to many of the first residents there. He was well received, and succeeded pretty well on his outset; but being a diffident man, and not of a prepossessing appearance, his business became rather dull. He, however, managed to get together a few thousand rupees, when he was recommended, by some of his friends, to go into the interior, and, benefiting by this advice, he visited the Courts of several Native princes, where he was employed in all sorts of painting, from rajahs and rances, to peons and dancing-girls, elephants and elephant-carriages, horses and dogs, &c. By humouring his customers, he amassed about 50,000 or 60,000 rupees. He arrived, in the course of his tour, at a military station on this establishment, remarkable for its salubrity and fine climate. Having been unwell for some months, and finding the place agree with him, he resolved to reside there for some time, and purchased a good bungalow, hoping to meet with employment in his profession. However, in this he was disappointed, for he got little or nothing to do, and having all his money in his hands, he looked about him to see how he could lay it out to some advantage. The country around him had recently become famous for producing opium, and great profits were derived from dealing in it. To this, therefore, he applied himself, and got on very well for some months, until he fell into a dispute with the natives of a village in the neighbourhood, relative to the quality of a supply of the poppy milk, (from which the opium is extracted,) which he had purchased from them. The villagers alleged, that he wronged them out of about 700 rupees, and complained to the superintendant of the police at the station, of the wrong they were suffering. The superintendant happened to be a young officer who had, through interest, got appointed to the commissariat department, and had, as at different stations, the management of the police also. Unfortunately, he knew little of the Native language, but allowed all to be conducted by a large *whiskered Brahmin*, who is styled the *Cutwall*. This man, having ingratiated himself into the favour of this inexperienced officer, was employed to interpret in every case where Natives were concerned; and it became proverbial at the station, that the good offices of this interpreter could carry through any cause, were it ever so bad: so that numerous unjust decisions were every day given, through his care to interpret matters so as to favour those who had fed him most handsomely.

The Painter, hearing of this, thought he would employ the sable advocate to conduct his suit before the court of the superintendant of police, and accordingly sent for him to his bungalow, explained all to him, and told him he would give him 200 rupees if he could get the cause decided in his favour. To this the Cutwall agreed, took his notes of instructions, and taught his client his lesson for the next day, when he was to appear before the police. Being about to retire, the Cutwall hinted that he expected his fee; but the client was from

the north side of the Tweed, and refused to pay the costs till the cause was settled. The Cutwall barrister would not agree to this, but made his client give him a promissory note, agreeing to pay him 200 rupees in thirty days from that date, on receiving which, he made his salam and retired.

'The Cutwall, on reaching his house, found the complainers, the village people, waiting for him, in order to enter into some arrangement to secure his interest on their behalf. After a very short negotiation, he agreed, on their paying him down 350 rupees immediately, that he would have the cause decided in their favour. They paid him the money, and requested an acknowledgment from him, stating the object for which it was paid; but to this he refused to accede: he then gave them instructions how they were to act next morning before the superintendent of police.

'Both parties appeared next day, at the appointed hour, before the youthful Judge, who, having an appointment to go out at twelve o'clock, with half a score of cadets, to hunt *pariah dogs*, was in a sad hurry to get through the day's business; and, on hearing the complaint from the villagers, as interpreted through the Cutwall, and then the defence of the painter, he decided it against the latter, and ordered him to satisfy the villagers instantly, or go into confinement. The painter tried repeatedly to get a quiet word with his Counsel, while before the Court; but he could not effect it, and ultimately settled with the other party for 500 rupees.

'Soon after this, he commenced making preparations for leaving the station; but, as this took up some time, the period arrived when his note for the 200 rupees, given to the Cutwall, became due. In the interim, he had never been able to meet with his faithless solicitor, who studiously avoided him; but, on the day the note fell due, a picon called with it for payment, which of course the painter refused. He was again carried before the superintendent of police, and asked why he refused to pay his note? He told the story honestly, acknowledged he had done wrong in granting it for the purpose he did; but the Cutwall fairly denied the whole transaction, and offered to bring witnesses to prove that he had sold *pearls* to the painter for the amount. He actually did bring forward two persons who affected to know it; one of them a native, of indifferent character, the other a European, who has since been ruined by his dealings with the Cutwall, and his own imprudence, or rather extravagance. On such proof, the superintendent of police ordered the painter to pay down the 200 rupees, or go instantly into confinement in the common Bazaar Choultry. He chose the latter, and was not allowed to go home to his house, although he stated to the superintendent that he had property to the value of 50,000 rupees there. After remaining in the Choultry three or four days, amongst a set of Native criminals, and finding he could obtain no satisfaction, he sent the 200 rupees, got back his note, and was released; after

which he speedily quitted the station. The superintendent himself was shortly after removed, but his sable courtier still exercises his abilities in the same way, when not checked by the vigilance of the officer now in the department.

‘There are several other instances of the mal-administration of justice by these young military superintendants, which I shall shortly bring to your notice, particularly that of inflicting corporal punishment, which these officers do individually to a great extent.

‘In one of the numbers of your “Oriental Herald,” lately received here, you speak of the labours of the Commissioners, for inquiring into the debts of the late Nabobs of the Carnatic. Are you aware that here we have a Commission of the same name? It is composed of three Bengal civil servants; the first Commissioner receives a monthly salary of 4,000, the second 3,000, and the third 2,000 sicca rupees; in all about one thousand pounds sterling, per month! besides an office establishment of a Registrar, a host of half-caste and Native writers, moonshees, translators, examiners, and interpreters, &c. Altogether, the office department, including the rent paid for a house, as an office, (but the greater part of which is occupied by one of the Commissioners, as a dwelling,) amounts to about 10,000 rupees more, monthly, being rather more than that paid to the Commissioners themselves. There has recently been added to it, an officer, a captain of a Native regiment, with the title of Mahratta Translator to the Commissioners, a situation unheard of before, but carved out for the favourite of a man in power.

‘It is really amazing to see how these gentry get on, or, rather, how very hard they work for their bread. The commissioners seldom meet oftener than once a week, and their sittings then never extend beyond an hour, or an hour and a half at the utmost; and as for some of the examiners, translators, and others, they are frequently known to visit the office but once a month, and then they go on purpose to receive their pay!

‘The situation of Registrar to the Commission has been vacant for a year past, the gentleman who held it having died, and no other being yet appointed in his room. The late Registr was a hard-working, indefatigable man, who seemed to have no object before him but money. Money was his *sine qua non*, and he adopted every measure to realise it, from the buying and selling of mats, chatties, and bamboos, to Europe and China investments, Carnatic stock Company’s bonds, and English bills, &c. &c. In fact, he tried every thing, and, like all other speculators, he at times cleared large sums, and at others was less fortunate. But his situation, as Registrar to the Commissioners, afforded him many opportunities of dealing in Carnatic Nabobs’ bonds very greatly to his advantage, as he frequently realised large sums thereby, robbing, in a manner, the holders of that description of property.

‘I could detail many extraordinary transactions of this man, which would astonish those unacquainted with Indian politics; one instance I will give you for the present, which you will allow is bad enough: I regret, however, to say there are several even of a worse description. Many years ago, a certain Native had lent to one of the Nabobs of the Carratic, through that prince’s ministers, the sum of 27,000 pagodas, for which he received a bond in the usual manner. This bond he soon after mortgaged to a family of Armenians, at that time very wealthy, but since sadly reduced. They advanced a sum of money, equal to the value of the bond, and held it for some time. Subsequently, the Nabob’s minister paid off about 15,000 pagodas, leaving 12,000 pagodas still due. The bond was sent to England for adjudication with many others, and long and anxiously did the Armenian wait to hear of the decision or award respecting it; but many years elapsed, and no tidings of it arrived. In the mean time, the Armenian had some pecuniary transactions with the money-getting Registrar, and became indebted to him in the sum of 6,000 pagodas, for which balance he pressed him daily, threatened to arrest him, &c., and slyly mentioned his claim on the Nabob’s bond, which, with interest, now amounted to about 30,000 pagodas. The Armenian, terrified with his threats, readily offered to deposit the receipt he held for the bond, as security for the 6,000 pagodas, until he could either pay the amount, or the award of the bond arrived from England. The keen Registrar took the security, but at the same time observed it was little better than waste paper, as it was very unlikely any thing would ever be got from them. However, it appears, he knew his game well, and must have written to England, on the subject of this claim, soon after he got the receipt for it into his hands; for, in about twelve months from the date of his receiving them in deposit as a security for the 6,000 pagodas, a plan, originating doubtless with him, was laid for getting full possession of them, and most ably and artfully was it executed. The Registrar, not, of course, wishing to appear in the matter himself, had recourse to a friend, a man well known here for his ability in conducting such negotiations, having long practised the trade. This gentleman waits upon the Armenian, talks friendly to him, and mentions the large sums of money many individuals had lost by dealing in Nabobs’ bonds, and adds that he himself had suffered severely. He then inquires, what had become of the claim the Armenian had? The poor man tells him all the story of his distress, and of his having mortgaged the receipt, with the Registrar, as security for 6,000 pagodas. He is then asked if he will sell his claim for a moderate sum, *ready cash*. The Armenian points out that, with the interest, the total sum now exceeds 30,000 pagodas. After a great deal of duplicity used between the Registrar and the person whom he had engaged in the business, (for the unthinking Armenian had gone often to the Registrar to consult him about the sale, by whom he was always told there was no chance of the amount being

paid,) he at last sold it for 12,000 pagodas to the aforesaid gentleman; 6,000 pagodas were paid to the Registrar to give up the mortgaged receipt; the other 6,000 he received in money.

'Much ingenuity and address had been used to accomplish this bargain, which I will not detail to you, but pass on to its conclusion, which was this: a few weeks after the Registrar's friend had got possession of the documents, an advertisement appears in 'The Government Gazette' here, from the commissioners, stating that the final award of this very claim had *just been received from England*, from which it appeared that the sum of 34,000 pagodas was payable to the holder of it. This advertisement bears the signature of the Registrar; and, after considerable difficulty, the Armenian traces out, from undoubted authority, that the award had arrived here, and was in the hands of the Registrar some time previous to his friend purchasing the claim to it for 12,000 pagodas. The Armenian then goes to the person to whom he had sold it, who affects to be extremely concerned about it; but says, it is really one of those unlucky occurrences that will sometimes happen. He deplores it much; but what can he do? He was so straitened for cash himself soon after he made the purchase, that he actually sold it to a friend for the same sum that he had paid, and this person had drawn the 34,000 pagodas. The fact comes out, that it had gone through two purchasers' hands, and then came into those of the Registrar, (for whom, in fact, it originally had been bought,) in this circuitous manner. Thus had he, by taking the advantage of his situation, and imposing on an unsuspecting individual, cleared 22,000 pagodas, or near 80,000 rupees, (8,000*l.* sterling.)

'The poor Armenian, thus duped out of his money, has been recommended to commence an action against the executors of the Registrar, and the other two persons who lent themselves as parties in this nefarious transaction; the result of which I shall communicate to you.

'The instance you gave, in the number of your 'Oriental Herald' for March, 1827, of the gross imposition carried on by the Commissariat officers in the purchase of horse grain for the army, is allowed to be perfectly correct, and several in that department are not a little annoyed at it. However, the Commissariat is, I find, in some instances, a money-making concern; particularly in supplying the European soldiery with arrack, the liquor commonly used by these men in India. It yields, in many instances, a clear profit of 200 per cent. to the Honourable Company; it can always be purchased by individuals, at Madras, at something less than one rupee per gallon; it is issued at the rate of half a pint daily to every European soldier in India, for which the soldiers pay at the rate of three rupees per gallon, giving their Honourable masters, for whom they remain here in a manner banished, a clear profit of two rupees. As a great quantity of this liquor is used by country-born and half-caste

people, as well as by Europeans, the profit from it yearly must be very great, besides what is made by the Commissariat servants, who originally purchase it for the army.'

BOMBAY.

THE latest letters from Bombay state that the British are in amicable relations with the Native Princes in different parts of India; that is to say, with the assistance of the bayonets employed for this specific purpose; and, as far as externals can indicate, things promise a lasting quiet. But, under all this quiet, measures are in progress which, it is thought, will originate a flame, the intensity and destructiveness of which few will venture to predict, but which all will contemplate with alarm.

It appears that Lord Hastings, in his 'Exposé of the Financial State of India,' at the period of vacating his government, either wilfully deceived the world and the Court of Directors, with respect to the surplus revenue of the country, or was deceived himself by his inaptitude for accounts. The blind following the blind has produced the usual disastrous consequences; and the mental opacity, and weak confidence, of his Lordship's successor, in relying on resources which he did not possess, have involved the Government in India in pecuniary difficulties, which will probably end in bankruptcy, unless the most speedy and energetic measures be adopted for reducing the expenditure, to an extent that must necessarily affect the efficiency (if not something more) of every branch of the civil and military services. The Presidency of Bombay is dependent on that of Bengal for supplies. The Bengal Government is incapable of meeting the wants of the sister Presidency, and has directed the expenditure of Bombay to be diminished, instantly, in a specific sum, the magnitude of which is so great that, in saving it, reduction must be carried to an extent paralysing general efficiency, disregarding the claims of individuals, involving injustice to the troops, (in case it be necessary to touch their pay,) and originating universal discontent and disgust. What the consequences of all this may be, time will show. But the necessity for reduction is so conclusive, that it becomes more imperative than any order could make it. Every effort, therefore, is necessary to proceed with the greatest caution, to effect the object with the least possible sacrifice of efficiency and influence; for this purpose, civil and military committees were sitting in Bombay, composed of the most talented men in both services. We shall see whether or not they sacrifice *themselves*, as well as their friends. Mr. Elphinstone, it is said, on receiving the despatch from Bengal, ordering this retrenchment, paid into the General Treasury the sum of 45,000 rupees, being the amount of pay and equipment of an increased number of Government-house peons, which had been kept up for the last two years. The reductions are to embrace liberal institutions, all works and departments of a scientific as well as of a political nature, and those connected

with internal government, finance, police, justice, army, and marine. With the same precipitancy, want of judgment, and recklessness of consequences, which characterised Lord Amherst's rushing into the Burmese War, has he ordered the present reductions. The sums to be reduced are fixed, and it matters not, it would appear, what risk; but such sums are to be *saved*, the manner of it is left to the Bombay Government. The suddenness of these reductions will be found a great evil to the army and public servants generally: and when it is considered that our power in India exists only on the confidence and fidelity of the Native Army, any extended measures, affecting the interests of such an important body, should be carried into effect with great caution. It may be said, indeed, that the measure is imperative, as the expenditure exceeds the revenue; but it should be recollected that the increased expenditure originated in circumstances which are not likely to recur, that the expenditure will be partly reduced by those circumstances ceasing to operate, and that, for the rest of the increased expenditure, it might be gradually and imperceptibly reduced. At the present time, it is believed that the troops are already too weak to secure efficiently the perfect internal tranquillity (such as should exist under a well-organised Government, for the security of persons and property) of our extended territories in India.

The English in that country have had some melancholy proofs lately, how powerless they are in the hands of the Natives, when they choose to act against their officers individually. Two officers were, not long since, murdered in Bengal, on the Ganges; one (a Mr. Dallas) has been lately murdered at Nagpoor; and, still more recently, two distinguished officers were assassinated in another part of India: the one, Major Wallace, of the Second Madras Cavalry, who was shot dead on the parade, by one of his own troopers; and the other, Major Evan Davies, of the Bombay army, who commanded a body of Reformed Horse, consisting of several regiments in the service of the Nizam. He was desired to extend some of our reforms in his troop; a party of his men fell upon him on parade, and he died covered with seventeen wounds!

The following is a copy of the report of a Court of Inquiry held on the subject, the accuracy of which may be relied on:

At a Court of Inquiry, of which Colonel Sayer was President, assembled at Mominabad, the 25th of May, 1827, to ascertain the cause of the mutiny in the 3d regiment of Nizam's Reformed Cavalry. On the 6th of May it appeared that, about the 10th of March, the young officers had commenced their endeavours to get the Mohammedans to shave their beards. Shortly previous to this date, the Havildar Major, on being reproached for shaving the holy hair on his chin, replied, that he should soon see every man in the regiment like himself. On the 10th March, the Havildar Major gave

out the orders for the day, that every man in the regiment should be shaved. In consequence of which the Mohammedans assembled at the Resalder's house, in great distress, and would not be pacified till a Jemadar returned from the Adjutant, to say it was a mistake.

‘Next morning Major Davies ordered a parade, and himself explained to the men that there was no cause for alarm; that some worthless person had spread a false report, and there was no desire for any of them to be shaved. In the order-book of each troop was found entered, on the 10th of March, an order, expressly prohibiting officers from interfering with the hair, and explaining, that every man might shave or not, as he pleased.

‘Nawab Allum Allec Khan said, that he obtained the order of the 10th of March, and that it was written the instant he acquainted Major Davies that the men were unhappy, under the apprehension that they must be shaved. The order and wishes of Major Davies were entirely counteracted, in this and in other respects, and the feelings of the men were totally disregarded. Personal indignity was practised in numerous ways, to all ranks, till, on the 5th of May, two Mohammedans were held by low-caste horse-keepers, and forcibly shaved. The regimental officers of the brigade striving, by every means, to shave their men, it would be no great wonder if a faithless, ignorant, irritated Musulman doubted the sincerity of his Brigadier to preserve his holy hair, when persecution, and even violence, was used, by his own nephew, to deprive him of it.

‘About two o'clock on the morning of the 6th of May, Havildar Khodyar Khan, being on duty, collected ninety men with arms, and told them they must go with him to Major Davies, to complain of the oppression under which they suffered. Emissaries were sent to the first regiment, but no one could be prevailed on to join them. A little before day, they moved from near the Durgah to the Brigade Parade, nearer to the town and the ravines; and, during the movement, their numbers decreased to about thirty-five, most of them boys and recruits. At three o'clock the assembly was reported to the European officers, and five men of a troop of the 3d regiment were ordered to parade to keep them in check. Major Davis, at day-break, called up Nawab Allum Allec Khan, a pensioned Risalder, in a tent in his garden, and told him what had happened. He said that the boys had spoiled every thing, but he would try to put all to rights, and mounted his horse to go to pacify the discontented. He then went to Dr. Morgan, and asked him to accompany him; yet went off before he was ready, and very soon came back, happy in the belief that they had returned to their duty, and never suspecting that they had only changed their ground.

‘Mr. Tucker, the only officer with the third regiment, rode to the lines at day-light, and, at the distance of sixty yards from the irre-

gular assembly, dismounted, and threw his sword upon the ground. He tried to persuade them to return to their lines. In reply, they stated their grievances, and requested their discharge. He desired them to go to their lines, and the same should not happen to them again; but they replied, 'We cannot go to our lines; take our pay, and all we have, but give us our discharge and our arms. You have, on a former occasion, made us promises, and we can no longer place confidence in you.' The men were cocking their pistols, and Lieutenant Tucker sent a Jemadar to Major Davis to say, that some of his men had assembled, and would not listen to any one, and he desired he would come and speak to them.

Major Davis was with the Nawab in the garden, and instantly rode to parade, as required, with Brigade Major Reynolds. He ordered Lieutenant Tucker to form a foot parade, which extricated him, and removed the supposed cause of their perturbation. He then asked the men the reason of their assembly, and they replied, 'We have been tyrannised over, and forcibly deprived of our beads, by *Derhs*.' Major Davis inquired, whose beard had been shaved? and Mohammed Azeem Khan came forward. Major Davis said, 'You have certainly been oppressed, but I will do you justice; go on one side.' He then asked, who brought out the standard and *negari*? They exclaimed, they had all done it; but this, he said, was impossible, and could not be admitted. He ordered the standard to be thrown down, which, after being repeated once or twice, was obeyed. Lieutenant Reynolds explained to them that they were required to give the name of the person who brought out the standard, and to go to their lines, and nothing more should be done to them. Major Davis added, 'I am your security in this.' Still hesitating to give up the name of the person who brought out the standard, Lieutenant Reynolds was sent for the first regiment, and Major Davis still tried to prevail on them to name the person who brought out the standard. The trumpet of the first regiment sounded the trot, and Major Davis turned his horse towards it, when Havildar Kodyar Khan, seeing he could not escape, put his pistol to Major Davis's breast, and shot him before he apprehended danger. The Havildar calling out, 'Fall on,' was answered by a discharge of carbines and pistols from the mutineers. The Havildar and another attacking him with swords, Major Davis fell from his horse to receive numberless sabre wounds. The party of the third regiment which had been formed to keep the discontented in check, about two hundred yards distant, charged and dispersed the murderers. Six were killed, three died of wounds, one lost his hands, eight are missing, some of whom were wounded, and seventeen tried by a Court Martial. Lieutenant Sterling is severely wounded. Lient. Tucker had the waistband of his pantaloons blown off, and a stroke, aimed at his neck, was guarded off by Lieutenant Harrington, whose horse was shot between the ears, as he reared up at a *dughah*, in

which Havildar Khodyar Khan and two of his companions took post and died. Two duffodiers were shot through the shoulder, and several horses wounded. The dead were treated with every possible indignity.

The mutineers being dispersed, Major Davis, assisted by two of them, mounted his horse. Shot through the body, with fifteen sabre wounds, his mind was still spared and he rode quickly to Doctor Morgan, halted his horse by word of command, fell, and desired to be carried home, that he might see his wife, and settle his affairs. He was so well on the 5th, that his friends had hopes of his recovery; but the internal wound began to bleed afresh, and this day was his last.

Among other pieces of intelligence from Bombay, we hear that they had been for many months looking forward to a re-casting of the Indian Diocese, but the great delay that had taken place, had led many to infer that no alteration would take place. If the change should be early resolved on, and carried into effect, it is hoped that this division of the ecclesiastical establishment will be fortunate enough to be committed to the care of a liberal and benign, as well as pious and enlightened man, such as the late Bishop Heber. It is said, that the congregation at Bombay was admonished, on the 12th of August last, in a decided anti-toleration sermon, from Dr Hawtayne. The doctrine this dignity inculcates is, that we should evince to the *Natives*, that we do not constrain them, but that *we pity and despise them.* Now, putting whatever else may have been preached on this occasion out of sight, these two words, which we have marked in italics, are of themselves enough to show, that this High Priest knows nothing of the true character of the Natives, and appreciates them in any other way than the right one. Let him only reflect for a moment on the enduring spirit which rules *their* conduct to us (the British) in *their* country. It is only by their patient, temperate, and suffering disposition, that his voice is permitted to be heard among them at all. Were *their* principles as intolerant as *his*, the opportunity of reiterating such tenets would, perhaps, never be afforded him again. The English ought *all* to live in India, under the never-sleeping idea, that they are sojourners through the forbearance of those under their rule. This same Church Dignitary has, it seems, also laboured, by representations to the Government, to effect a change in some parts of the existing Indian ecclesiastical system. His notions were rejected at head-quarters, although he attempted to smooth the way for their reception by the application of abundant adulation. The sermon alluded to, though not the first, it is said, in the same strain or temper, followed the failure, and was partly, perhaps, procured by the disappointment.

The approaching departure of Mr. Elphinstone for England, had
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occasioned the usual meetings for complimentary addresses, to which the following document, taken from a late Bombay paper, allude :—

To the Sheriff of Bombay.

'SIR,—We, the under-signed, request that you will be pleased to convene a meeting of the British inhabitants of Bombay, on any day which you may consider most convenient, in order to afford them an opportunity of considering in what manner they may best express their sentiments of regret on the approaching departure of the Honourable Mountcharles Elphinstone from Bombay.

'We have the honour to be, Sir,

'Your obedient servants,

THOMAS BUCHANAN, *Sup. Marine.*

GEORGE NORTON, *Adv. Gen.*

D. LEIGHTON, *on the Staff*

J. HAWKINS, *Archdeacon*

WILLIAM NEWMAN, *Sec. to Govt*

VANS KENNEDY, *Judge Adv. Gen.*

JAMES FORBES, *Merchant*

JOHN MILNE, *Sup. Surgeon.*

M. DEVITRE, *Merchant*

PAT STEWART, *Merchant*

J. WEDDERBURN, *Account Gen.*

C. NORRIS, *Sec. to Govt*

ROBERT WALLACE, *Store Keeper*

SAM. GOODFELLOW, *Lieut.-Col.*

WILLIAM SHORTON, *Merchant*

JOHN R. REID, *Merchant.*

'*Bombay*, 29th Sept., 1827.

For some time there were obstacles in the way of this meeting, a coldness on the part of the independent inhabitants to 'come forward' in the regular farce, got up at the departure of every Governor or great man in India. It looked ill to see the requisition got up by Secretaries to Government and dependants of Mr. E. At length a mixture of merchants (four) was obtained, and the thing went on as usual, the addressers boasting of not flattering and cringing, till the great man for the time being was going away, and had no power to benefit any one as if the fruits of obsequiousness were not to be gathered from a successor, who in turn looks for his retiring dose from the same ready crew. To Rulers clothed with despotic power over men's fortunes, all addresses of praise are misplaced and suspicious. The praises of those who dare not object or censure, can only be valuable in the eyes of very little minded men. Is Mr. Elphinstone such?

Since writing the above, we learn, by an over-land despatch from India, dated the 18th of November, that Sir John Malcolm had safely reached Bombay on the 1st of that month, and that Mr. Elphinstone had resigned the Government to him on the 4th. The Ex-Governor left Bombay on the 19th of November, in company with Major Wallace, for the Red Sea, and both have reached Egypt, on their way to Europe. The former intends making a journey through Palestine and Syria to Constantinople, and is not expected to reach England till November next; the latter comes on by way of Malta without delay.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.*

Wednesday, March 19, 1828.

THIS day a General Quarterly Court was held at the India House.

The minutes of the last Court having been read,

The CHAIRMAN laid, before the Court of Proprietors, papers relative to the accounts of stock in India for the years 1826 and 1827; papers that had lately been presented to Parliament; and accounts of the superannuations granted since the last General Court.

GRANT TO CAPTAIN BUCHANAN.

The CHAIRMAN then informed the Court, that it was made special, 'for the purpose of submitting for confirmation the resolution of the General Court of the 19th of December last, approving the resolution of the Court of Directors of the 5th of the same month, granting to Captain Thomas Buchanan, the present Superintendent of the Bombay Marine, a pension of 800*l*. per annum.' The Hon. Hugh Lindsay was in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN moved, that the motion be confirmed.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN (Mr. Pattison) seconded the motion.

Mr. POYNDER here wished to put a question to the Chairman of so simple a nature, that he was sure it would cause no discussion.

After a great deal of discussion, in which Captain Maxfield and Colonel Stanhope insisted on the Chairman adhering to the rule he had established, of not allowing questions to be put until the business of the day was concluded, it was decided that Mr. Poynder should defer putting his question, upon which he said he should be prevented, by peculiar circumstances, from stopping till the business of the Court was over.

General THORNTON rose to protest against the motion being carried. He was sorry that his amendment had not been carried the last Court. He would not press the same amendment again, but as he thought the grant excessive, he should propose, that, after the words 'eight hundred pounds,' there should be added, 'until a suitable employment could be provided for him.'

Mr. GAHAGAN said he would oppose the motion, unless some such amendment as had been proposed was attached to it. If the pension had been called for by long and signal services, he should have understood the reason for bringing the motion before the Court; but there was no incapacity in this case from age, infirmity, or sickness; and his services, however meritorious they might be, were not of that signal nature as to call for this grant. The office to which Captain Buchanan was appointed, still continued; one person was turned out, and another was put in. That such a course might be expedient, he would admit; but did it follow that the change was to be followed by such an extraordinary allowance to the person who was removed? It had not been stated that, if any suitable employment should be found for the pensioner, the pension should merge in the emoluments of that employment, and he, therefore, thought that the Company was running itself into the same situation in which he believed it was placed as to the grant which had been made in favour of Sir J. Malcolm. If this pension was to be made at all, it

ought to be considered as a floating pension, and if such a provision was inserted in the motion, he would not oppose it. (*Hear, hear!*)

The CHAIRMAN said, that the pension was to be given to Captain Buchanan, on the ground that he was superseded from a situation in which he had every right to expect that he would long be continued. He had no objection to the nature of the amendment, if it could be altered, so as to state he was to receive it so long as he was unemployed; but to say that he was to hold the pension till he was otherwise provided for, was to pledge the Court of Directors, in a manner, to make some such provision. (*Hear, hear!*)

Sir F. OMMANEY wished to know what was the age, and the number of family of Captain Buchanan, and what was the salary of the office he had lately held.

The CHAIRMAN said, that the salary was 3,300*l.* a year. With respect to the amendment, he had no objection to the spirit of it, and if it were worded 'while he should be out of office,' it would be more satisfactory, as not binding the Court of Directors to find an office for Captain Buchanan. (*Hear!*)

General THORNTON said, that he was not quite satisfied with the alteration; but, nevertheless, it so far answered his purpose, that he had no objection to withdraw his amendment in favour of that of the Chairman.

Mr. GAGAN wished to ask, whether Sir J. Malcolm had given up his pension?

The CHAIRMAN said that he had not.

Mr. GAGAN: Then my humble opinion is, that he ought.

Colonel STANHOPE observed, that Sir J. Malcolm had received that pension for his past services.

Mr. RUBY stated, that, although he had come into Court with the impression, that Captain Buchanan was about to receive a large pension without adequate services having been performed, yet, from all that he had heard, he was satisfied of the justice of the grant.

Mr. DIXON begged to ask, whether a grant of this nature continued after the Company should die.

The CHAIRMAN hoped the Company would never die, (*hear!*) but if it unfortunately did, Captain Buchanan had only a life interest.

Mr. WIGRAM stated, that, in all Companies incorporated by charter, pensions, given as this one was, only continued during the term of the charter.

The motion, with the Chairman's amendment, was then put and carried.

SUSPENSION OF A JUDGE IN INDIA.

The CHAIRMAN stated that the Court was further made special, for the purpose of taking into consideration the following motion:

1. That the Court of Proprietors has heard with regret, that Mr. Courtenay Smith, Chief Judge of the Supreme Native Court in Bengal, has been suspended from his office, for having expressed the following opinion,—namely, that "as suits appealed to the authorities in England are decided by them after many years, and as the period of the Honourable Company's charter will shortly expire, and as, after the expiration of the present charter, it is uncertain whether it will be renewed, or the government of the country will be assumed by his Majesty, in my opinion, the security of the Government is such as cannot

be accepted. But as this is an uncommon circumstance, it requires the concurrence of another Judge."

'2. That Mr. Canning, when President of the Board of Control, acted upon the same principle as that for which Mr. C. Smith has been condemned,—the former having refused to sanction a pension which extended the grant beyond the period of the East India Company's Charter.

'3. That the conduct of the Government in suspending this most upright Judge, for expressing his honest opinion, is calculated to corrupt the fountain of justice in British India; and that Mr. C. Smith, in laying down the rule of equity, and protecting the weak from the strong, has done his duty, and deserves the approbation of this Court.'

The CHAIRMAN begged the gallant mover (Colonel Stanhope) to allow him to state that the records of the India House had been examined, and that no information had been yet received on the subject.

The Honourable Colonel LEICESTER STANHOPE said, that, if that were the case, he had to complain of the remissness of their Indian Government, for not sending home information on what had been before the public for so many months. But if the Directors were not informed on this subject, it became necessary for so humble an individual as himself to give them information on the business. What he had to complain of was, that the Chief Judge of the Native Court of India had been suspended for the expression of his opinion, though given in language both mild and reasonable, and in a case between the Company and one of its subjects; whenever they saw a man oppressed, it was their duty to defend that person. The gallant Colonel then proceeded to allude to the case in question, on which—

The CHAIRMAN observed, that, whatever might be the private information of the gallant Officer on the subject, it could not be a matter of debate in that Court until something official had arrived. (*Hear.*)

The Honourable Colonel STANHOPE thought, that as the measure was public, and as it had been brought before the House of Commons, by Mr. Brougham, and not then denied either by his Majesty's Ministers, or by any of the Directors, he was quite in order in bringing the question forward now.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that Mr. Brougham's motion had been postponed, on the very account to which he had already alluded.

The gallant Colonel then consented to postpone his motion till the next Court.

THE CARNATIC DEBT.

Captain MAXFIELD rose to call the attention of the Court to the above subject. The gallant Officer, after giving a short history of the origin of the Carnatic Debt, and the appointment of the Commissioners, censured strongly the delay which had taken place in the adjudication of the claims, (the commission having been in existence from 1805 to the present time,) as well as the immoderate expense which had been incurred. To show that the commission ought to have ended before this, he read the following extract from a report of the Commissioners in 1824:

"We had the honour to state, in our last report, that we had decided absolutely on all the cases, with the exception of a numerous class of small claims, proposed to be comprehended under the new arrangement between the East India Company and the creditors, which the returns made by the Commissioners in India enabled us to adjudicate; and we also stated, that we waited their returns to our instructions in reference to the said arrangements, then in progress, for relieving us from the

necessity of investigating the said class of small debts; and we further stated, that we had lost no time in transmitting instructions for the investigation of the claims of Messrs. Chase and Company, and others, whose cases were included in the Relief Act; (59 G. III.) it is again our duty to state to the Honourable House, that no return, in respect to either of these subjects, has as yet been received by us from India.

'We had the honour to report, that we had not failed repeatedly to require returns to our several instructions, but that we apprehended that the illness of the second Commissioner, and his absence at the Cape of Good Hope, and the death of the third Commissioner at a later period, and the arrangements for the appointment of their successors, (which, though we believed them to have been complete, had not been announced to us,) had occasioned the delay during the then past year. We have now to state to this Honourable House, that, having waited until the arrival of the ships, which sailed from Madras in the beginning of the year 1824, and having received no despatches from the Commissioners in India, we, on the 20th of August, 1824, felt it to be our duty to address the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, of Bengal, who, by the fourth clause of the Deed of Agreement between the East India Company and the creditors of the late Nabob of the Carnatic, and of the Ameer-el-Omrah, dated the 10th July, 1805, alone possesses control over the said Commissioners, as such, requesting that he would be pleased to call upon the Commissioners to explain the causes which have so long prevented a compliance with our numerous instructions; and in the event of their explanations not proving satisfactory to his Lordship in Council, that he would adopt such measures as might seem to his Lordship fit and proper, to ensure due and prompt obedience, on the part of the Commissioners in India, to the directions which they may have already received, or may in future receive, from this Board.'

The gallant Proprietor then expressed his disapprobation of extending the powers of the Commission to the settlement of the debt of the Nabob of Tanjore, and concluded by moving,

'That it appears to this Court, by the report of the Commissioners, as laid before Parliament in 1821, that the

	£	s.	d.
Total aggregate sterling amount of the claims was	30,216,707	11	4½

Aggregate of absolute adjudication in favour of parties ..	2,445,630	0	8½
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Aggregate of provisional adjudication in favour of parties ..	40,000	17	10
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	2,485,630	18	6½
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Aggregate of absolute adjudication against parties, including the portions disallowed in claims favourably adjudicated	27,163,979	2	4½
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Balance of claims remaining for adjudication, when Returns, containing the results of the investigation by the Commissioners in India shall be received, but exclusive of a number of small claims, exceeding (8000 <i>l</i> .) the subject of the proposed arrangement, mentioned in the following paragraph.....	567,097	10	5½
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	£30,216,707	11	4½
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'That it also appears evident, that if, instead of a fixed salary paid to the Commissioners, the sum of one per cent. commission had been allowed them for such trouble in the whole amount of claims admitted or rejected, as they were adjudicated, the expense of 302,167*l*. sterling only, would have been incurred as

the remuneration to such Commissioners, who would have been thus adequately paid for such investigation, and some millions thus saved to the public.

The CHAIRMAN defended the Commissioners from the charge of remissness or unnecessary delay. It was admitted, that by their labours they had saved no less a sum than 27,000,000*l.* consisting of claims improperly made. He caused an extract, confirmatory of his opinion, to be read from the last report of the Commissioners, dated the 15th of February.

Captain MAXFIELD had no hesitation in withdrawing his motion, after what he had just heard, which appeared to him satisfactory. He should only observe, that his motion was necessary, supposing such a report as the Chairman had just read not to have been made, and he had not been made acquainted with its existence. He was aware that, from the fraudulent manner in which many of the claims had been manufactured, they were not of easy decision; but much misery might have been saved to individuals, had many of the smaller and other claims been determined upon in a reasonable time.

The motion was then withdrawn.

CALCUTTA STAMP ACT.

Colonel LEICESTER STANHOPE then proceeded to bring forward his motion for copies of all papers connected with the late imposition of a stamp duty in Calcutta. The gallant Officer said, that the Act to which the papers he moved for related, would be found of immense importance to the East Indian possessions of this country. Perhaps the period was arrived, even in India, when the Government could not with impunity disregard the established principles of taxation, or view with indifference the feelings and interests of the governed. Those whom he had the honour of addressing might recollect, that it was a Stamp Act which led to the separation of the whole of the American colonies from Great Britain. With respect to the Stamp Act, to which his motion referred, it was his intention to prove that it was impolitic, unjust, illegal, and that it was likely to prove most dangerous. The Act contained every bad feature which it was possible for an act of that description to have, and he should therefore take a cursory glance at its history, not omitting the results to which it was likely to lead. Calcutta had been obtained by the British settlers from the sovereigns of Hindoostan; and it might not be improper that the Company should have the power of pursuing such measures, and of establishing such laws and regulations as they thought most conducive to their interests, and to the security and welfare of the settlement. But the people of Calcutta had certain vested rights, which had been secured to them in the most formal and firm manner in which any rights could be secured by the British Government. Their rights had been established by a charter of Charles the Second; they had been confirmed in the reign of George the Second, and had been further defined and secured by the act 53 George III. They had held these rights for upwards of one hundred and fifty years, and a power similar to that of imposing the Stamp Act had never been exercised by the East India Company, till they thought proper to devise the measure of which he complained, and to the removal of which he would conduct all in his power. With reference to the Stamp Act, he should say, that its imposition arose out of the necessities consequent upon the immense extent of the Company's civil establishments, which exceeded even the military establishments of a country held only by force, and governed

by the sword. So completely was the science of civil government disregarded in India—so thoroughly were even the elementary and long-established and undisputed principles of political economy set at defiance, that, in the Bengal provinces, in consequence of the power and of the monopolising spirit of the Company—in consequence of the necessary and unnecessary wars which the Company had waged, their exactions from the agricultural population were equivalent to one-half of the produce of the soil. The recent war against Ava cost the Government 18,000,000*l.* sterling; a sum much greater than that which would be, or which would be said to be, saved to the country by the labours of that Finance Committee which had just been appointed. It was owing to the enormous expenses of this war against Ava, and of the lavish and improvident spirit of the Company, which left no resources for such events, that the Stamp Act was resorted to. What checks upon improvement were such measures as these, when a deficiency of means could be supplied by such secret, sudden, and unprincipled measures as this Stamp Act! Nothing could possibly be more objectionable than the manner in which this Stamp Act had been conceived and projected. First, it was secretly discussed in the Council of Calcutta, then it was sent home and secretly canvassed by the Court of Directors; then it was as secretly sent to the Board of Control, and at last it was as clandestinely sent back again to Calcutta. Nothing had been known of it by the inhabitants of Calcutta, till it was promulgated as a law, to be put into immediate operation. In manœuvres of war—in movements in the field, the secrecy of measures was essential to their success; but where such an act of civil government as the imposition of a tax was not contrary to justice and principle, or was not an outrage upon the feelings or prejudices of the population, what could be the necessity for such secret proceedings?

The CHAIRMAN declared that, in his opinion, the gallant Proprietor was out of order in the course in which he was pursuing.

Colonel STANHOPE thought he was perfectly in order, and, under that impression, would proceed with his argument. With respect to the measure in question, the Company had acted upon the principle of taxation without representation, and they had applied that principle so secretly as to avoid all check or remonstrance. The feelings of the population of India had been often expressed upon this subject, in a manner which it behoved their rulers to attend to. The native bankers, on hearing of this Act, resolved to give up their employments; the people of Calcutta determined upon quitting the town, and having recourse to that measure of resistance which had, upon a similar occasion, succeeded with the people of Benares. He alluded to the fact, of the population of Benares, rich and poor, one and all, having quitted the town, and having bivouached at some five or six miles off in the country, until the house-tax imposed upon them was repealed by their rulers. In the instance of the Stamp Act, the Europeans, foreseeing the evils that might arise from the natives quitting the town of Calcutta, did their utmost to persuade them not to have recourse to such a measure. It was held out to them that they might entertain hopes that the tax would be repealed. But the inhabitants resolved to have a public meeting upon the subject; and what was the measure resorted to by the Governor-General in order to suppress this expression of the general feeling? He resolved to act upon an old despatch, which, upon some former occasion, had been sent out to India. Upon this document he justified his reso-

lution of not allowing any meeting to be held by any class of the community, unless such meeting should receive the previous sanction of himself and his Council. But the inhabitants resolved to have a meeting at the Exchange, and they published a notice of their intentions in the newspapers of Calcutta. What did the Governor-General do in this dilemma? Had he any diffidence of the opinions of Government on the occasion? Did he succumb to public opinion so unanimously expressed? No. He prepared the Magistrates to disperse the meeting; and had an intention of suppressing it by force. But better advice was given him, and he resolved to let the meeting take place, at which it was determined to petition the Legislature upon the subject. The petition was signed by all the merchants and agents, and even by several of the Company's civil and military servants. Public opinion must, indeed, be strong in India, when the servants of the Company would take the liberal side. So strong was that opinion, that one of the most able of the Company's servants, Mr. Crawford, was sent home to carry the views of the inhabitants into effect. The Stamp Act was intended to take effect in May, 1827; though without the usual registration of the Act. But some lawyers in the town informed him that the Act could not be enforced without registration in the Supreme Court. The registration was accordingly made. The Provincial Stamp Act was passed in 1821, but the Natives refused to buy any stamps, and it was discontinued. He should now prove the absolute impolicy of this Stamp Act. The people of British India were taxed to the utmost, by the arbitrary power of their rulers to impose taxes without restraint or control. So far was taxation carried, that the collectors were often obliged to remit a portion of the taxes out of what they called mercy, but which was, in fact, necessity. Sir Henry Colebrooke had stated, that the Company took, upon an average, one-half of the produce of the soil. Adam Smith, and other great political economists, had agreed, that agriculture could not flourish if more than one-third of the produce were taken by the landlord. The native Princes had, in this respect, proved themselves better political economists than the British Governor of India, for they had always limited themselves to the taking of one-sixth of the produce. He would now call the attention of the Court to the Salt Monopoly.—*(Cries of 'Order,' and 'Question.')*

The CHAIRMAN said, that the topic, to which the gallant Officer was about to advert, had nothing whatever to do with the question for the production of papers relative to the Stamp Act.

Colonel STANHOPE said, he could prove that the salt monopoly had reference to the question.

Mr. DIXON maintained, that the gallant Officer was out of order.

Colonel STANHOPE said, he would prove his argument in three words:—The Company wanted money; they obtained as much as could be screwed out of the pockets of the people. Then where, he would ask, was the use or the policy of the Stamp Act?

The CHAIRMAN again declared the gallant Proprietor to be out of order.

Mr. DIXON called on the Chairman to perform his duty.

The CHAIRMAN appealed to the Court, and begged they would decide between the gallant Proprietor and himself. *(Loud cries of hear!)*

Colonel STANHOPE rose, and proceeded to speak, amidst loud cries of "Order," and "Chair." He said, he intended, if the Court would listen to him, to prove that, by the salt, the opium, and the tea monopolies

the Company gained twenty times as much from the people of Great Britain as they did from the people of the island of Java.

A scene of great confusion ensued, and lasted for a considerable period. Colonel Stanhope was requested, by many of the members of the Court, to desist from his argument; but he several times renewed his attempts to pursue it, and was as often prevented by interruptions from the general body of Proprietors. He declared, the treatment which he received was most unfair and injurious, and believed that the effort to stifle his sentiments arose from a consciousness, that his facts and arguments were too stubborn to be got rid of by fair and open means. He at length asked the Chairman, whether he would grant him the papers to which his motion referred?

The CHAIRMAN answered, 'No;' and his reason for the refusal was, because the subject had been brought under the consideration of Parliament, by the petition from the inhabitants of Calcutta against the tax, and before the King in Council, against the registration of the Regulation in the Supreme Court. Under these circumstances, it would be unwise and inexpedient to grant the papers.

Colonel STANHOPE, after some further interruptions, said, he would proceed to consider the illegality of the Stamp Act, and, as there were some Lawyers present, perhaps they would be able to answer him.

The CHAIRMAN said he was no more of a Lawyer than the gallant Proprietor himself; but, if he reflected, he must perceive that he was occupying the time of the Court, without doing any thing to forward the object which he appeared to have so much at heart. No good, indeed, could be effected at this stage of the proceeding, and he thought it would be more judicious in the gallant Proprietor to wait for a future opportunity to deliver his opinions on the subjects.

Colonel STANHOPE said he would follow the Honourable Chairman's advice. He then withdrew his motion, and gave notice of the following motion at the next General Court:

'That the Court of Proprietors deplore the power lately assumed by the Government of British India, of general taxation, and the enactment of a Stamp Act in Calcutta, for the following reasons, namely:

'That the enforcement of a Stamp Act led to the separation of America from Great Britain.

'That the inhabitants of Calcutta have, from the time of Charles II, been exempted from the arbitrary power of taxation, recently claimed by the Government of British India.

'That a Stamp Tax, not being of the nature of "goods, wares, merchandises, commodities, or property," is not warranted by the 53d G. III, and is illegal.

'That it is the interest of the East India Company to use the power of taxation, to preserve their monopoly, and thereby injure a free-trade, and their rivals, the merchants of Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Bristol, Birmingham, Sheffield, Hull, Leeds, &c.

'That the East India Company already take on an average half of the net produce of the soil, and covertly obtain, from the people of Calcutta, in taxes, 161,300*l.*, which is 122 per cent. more than is exacted from the Bengal Provinces; and realise a revenue of twenty-two millions; an income greater than that of Russia, the preponderating power of the world.

'That the Stamp Tax has been resisted in Calcutta, with a spirit worthy of freemen, and in the Provinces thwarted by a passive firmness still more formidable; and as this money grievance is of a universal and lasting nature, so will be the resistance.

'That, under these awful circumstances, this Court doth humbly recommend

the Supreme Government of British India, magnanimously to repeal this unjust and dangerous Stamp Act.'

CAPTAIN PRESCOTT, ON ABUSE OF PATRONAGE.

The CHAIRMAN stated to the Court, that a prosecution had been instituted in the Court of King's Bench, against certain persons, for the sale of the Company's patronage. The trial came before the Court on the 6th of March, and he had now to lay before the Court the short-hand writer's notes of that proceeding.

Mr. GAHAGAN asked whether it was intended to print the notes?

The CHAIRMAN replied in the negative.

Captain PRESCOTT addressed the Court, in a state of considerable agitation, in the following terms: 'I appear before you, after an absence of eight or nine months; I have been the Company's servant, man and boy, for more than forty years, and I do not think that I appear before you with a broken-down character; I entreat the Proprietors to examine the papers which have been laid before them; it will be doing me the utmost favour, for, without your confidence, I am not the man to remain behind the bar.' (*Hear, hear.*)

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Mr. GAHAGAN, before the Court rose, wished to ask a question on a subject that had a good deal agitated the public mind. It must be known that transactions of a very delicate and extraordinary nature had taken place in that house some time since, and he wished to know whether it was intended to state what had led to the appointment of Mr. Mortimer in the place of Mr. Gilmour; and also whether, with respect to the alleged use of money entrusted to the latter, any disclosure would be made to the Court, because it might be necessary to bring the matter before the Proprietors by a special requisition.

The CHAIRMAN.—I think I may say that the Court of Directors have found it necessary to appoint a servant to a particular situation in this house; and I trust the confidence reposed in them by the Proprietors will lead the latter to believe that they have taken great pains in this matter, and that they have acted with strict propriety. Having stated this to the Court of Proprietors, I think I have stated all they can fairly ask or require.

The Court then adjourned.

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

BURDA, Assist.-Surg., app. to the Medical Duties of the cruiser Ternate.

Bertram, W., Maj. Comm. the Chittagong Prov. Batt., on furl. to the Presidency —C. Sept. 3.

Borradale, G., Ens., 68th N. I., to Lieut., v. Vansandau, prom.—C. Sept. 7.

Burt, J. S., 1st Lieut. Mil. Board, placed at disp. of Mil. Board.—C. Sept. 7.

Bartholman, J., Lieut. 44th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Sept. 7.

Box, Lieut., 1st Eur. Reg., to act as Adj.—C. Sept. 4.

Brown, L. C., Lieut., on furl. to the Presidency.—C. Sept. 4.

Claridge, J. S., Capt., 34th Light Inf., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Sept. 18.

Campbell, R., Capt., 21st N. I., app. to charge of the Commiss. Dep. in Cutch, during the absence of Capt. Long, on furl.—B. Oct. 5.

Cooke, J., Capt., 3d N. I., to act as Inspector of Hill Forts in the Deccan, v. Brown, on regimental duty.—B. Oct. 9.

- Cavage, W., Lieut., 21st N. I., to take charge of the Brig.-Major's office, v. Atchison.—B. Oct. 9.
- Chalmers, J. H., Lieut., 4th N. I., to act as Adj. to the wing proceeding on field service while detached from head-quarters.—B. Oct. 5.
- Colegrave, M., Mr., admitted Cad. and prom. to Ens.—B. Sept. 22.
- Campbell, H. J., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surg.—B. Sept. 22.
- Cox, H. G. M., Capt., Com. the Bundelcund Prov. Batt., on furl. to the Presidency.—C. Sept. 3.
- Douglas, J. F., Lieut., 49th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Sept. 7.
- Elwall, E. H., Mr., admitted Cad. of Inf. and prom. to Ens.—B. Sept. 22.
- Falkoner, Ens., 15th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Wilkie, prom.—B. Oct. 2.
- Faithfull, W. R. L., Brev. Capt. and Lieut., 43d N. I., to be Capt. of a comp., v. Maxwell, prom.—C. Sept. 7.
- Farquharson, A., Lieut., 6th Extra N. I., to be Capt. by Brevet.—C. Sept. 7.
- Firth, F. W., Capt., 69th N. I., on furl. for health.—C. Sept. 4.
- Gunter, H. S., Ens., rem. from 2d Eur. Reg. to 20th N. I., to rank below Ens. Johnson.—B. Oct. 11.
- Graham, Thos., Lieut. 2d Gren. N. I., on furl. to Eur.—B. Oct. 11.
- Grigor, A., Assist.-Surg., to remain at the Presidency for health.—B. Oct. 9.
- Gordon, J. W., Lieut., 7th N. I., furl. to Calcutta extended.—B. Sept. 11.
- Graham, D. C., Lieut., 19th N. I., to be Adj. of the 1st Regt. Corps in Bandesh, v. Berk, dec.—B. Sept. 25.
- Goodwyn, H., 1st Lieut. Eng., placed at disp. of Mil. Board.—C. Sept. 7.
- Garner, J., Major, 31st N. I., on furl. to Presidency for health.—C. Sept. 4.
- Hathway, L., Surg., on furl. to Eur.—B. Oct. 11.
- Hughes, S., Major, 40th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Oct. 11.
- Holmes, J., Ens., 12th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Johnson, prom.—B. Sept. 20.
- Johnson, C. H., Lieut., 12th N. I., to be Capt. v. Cazulet, dec.—B. Sept. 22.
- Lloyd, G. B., Ens., 7th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Richardson, dec.—B. Oct. 8.
- Lukin, R. M., Lieut., 16th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Oct. 16.
- Loughnan, R. Mr., to be a Junior Assist. to the Agent of the Gov.-General in Saugur and the Nerbudda territories.—C. Aug. 36.
- Mitchell, T., Lieut. 15th N. I., to be Quarter Master and Interpreter, v. Muran on furlough.—B. Oct. 17.
- Morrison, William, Maj. 18th N. I. on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Oct. 5.
- Meade, R. N. Mr., admitted Cad. of Inf., and prom. to Ens.—B. Sept. 22.
- Mant, Lieut., to take charge of the Ex. Eng. Depot. at Surat and Broach.—B. Sept. 24.
- M'Rae, J., Assist. Surg., permitted to resign.—C. Sept. 3.
- Maxwell, H. G., Capt. 43d N. I., to be Maj. v. Watson, prom.—C. Sept. 3.
- Macpherson, A. F., Ens. 43d N. I., to Lieut., v. Faithfull, prom.—C. Sept. 7.
- Price, Assist.-Surg. to do duty with 1st Brig. Horse Artill., v. Walker.
- Nisbet, J., Assist.-Surg. app. to the Medical Duties of the Civ. Station of Nuddea, in absence of Assist.-Surg. Downes on furl.—C. Sept. 7.
- Orton, James, Surgon, to succeed Surg. Hathway, as Garrison Surg. of Tananah, B. Oct. 11.
- Roberts, H. G., Captain 19th N. I., perm. to visit the Deccan.—B. Oct. 8.
- Sandwith, W., Lieut. Col. Comm. 1st Eur. reg. on furl. to Eur.—B. Oct. 16.
- Salter, Lieut. Col. 22d N. I., commanding the Malwa Field Force, to succeed Lieut. Col. Sandwith in the command of the Guicowar subsid. force.—B. Oct. 16.
- Seabbe, D. M., Lieut., 11th N. I., to act as Brig. Maj. in the Southern Concan.—B. Oct. 5.
- Stirling, G., Lieut., (His Majesty's 2d Foot,) to act as Adj. to the Light Batt. formed at Poonah, v. Johnson, prom. to a company.—B. Oct. 5.
- Stark, R., Lieut., 1st Gren. N. I., to be Quar. Mas. and Interp.—B. Oct. 1.
- Sutherland, J., Capt., 2d Light Cav. 1st Assist. to the Resid. at Delhi, app. to comm. the Nizam's reformed horse, in succession to the late Major Davis.—B. Oct. 9.
- Symption, G. F. Mr., adm. Cad. of Inf., and prom. to Ens.—B. Sept. 22.
- Stewart, R., Capt. 61st N. I., on furl. to the Cape, St. Helena, and Eur. for health.—C. Sept. 3.

Sleeman, Jas., Ens., rem. from 46th N. I. to 5th ext. regt. at Jubbalpore, as jun. Ens.—C. Sept. 4.
 Trasdale, H. C., Lieut., 25th N. I., to be Quar. Mas. and Interp.—B. Oct. 9.
 Turner, B. Lieut., ext. Eng., at Surat and Broach, placed at the disposal of the Com. in Chief, to proceed with the Field Force from Poonah.—B. Sept. 21.
 Tre-lawney, J. Capt. Ex. Off. Departm. of Public Works, on furlough.—C. Sept. 7.
 Wilkie, W. Lieut., 15th N. I., to be Capt. v. Eschall, dec.—B. Oct. 2.
 Waite, B. Capt., 21th N. I., and acting 2d Assist. Comm. General, on furlough to Europe.—B. Sept. 21.
 Willis, P. W., 2d. Lieut. Eng., placed at the disposal of the Military Board.—C. Sept. 7.
 Watson, W. I. Maj., (C. B., Inf., to be Lieut.-Col. v. Stuart, dec.—C. Sept. 3.
 Wilkie, D. Ens., 4th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Chitty, dec.—C. Sept. 7.
 Walker, Assist. Surg., to take the Medical duties at Etawah, v. Brown.—C. Sept. 4.

Fort William, September 28, 1827.

No. 199 of 1827 — The inconveniences attending some of the existing Regulations, regarding the mode of drawing regimental pay and allowances, having been brought to the notice of Government, the Right Honourable the Vice-President in Council, for the purpose of simplifying the system of accounts, is pleased to direct, that, from the 31st of December next, *pay proper* for all classes of Europeans shall, in like manner with regimental allowances, be drawn in *arrears*, and, in regard to European Officers, the whole, according to the rates laid down in the annexed Table, which, in the total, correspond exactly with those now existing, the calculations having, for greater accuracy, been made for a period of four years, in order to embrace a leap year.

To remedy other inconveniences complained of, and to secure uniformity of arrangement in muster rolls, pay abstracts, and other documents of a similar nature, and thereby to lessen the number of retrenchments to which Officers are now exposed, his Lordship in Council is pleased to announce to the Army, that a work, containing forms of sundry documents connected with the Pay and Audit Departments, tables of pay, calculated for each day, in months of twenty-eight, twenty-nine, thirty, and thirty-one days, and some general rules for the guidance of Officers, is now under preparation, and that copies of it will be distributed to every regiment in the service. Blank forms of muster rolls and pay abstracts will also be supplied periodically to regiments, from the lithographic press, at rates to be hereafter ascertained, and under rules and regulations which will be laid down in the work above alluded to.

In order to prevent a recurrence of such frauds, as have recently been reported to have been committed on the Presidency Pay Office, by a Pay Serjeant, and to enable Pay Masters to check the pay bills of troops, companies, and establishments, in a more efficient manner than can now be done by the numerical abstracts of the muster rolls, which are at present annexed to pay bills, his Lordship in Council directs, that, on and after the 1st of January next, copies of muster rolls shall be furnished to Pay Masters; but the certificates, numerical abstract, and statement of pay in the originals, are to be omitted in the transcripts, and the following declaration substituted in their stead, viz.:

I do declare upon honour, that the above is a faithful Copy of the Muster Roll of the ——— Troop, Company, or Establishment, as the case may be, of the ——— Regiment, taken at ———, for the month of ———, the original of which was delivered to the Mustering Officer.

Exd. G. D.
Adjt.

A. B.
Commanding Troop, or Company, &c.
E. F.
Commanding Regiments, &c.

These copies are to be forwarded immediately after muster, direct to the Pay-Master, by the Officer commanding the regiment, &c.; or, in the event of one company or more being detached, by the Officer, who, as the senior, countersigns them.

WM. CASEMENT, Lieut.-Col.

Sec. to Gov. Mil. Dep.

Table of Regimental Pay and Allowances in Sonot Rupees: the same for any Month.

	IN GARRISON OR CAMPONMENT. a.					IN THE FIELD.				
	Pay.	Batta.	Gratuity.	Tentage.	House Allowance.	Total.	Pay.	Batta.	Gratuity.	Tentage.
<i>Horse Artillery.</i>										
Same as Cavalry.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
<i>Foot Artillery.</i>										
Col. or Lieut.-Col. Command.	304	6 07 60	15 0	0 00	0	11 65 5	0 304	6 07 60	15 0	0 300
Lieutenant-Colonel	243	8 03 04	6 0	75 0	0	9 32 14	0 243	8 03 08	12 0	0 156
Major	182	10 02 28	4 0	60 0	0	4 70 14	0 182	10 04 56	9 0	0 120
Captain	140	0 0 01	5 03 36	37 8	0	3 04 13	0 140	0 0 182	10 36 75	0 459 3 0
Lieutenant	70	0 0 60	14 02 24	25 0	0	1 79 14	0 70	0 0 121	12 34 50	0 215 12 5
Second Lieutenant	60	0 0 45	10 01 12	25 0	0	1 42 10	0 60	0 0 91	5 12 56	0 213 5 0
Surgeon	121	12 0 0	3 03 36	37 8	0	2 85 0	0 121	12 0 182	10 36 75	0 413 6 0
Assistant-Surgeon	60	14 0 60	14 02 24	25 0	0	1 70 12	0 60	14 0 121	12 34 50	0 236 10 0
<i>Engineers.</i>										
Same as Foot Artillery.	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0 0 0
<i>European Infantry.</i>										
Reg. Col. or Lieut.-Col. Comd.	304	6 07 60	15 0	0 00	0	11 65 5	0 304	6 07 60	15 0	0 300
Lieutenant-Colonel	243	8 03 04	6 0	75 0	0	9 32 14	0 243	8 03 08	12 0	0 156
Major	182	10 02 28	4 0	60 0	0	4 70 14	0 182	10 04 56	9 0	0 120
Captain or Surgeon	121	12 0 0	3 03 36	37 8	0	2 85 0	0 121	12 0 182	10 36 75	0 413 6 0
Lieut. or Assistant-Surgeon	60	14 0 60	14 02 24	25 0	0	1 70 12	0 60	14 0 121	12 34 50	0 236 10 0
Ensign.	49	7 5 43	10 6 11	25 0	0	1 32 1 11	49	7 5 91	5 12 56	0 302 12 5
<i>Native Cavalry.</i>										
Colonel or Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant.							397	8 07 60	15 0	0 300
Lieutenant-Colonel							378	4 06 08	12 0	0 150
Major							232	13 44 56	9 0	0 120
Captain or Surgeon							170	6 41 82	10 0	0 75
Lieutenant or Assistant-Surgeon							109	8 11 21	12 34 50	0 60 365 4 0
<i>Veterinary Surgeon.</i>							97	6 51 21	12 34 50	0 4713
Coronet							97	5 4 91	5 12 56	0 310 10 4
<i>Native Infantry.</i>										
Colonel or Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant							304	6 07 60	15 0	0 300
Lieutenant-Colonel							243	8 03 08	12 0	0 156
Major							182	10 04 56	9 0	0 120
Captain or Surgeon							121	12 0 182	10 36 75	0 413 6 0
Lieutenant or Assistant-Surgeon							60	14 0 121	12 34 50	0 236 10 0
Ensign							49	7 5 91	5 12 56	0 302 12 5

(a.) Commissioned Officers of Artillery or European Regiments in the Garrison of Fort William, draw half batta and half tentage; and in that of Allahabad, half batta and full tentage. In cantonments at and above Allahabad, full batta and full tentage; and, below that station, full batta and half tentage, with exception of Dum-Dum, where full tentage is specially allowed to the artillery.

(b.) Regimental Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels Commandant are allowed full batta at any station.

(c. c.) Infantry Officers, when entitled by the regulations to horse allowance, will draw for it at the rate of thirty Sonot rupees a month.

(d.) Tent allowance is not allowed to the Chief Engineer, or Adjutant of Engineers, in garrison.

(e.) Under three years' service, eight shillings per day, or 97rs. 6as. 5ps. per month, including one shilling for horse allowance; above three years' service, ten shillings per day, or 121rs. 12as. per month, including one shilling for horse allowance; above ten years' service, twelve shillings per day, or 146rs. 1as. 6ps. per month, including one shilling for horse allowance, above twenty years' service, fifteen shillings per day, or 182rs. 10as. per month, including one shilling for horse allowance.

(f.) A shilling per day, or 12rs. 2as. 9ps. per month deducted, on account of its being included in the pay.

(g.) Veterinary Surgeons, while actually present with their regiments, are also entitled to draw partaken allowance, at the rate of 30rs. 6as. per month.

N.B. In drawing arrears for broken periods of any month, care must be taken to calculate them with reference to the actual number of days in the month, and agreeable to the rates here laid down. Officers will omit drawing pay proper in their bills for December, 1827, in order to its being brought into arrears, the same as the other allowances.

WM. CASEMENT, Lieut.-Col.
Sec. to Gen. Mil. Dep.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1828.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date. 1827.
Feb. 25	Off the Lizard	Broxbornebury	Fewson ..	China ..	Oct. 14
Feb. 25	Cowes ..	Orpheus ..	Duff ..	Batavia ..	Oct. 29
Feb. 26	Portsmouth	Charles Kerr ..	Brodie ..	Bombay ..	Oct. 7
Feb. 26	Downs ..	Brazilian ..	Cotesworth ..	Mauritius	Nov. 23
Feb. 26	Isle of Wight	Earl of Egremont	Johnson ..	Mauritius	Nov. 6
Feb. 27	Dover ..	Intrepid ..	Heeman ..	Singapore	Sept. 9
Feb. 28	Cowes ..	Mariner ..	Nosworthy ..	Batavia ..	Oct. 29
Feb. 29	Torbay ..	Albion ..	Ralph ..	Singapore	Oct. 3
Mar. 1	Downs ..	Lycurgus ..	Crawshaw ..	Mauritius	Nov. 10
Mar. 1	Downs ..	Resolution ..	Parker ..	Mauritius	Nov. 20
Mar. 1	Dover ..	Ellen ..	Paterson ..	Cape ..	Dec. 16
Mar. 1	Downs ..	Sarah Ann ..	Phillips ..	South Seas	
Mar. 3	Downs ..	Indian ..	Swan ..	South Seas	
Mar. 10	Isle of Wight	Lord Hungerford	Heathorn ..		Oct. 29
Mar. 10	Liverpool ..	Echo ..	Thompson ..	Calcutta	Oct.
Mar. 10	Downs ..	Susan ..	Hamilton ..	Bengal ..	May 24
Mar. 10	Cork ..	Crown ..	Pinder ..	Bengal ..	Sept.
Mar. 12	Start ..	Roxburgh Castle	Denny ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 22
Mar. 12	Channel ..	Dublin ..	Stewart ..	Bombay ..	Sept. 23
Mar. 12	Dartmouth	Van Bond ..	Krayor ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 1
Mar. 14	Portsmouth	Bridgewater ..	Manderson	China ..	Nov. 18
Mar. 14	Portland ..	Herefordshire ..	Whiteman	China ..	Nov. 18
Mar. 15	Weymouth	Repulse ..	Gribble ..	China ..	Nov. 19
Mar. 15	Start ..	Matilda ..	Bully ..	Singapore	Nov. 21
Mar. 15	Weymouth	Penelope ..	Christie ..	Mauritius	
Mar. 17	Portland ..	Duke of York	Locke ..	China ..	Nov. 18
Mar. 17	Portsmouth	George ..	Fulcher ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 22
Mar. 17	Portland ..	Mary ..	Beachcroft	Bombay ..	Oct. 8
Mar. 17	Penzance ..	Isabella ..	Clarkson ..	Mauritius	Nov. 20
Mar. 17	Penzance ..	John Biggar ..	Kent ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 17
Mar. 17	Channel ..	Delphine ..	Brauclois	Batavia ..	Oct. 30
Mar. 19	Dover ..	Barossa ..	Hutchinson	China ..	Nov. 1
Mar. 19	Falmouth ..	Achilles ..	Henderson	Mauritius	Dec. 5
Mar. 20	Dover ..	Belzoni ..	Talbert ..	Bengal ..	Sept. 24
Mar. 25	Portsmouth	Andromeda ..	Middle ..	Mauritius	Dec. 10
Mar. 26	Dartmouth	Harmonic ..	Versleys ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 4
Mar. 26	Downs ..	Mary and Jane	Matches ..	Singapore	Nov. 2

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1827.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Aug. 22	Van D. Land ..	Medway ..	Wright ..	London
Aug. 31	New S. Wales	Triton ..	Crear ..	Leith
Sept. 15	New S. Wales	Governor Ready	Young ..	London
Sept. 27	New S. Wales	Prince Regent	Richards ..	London
Sept. 27	New S. Wales	Harmony ..	Middleton ..	London
Sept. 30	China ..	Woodruff Sims ..	West ..	Liverpool
Oct. 8	Singapore	Matilda ..	Bulley ..	London
Oct. 9	Bombay ..	Dorothy ..	Garnyck ..	Liverpool
Oct. 12	Padang ..	Padang ..	Rogers ..	Cowes
Oct. 28	Calcutta ..	Clyde ..	Munro ..	London
Oct. 28	Bombay ..	Neptune ..	Camberledge	London
Oct. 28	Madras ..	Warren Hastings	Mason ..	London
Oct. 29	Singapore	Noormuhall ..	King ..	London
Oct. 29	Singapore	Mary and Jane ..	Thomson ..	London

Date 1927.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's name.	Commander.	Ports of Depart
Nov. 1	Madras	Security	Ross	London
Nov. 4	Calcutta	Thomas Grenville	Shea	London
Nov. 5	Madras	Elphinstone	Atkinson	London
Nov. 10	Batavia	Arethusa	Haly	London
Nov. 10	Calcutta	Joseph	Christopherson	London
Nov. 15	China	Astell	Levy	London
Nov. 18	Calcutta	John Hayes	Worthington	Liverpool
Nov. 18	Calcutta	Greenan	Allen	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1928.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Comma under.	Destination.
Feb. 23	Downs	George the Fourth	Burrow	China
Feb. 25	Downs	Hebden	Forster	Bengal
Feb. 27	Portsmouth	Marquis Camden	Larkins	China
Feb. 27	Portsmouth	Earl of Balcarras		China
Feb. 28	Plymouth	Duchess of Athol	Daniel	China
Feb. 29	Greenock	Welcome	Paul	Bengal
Mar. 2	Portsmouth	Providence	Ford	Bengal
Mar. 5	Downs	William Faulie	Blair	China
Mar. 7	Portsmouth	M. queen	Walker	China
Mar. 7	Downs	Mary	Guy	Bombay
Mar. 7	Downs	Victory	Fairbairson	Bengal
Mar. 8	Downs	Thomas Coutts	Christie	China
Mar. 11	Downs	Clorinda	Carlew	Penang
Mar. 12	Portsmouth	Lord Lowther	St. wood	China
Mar. 11	Liverpool	Sovereign	Nesherd	Bombay
Mar. 15	Downs	Egyptian	Libburn	Bombay
Mar. 17	Liverpool	Bahamian	Peace	Bengal
Mar. 23	Downs	William Miles	Sampson	V. D. Land
Mar. 23	Downs	Craievcar	Re y	Bengal
Mar. 23	Downs	Angeron	Rull y	Mad & Beng
Mar. 24	Downs	Casile Huntley	Dualin	Mauritius
Mar. 25	Downs	Henry	Rove	Mauritius
Mar. 26	Gravesend	Vesper	Talbot	Madras
Mar. 26	Gravesend	England	Ward	Bengal
Mar. 26	Portsmouth	Minstrel	Brown	Bengal
Mar. 26	Downs	Lady Raffles	Tucker	Bombay

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMELWARDS.

By the *Countess of Harcourt*, from the Mauritius.—Dr Goodell, R. N. and Mr. James.

By the *Charles Kerr*, from Bombay:—Col. Wahab, Major Morrison, Capt. Wake; Lieuts. Rowley and Riley; Wm. Wathen, Esq. (left at the Cape); Messrs. Wooler and Denham; Masters A. Denham, Hayes and Swainstone; Mesdames Brodie, Denham, and Pearson; Misses Denham, M. Denham, Wahab, Swainstone, and F. Lord; Mrs. Clarke, (left at the Cape); three Native and two European servants, and one invalid.

By the *Northburgh Castle*, from Bengal:—Major T. C. Watson; Capts. Hoctor, Wilson, Mason, and Douglas; Lieuts. Finlayson, Orr, Bartleman, Blake, Dalrymple, and Bishop; Wm. P. B. Sheddin, Esq.; Masters J. Douglas and F. Siavewright; Mesdames Sheddin, Reynolds, Creighton, Amiel and Bishop; Misses F. Creighton, Sheddin, M. Creighton, and E. Reynolds.

By the *Ilsegerford*, from China:—Capt. Robt. Delamaine; Lieut. Ashton, and three children; Rev. Chas. Craven, Professor of Bishop's College, Calcutta; Mr. Mackintosh; Masters Craven and Hewitt; Mrs. Craven.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No. 53.—MAY, 1828.—VOL. 17.

MR. RICHARDS'S NEW WORK ON INDIA.

AN important change is gradually taking place in the public feeling of England, respecting our East Indian possessions. The near approach of the period for renewing the discussions on the charter of the East India Company, the progress of general information, and the prevalence of a spirit of inquiry into all abuses of the state, have each contributed their share towards arousing public attention more and more to Indian affairs; and the demand for information on this subject has, accordingly, been met by the publication of various works, in illustration of the several departments of knowledge connected with India, with which the writers were best acquainted. The excellent volume, entitled 'An Enquiry into the Expediency of applying the principles of Colonial Policy to the Government of India,'* led the way; and since then, various other works, though none that we remember of equal merit, have followed; some advocating the continuance, and others the change, of the present system; but each has had the good effect of drawing public attention to the enquiry; which is all that is necessary to produce conviction, on disinterested minds, of the absolute necessity of the latter. This spirit of inquiry has extended itself from Liverpool to Manchester, Leeds, Glasgow, and Edinburgh; from each of which places have proceeded meetings, resolutions, reports, and publications, all tending to the same point; and we are persuaded that this accumulating mass of inquiry, evidence, and conviction, will go on increasing, with such rapidity and effect, as to bear down all opposition, and bring the interests of the whole country into one general demand for the opening both of China and India to the free trade, free settlement, and free government, of every part of both in which the English authority is acknowledged as supreme.

* Published by J. M. Richardson, Cornhill.
Oriental Herald, Vol. 17. O

Mr. Rickards's excellent book, the last which has appeared on the subject, is also one of the most important, and of this, therefore, we proceed to give some account, extracting the principal portions of it, for the sake of giving its valuable matter that increased circulation, both in England and in India, which is so desirable on public grounds alone. Of the high character, experience, and qualifications of Mr. Rickards, for the task he has undertaken, we have already spoken in our last number; and of his ready acquiescence in the co-operation we propose to afford him in his benevolent labour, we can have no doubt, concurring as we do entirely in the maxim of the beautiful and appropriate motto which he has selected from Lord Bacon, who says, "I take goodness in this sense, the seeking the weal of men, which is that the Greeks call *philanthropia*. This, of all virtues and dignities of the mind, is the greatest, being the character of the Deity; and, without it, man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin."*

This good of the community, which should be the great end of all human legislation, has been entirely lost sight of, if not wilfully sacrificed, in legislating for India, whether here, or in the country itself; the only end kept in view being the aggrandisement of the ruling few, at the expense of the subject many; and the retention of an absurd restrictive system, even after it had ceased to benefit those in whose favour it was first established, though it still continues to inflict incalculable injury on the vast population of India itself, and prevents the beneficial results which its abolition would secure to the mercantile and manufacturing population of England in return.

The maintenance of this unjust and injurious system, has been defended on several grounds, all equally fallacious; but the strong hold of its advocates has been this: namely, that the population of India is in a state of immoveable superstition, incapable of understanding, admitting, or benefiting by any proposed changes; and that such is their inveterate attachment to existing institutions and existing habits, that no change can be wrought in them by human means. It might have been expected, that the mere statement of such a position would be enough to show its absurdity, and that it would not have obtained countenance from any man possessing a grain of understanding. So contrary has been the fact, however, that both Houses of Parliament, and all the influential power of the country, have been deluded into an acquiescence with a belief that one could hardly imagine a child or a savage ignorant enough, or weak enough, to entertain for a moment; yet so it is, and the delusion still existing in some few classes, and being still fostered by the India Company and its advocates, with a zeal proportioned to their love of the good things which it secures to their exclusive grasp, it

has been deemed necessary to dispel it by authority, by argument, and by proof. This it is, which has led to the publication of Mr. Rickards's excellent work, from which we have already too long detained the reader, but which we cannot open without again repeating, that its able and benevolent author deserves for it, that which we are sure he will possess, the heart-felt gratitude of every man in this country, who feels a desire to improve the condition of his fellow men in India, and the prayers and thanks of the millions of those of that country, in whose behalf his efforts have been made. The work opens with a dedication, so touching from its simplicity and sincerity, that we give it entire.

'To the Native Inhabitants of India,'

'These pages are dedicated, as a pledge of the Author's grateful remembrance, esteem, and regard; and in the hope that, in the discussions which must shortly take place in Parliament regarding India, their interests, prosperity, and happiness will be deemed of paramount importance in the measures to be adopted for the future government of their own country;

By their sincere friend,

R. RICKARDS.'

To this succeeds the Preface, which explains the nature of the work so explicitly, that we prefer extracting it, to stating its object in any language of our own,

'Preface.'

'I propose to publish, in parts, a treatise on each of the following points; persuaded that without a correct knowledge of the state and condition of the native population of India, and the causes which have for ages obstructed its improvement—the measures to be adopted for the future government of that country, at the expiration of the existing Act for continuing it in the East India Company,* will be erroneous in principle, and inapplicable, as remedies for the evils and inconveniencies they may be intended to correct. The subjects proposed to be discussed, are:

'Part I. On the castes of India, and the alleged simplicity and immutability of Hindoo habits.

'II. Historical sketch of the state and condition of the Native Indians under former governments.

'III. On the Revenue systems of India under the East India Company's Government, as tending to perpetuate the degraded condition of the Natives.

'IV. On the Company's trade, and its results in a financial and political point of view.

* 53 Geo. III. chap. 155.'

‘V. Suggestions for a Reform of the Administration of India, as regards the present system both at home and abroad.’

Of the rest of the work, as any analysis of its contents would only weaken the force of the original, we prefer giving complete extracts of the most important portions of it, in such a connected manner as to enable the reader to obtain, from these, an accurate idea of the great chain of argument pursued, referring those who would desire to pursue it through every link, to the excellent work itself.

Introduction.

‘Having lived twenty-three years in India, and passed much of that time in intimate intercourse with various Natives, I have a different opinion of their character to that given in several printed works. I have constantly seen, in their acts and conduct, the practice of the most amiable virtues. I have experienced, from many, the most grateful attachment. I believe them capable of all the qualities that can adorn the human mind; and, though I allow many of their imputed faults, (where is the individual or nation without them?) I must still ascribe those faults more to the rigour of the despotisms under which they have so long groaned, and which, unhappily, we have but slenderly alleviated, than to natural depravity of disposition, or to any institutions peculiar to themselves.

‘It should also be remembered that no small portion both of the wealth and fame of this country has been acquired through the means of Native Indians. Justice and gratitude, therefore, require of us to make them the best returns in our power. Under the peculiar circumstances, too, of our own country, and the apparently united exertions of our faithful friends and grateful allies, on the continent of Europe, to drive our commerce and manufactures from their shores, who would not gladly see fresh channels cleared, to relieve existing difficulties, or to disarm the efforts of neighbouring malignity? The golden dreams that have deluded so many speculators to fancy the provinces of South America, and even the interior of Africa, to be filled with interminable resources for the immediate consumption of British goods, have now vanished; but fields of better prospect are still within our reach. In India, if any where, can these flattering expectations be at all realised. In India, more than could have been expected has already resulted from the few privileges so reluctantly conceded to the free trade by the Act of 1813. In India, commercial treasures exist, of which very inadequate conceptions have yet been formed in Britain; the avenues to which may be further widened at the pleasure of the British Legislature; but will be again contracted, if the suggestions of prejudice, or self-interest, be allowed to prevail over the dictates of a sounder policy.

'In this country, I have found erroneous impressions to prevail, very generally, as to

'The castes of the Natives of India;

'The unalterable simplicity of their food and habits; and,—

'The condition of the people under the Company's Government.

'The two first are supposed to be regulated beyond all human power of change, by the religion of the Natives; and the latter inferred from the accounts of authors, and others returned from India, after a long residence there; and the conclusions hence drawn are, either that improvement is hopeless in so artificial and immutable a state of society; or, that prosperity has advanced, as far as it can go, under the *wise, just, and lenient* administration of the British Government.

'Correct notions on these heads being indispensable to a sound decision on the grand question regarding India, which must shortly be brought before Parliament, I shall consider them separately.'

Castes of the Natives of India.

'The authors who treat of India, together with most of those who return from that country, roundly state, and their readers, and hearers here, consequently believe, that the population of India is divided into four great classes, *Brahmen, Chhatrya, Vaisya, and Soodra*.* The first is the sacerdotal class; the second, military, or appointed to defend the people; the business of the third commerce, lending at interest, agriculture, and keeping herds of cattle; and, of the fourth, to serve the higher classes.

'To quote one or two respectable writers, for all, on this head: "The very structure and arrangement of society itself is, in India, formed by the religious system, which there interferes with every temporal as well as spiritual concern of its professors. It thus lays, in its very foundation, *the grand obstacle to every improvement of the condition of the people*. It has divided the *WHOLE COMMUNITY into four great classes*, and stationed each class between certain walls of separation, which are impassable by the purest virtue and by the most conspicuous merit. The institution of castes therefore may be regarded as the cause why civilisation had so early stopped in India, and why the different attainments made progressively by other nations, are not found among the Hindoos, whose manners have been wholly stationary from the earliest ages to the present times. It is, however, far easier to ascertain the wide and baneful influence of such a system on the enterprise and improvement of society, than to discover any adequate or safe means by which this immense Colossus of superstition may either be weakened or overthrown."

* 'These are also written *Brahmin, Khattry or Khetry, Vyse or Vyse, Soeder or Soodera*.'

Not merely have writers given in to this prejudice, but, what is of greater importance, to India, the rulers of that country have adopted, and strenuously maintain, the same errors. In a letter, dated 10th January, 1810, to the Bombay Government, the Honourable Court of Directors, commenting on a proposal submitted to them for gradually lessening the burden of land taxation in India, and to make the experiment, in the first instance, on the small island of Salsette, have the following paragraph, which is not only curious for the doctrines it contains, but for a remarkable instance of literary embezzlement—the Honourable Court having borrowed the words of another high authority, “The Edinburgh Review,” to state their position; whilst the inference drawn from it is directly opposed to that of the authors, whose text they have thus condescended to appropriate. The sentiments of these two high authorities being of importance to the present question, the reader will be better able to compare and judge of their merits, by seeing them stated in opposite columns.

‘COURT OF DIRECTORS’ LETTER,
paragraph 162.

“The artificial and unnatural division of a people into castes is, perhaps, the most effectual method that could be devised, by the ingenuity of man, to check their improvement and repress their industry. It is so diametrically opposed to the strongest principles of our nature, that, wherever such a distinction exists and is rigidly observed, it is impossible for enterprise to thrive; and it is altogether vain to talk of counteracting its mischievous tendency by any code of fiscal regulation. Did it never occur then, when recommending a system of taxation, founded upon the established order of nature, that this order has been so much disturbed, in those countries where the system is wished to be introduced, as to render it wholly inapplicable to their present situation? Or, if this did not escape observation, is it possible to imagine, that an alteration in the revenue system, now in force, would have the effect of completely changing the character and habits of the people, and new-modelling the whole mis-shapen structure of society, in defiance of a strong host of prejudices of every description,

‘EDINBURGH REVIEW,
vol. iv. p. 316.

“The artificial and unnatural division of a people into distinct classes is, perhaps, the most effectual method which could have been devised, by the ingenuity of man, to check their improvement and repress their industry. Indeed, the natural operation of such an Institution is so diametrically opposite to, and incompatible with, the strongest principles of our nature, that we are inclined to believe, that its existence (in a perfect state) is altogether ideal, and, if it had ever been completely carried into practice, the baneful effect would have been so immediate, that the total annihilation of public spirit and enterprise would have been the inevitable consequence.

“We, therefore, cannot help doubting, that most authors have, from various obvious reasons, been led to exaggerate a little in their description of this phenomenon, in the constitution of Hindoo society. We are the more inclined to adopt this opinion, as we find that many intelligent writers do not, by any means, confirm the perfect separation of these castes, in their intercourse with society; and that it is

arrayed against innovation, and resolute to maintain what, from age to age, they have been accustomed to venerate?"

to be remarked, that the latter authors, who have had the best opportunities of observing with accuracy, are those who have given us this more probable account."

'In the preceding extracts, the Edinburgh Reviewers, with their usual acute discrimination, draw the only accurate conclusion as to the state of Indian society, and, however weighty the authority to which I stand opposed, I hope at least to be able to prove, in the following pages, that a reform of the present intolerable land-tax of India would, with other measures, occasion a most material change and improvement in the "mis-shapen structure of that society."

'If indeed the Honourable Courts were the true view of the constitution of Indian society, there could be but one opinion as to the impracticability of its improvement; but the mysterious account given to us of the quadruple institution of castes is no better than a fable; and the avowed hosts of prejudices, resolute to maintain this fancied object of their veneration, may, therefore, be viewed as a pretty amplification of the tale. The position contains, in fact, a threefold error. In the first place, *no such quadruple division of the whole community exists, and perhaps never did exist*; and the great wonder, in this case, is, that a prejudice should have had so long and universal currency even among men who must have had daily proofs before their eyes of its fallaciousness. It is also erroneous in supposing the four enumerated castes to have been divided by impassable walls of separation; for it will be seen immediately, that a complete intermixture of these very castes is recorded to have taken place from the earliest times; and, thirdly, that the ordinary pursuits and occupations of life were at all times, generally speaking, open to the whole of them.

'Mr. Colebrook has also given a clear and methodical arrangement of the Indian classes, in a paper on this subject contained in the fifth volume of the "*Asiatic Researches*," taken from a work called "*The Jatimala*." He first enumerates six principal tribes, (besides others,) as springing from the four superior ones in the *direct* order of the classes.

'Mr. Colebrook adds, that "*The Jatimala*" expressly states the number of 42 mixed classes, springing from the intercourse of a man of inferior class with a woman of superior class; that is, in the *inverse* order of the classes. Add, to these, the number which must have similarly sprung from intercourse in the *direct* order of the classes, and the hosts arising from further intermixture of the numerous descendants of both; and we may safely concur in Mr. Colebrook's conclusion, that "*the subdivisions of these classes have further multiplied distinctions to an endless variety*." As a proof, he mentions one of their tribes, the *Cayastha*, of which no less than 83 subdivisions are to be traced in Bengal.

' We have thus the highest existing authority for utterly rejecting the doctrine of the whole Hindoo community "being divided into four castes," and of their peculiar prerogatives being guarded inviolate by "impassable walls of separation." It is also clear, that the intermixture of castes had taken place, to an indefinite extent, at the time when the "Dherma Sastra" was composed, which Sir William Jones computes to be about 880 years B. C.; for those laws are obviously addressed, and applied, to a society in a mature state of existence, and not to one about to be created, or formed. The work refers, in many places, to past times, and to events which a course of time only could have brought about. The origin of the intermixture is therefore lost in the remotest and obscurest antiquity; and, having been carried on through a long course of ages, a heterogeneous mass is every where presented to us, in these latter times, without a single example in any particular state, or kingdom, or separate portion of the Hindoo community, of that quadruple division of castes, which authors, and even the rulers of India, have so confidently insisted upon. Their "immense colossus of superstition" thus melts, upon the touch of scrutiny, into a mere phantasm; and the pretended insuperable barrier to the progress of improvement is little better than the airy fabric of a vision, which, if it ever did exist, has certainly, in these days, left not a wreck behind.'

Proofs of Progressive Improvement.

' The respectable author I have before quoted, who ascribes the stationary state of society in India to the inviolable institution of castes, adduces an instance of increasing prosperity, which it is rather surprising should not have excited some doubt in his own mind, as to the alleged efficacy of this favourite doctrine. Speaking of the three Presidencies, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, These cities, (he says,) have continued uniformly to thrive and increase under their new masters, *in spite of all the arguments that have been urged to prove that it was impossible.* The last mentioned city in particular, from having been lately a *village so unimportant* as to be wholly passed over in the assessments for the imperial revenue, as stated in the Ayeen Aebery, has in about half a century arisen to a population of *upwards of half a million of souls; a rapidity of increase seldom to be met with in the records of any country.*'

' Again: "In Calcutta itself, the capital of British India, we have already stated that some natives of distinction have been taught all elementary branches of European learning with considerable success; *nor has any difficulty occurred in communicating this instruction, further than what is at first unavoidably occasioned by the want of a common language between the teachers and their scholars.* This difficulty is becoming daily less, and, in teaching

the different trades and mechanical arts, it has almost entirely disappeared. Improved processes in the manufacture of opium, indigo, and saltpetre, have been taught the Natives, with the same facility and expedition that the knowledge of these arts could have been communicated to the inhabitants of any country in Europe.

“ Ship-building, * practical mathematics, and navigation, under European direction, have, as we have already seen, made no contemptible progress among our Asiatic subjects, when we advert to the short period which has elapsed, since their attention has been directed to these important branches of knowledge.”

‘ It is also remarkable, that the assertors of this quadruple division of castes, with all its attendant evils, nevertheless dwell, with much warmth of colouring, on the pre-eminent prosperity of ancient India. We read of the honour and attention formerly shown to agriculture; of the successful cultivation of the useful arts; of magnificent monuments of architecture: of unrivalled skill in certain branches of manufacture; and of wealth scarcely to be credited. Their mental attainments are likewise said to have been no less conspicuous. We are informed of “wonderful advances in metaphysics, morals, natural philosophy, and other branches of literature;” of poetry, said “to vie with the Iliad itself in the beauty of its descriptions, the grandeur of its sentiments, and the sublimity of its language;” of “astonishing proficiency in the sciences of astronomy and arithmetic;” and of a “system of the universe, founded on the principle of attraction, and explaining the phenomena of the planetary world by the central position of the sun.” All this, and more, has been said of the ancient Hindoos. But if the quadruple division of the castes ever existed, it must have been coeval with this brilliant æra. The descriptions thereof may, on the one hand, be exaggerated, as the immense “Colossus of superstition” is, on the other, magnified; but, if these descriptions are admitted in any degree to be true, how are we to reconcile this great advancement in wealth, arts, and science, with the insuperable obstructions said to arise from the institution of castes? But reasoners of this description are not easily disturbed by the difficulties of a paradox. Accordingly, whilst we are told that “another great obstacle which must be encountered to the civilising the Hindoos, is their division into castes,” (Brahmen, Cshatrya, Byse, and Soodra,) it is added with perfect complacency, “this institution has been highly extolled by many in our own age and country, and undoubtedly contributed in the early period of Indian history to pro-

* ‘In the dock-yard of Bombay Natives alone build merchant ships of the largest class, which are often preferred to those of any other country.’ Some of the finest ships of war in the British navy, are also the entire and unassisted production of the Parsee Ship-builders of Bombay.

note the progress of refinement." The prosperity of ancient India requiring to be accounted for, the same cause is here assigned for its advancement in one age, as for its obstruction, if not absolute retrocession, in another. We may next be taught, that the power, which has hitherto caused bodies to gravitate, will in future make them all fly upwards.

Whether the ancient Hindoo Governments were, or were not, mildly administered, one fact is certain, that, wherever property is, from the nature of existing institutions, not subject to the rapacious exactions of despotic rulers,—where taxation is comparatively light, and in a country of great fertility, inhabited by a people naturally ingenious, industrious, and enterprising,—prosperity will always be found to keep pace with the degrees in which these exciting causes have been suffered to operate. In places similarly circumstanced, the same causes still produce the same effects. In the great commercial towns of India,—the three Presidencies for example,—the despotic power of the Government is in some respects controlled. The King's Courts of Justice, besides the protection afforded by their judicial acts, are wholly independent of the Government. They interpose a mediatory influence between prince and people; they have the power to reverse many of the decisions of the former,—and the consciousness of such a power being always present and alert, will naturally restrain many of those arbitrary proceedings which occur, without hesitation, beyond the limits of its jurisdiction. Commerce, moreover, it has always been customary to assess more lightly to the public revenue, than agriculture; whence these favoured spots, not being subject to so uncontrolled a power, or so grinding a system of taxation, as that which crushes every vital spark of prosperity in the interior, have gone on to verify the description, given in a preceding extract, of their rapid improvement.

Conduct of the Rulers of India.

'The rulers of India, like some of their brethren in the west, are naturally averse to ascribe any existing evil to error, or misconception, in the administration of the country committed to them. From themselves, we hear nothing of their own acts and conduct, but in the high and dictatorial tone of infallibility. Every measure is founded on consummate wisdom; success the never-failing consequence; and the Company's dominions are consequently held up to us as a paradise of happiness and blessings, compared with the atrocious despotisms of our sable neighbours. All this, indeed, seems natural to the spirit of power; and as natural that its doctrines, be they ever so extravagant or fallacious, should find numerous advocates.* But one and all are nevertheless unable to deny that, in these happy regions, blessed by subjection to British sway, the most wretched poverty is abundantly discernible. To account for so suspicious an existence by any error or misrule, in the Go-

vernors of the East, never enters their thoughts. Yet it would be a reflection on their understandings to be unable to explain so important a fact; and, as the imagination may often be deluded when reason fails to be convinced, the cabalistic mysteries of Hindoo superstition are brought forward; and we are assured, with all the solemnity of profound learning, that the secret of this great evil lies in a dark system of priestcraft, which none but the initiated are allowed to understand. The ignorant and the superficial in this country, fifteen or eighteen thousand miles distant from the scene, wonder, and are satisfied; whilst deeper thinkers are too little interested in the question to analyse or to care about it. Familiarity with the prejudice begets indifference. What every body asserts is believed to be true; and a doctrine is thus allowed to pass current, which reflection, and more accurate inquiry, would show to be wholly groundless.

'At the same time, nothing can be more convenient than this doctrine. It is equally applicable to every objection; a ready answer to all hard questions regarding the administration of India; and a refuge against every impertinent attack. "Because an elephant is an elephant, and a Hindoo a Hindoo, we ought to leave them both on the plains of Hindoostan where we found them," is the creed and fundamental principle of those who pretend to be the only sound interpreters of Hindoo mysteries—the best judges of the mode of governing so untoward a race, and who fire with noble indignation at all who dare to throw a shade of doubt even on the most insignificant of their administrative acts.'

Alleged simplicity of the food and habits of the People of India.

'Of the Native Indians it is also commonly asserted by authors, and generally believed in this country, that their religion absolutely prescribes to them the use of vegetable food, flesh being altogether forbidden. The same religion is supposed to influence, and the nature of the climate to require, the greatest simplicity of attire and household accommodation; insomuch that their dwellings are stated to be little else than a barely sufficient shelter from the rays of a burning sun, and their garments but half a covering to their natural nakedness; that those customs, having existed from time immemorial, must necessarily so continue till time shall be no more; and consequently, that, with a people so immersed in old prejudices, and superstitious devotion to their religious tenets, all attempts to promote internal prosperity must be vain; and every expectation of extended commerce, where present wants are few, and easily supplied, and new ones not to be created, must be, as it ever has been, a mere delusion.

'It is the conclusion drawn from these doctrines that gives them their greatest importance. Laying aside, however, the various

authors who have adopted them, I shall, for brevity's sake, confine myself to an authentic document, issuing from the rulers of India, whose opinions on the subject, when erroneous, it is of infinitely greater consequence to examine and correct.

'In the report of the Committee of Correspondence, dated 9th February, 1813, and published by the Court of Directors for the information of the Proprietors, among various other passages of the same import, we have the following :

"The practicability of extending, in any great degree, the commerce of this country with the Natives of the East, in exports and imports, is undoubtedly a vital question in the whole of the discussion respecting the renewal of the charter ; for, if no such extension be indeed practicable, to what end should the present system, with all the establishments which have grown out of it, be destroyed ? The British merchants appear to entertain the most extravagant ideas of a new world for commercial enterprise ; ideas upon which they are ready to risk their own property, and to sacrifice all the interests of the existing Indian system. The Company, backed by the great mass of British subjects now in Europe, who are acquainted with the countries of the East, maintain, in direct opposition to all such imaginations, that it is not now possible greatly to extend among the inhabitants of the East the consumption of British productions, or, in this country, the sale of Asiatic commodities. On the side of the merchants, there is, in truth, nothing but a sanguine theory. On the side of the Company, there is the experience of all the nations of Europe for three centuries ; there is the testimony of ancient history ; there are the climate, the nature, the usages, tastes, prejudices, religious and political institutions of the Eastern people.

"A profound observer of human affairs, the President Montesquieu, had, before the time of Dr. Smith, who, however, overlooks his opinion, reasoned more agreeably to nature and experience on this subject.

'Although,' says Montesquieu, 'commerce be liable to great revolutions, it may happen that certain physical causes, such as the quality of soil and climate, shall for ever fix its character. In the commerce which we carry on with India, in modern times, the export of money thither was indispensable. The Romans carried to India every year about 50,000,000 sesterces. That money, as ours now is, was exchanged for goods, which they brought back to the west. Every nation which has traded to India, has uniformly carried the precious metals thither, and brought back goods in return. Nature itself produces this effect. The Indians have their arts, which are adapted to their manner of life. Our wants are essentially different from theirs ; and what is luxury to us can never be so to them. Their climate neither requires nor permits the use of almost any of our commodities. Accustomed to go almost naked, the country furnishes them with the scanty raiments they wear ; and their religion, to which they are in absolute subjection, instils into them an aversion to that sort of food which we consume. They, therefore, need nothing from us

but our metals, which are the signs of value, and for which they give in return the merchandise that their frugality, and the nature of the country, supply in abundance. Ancient authors, who have written upon India, represent the country such as we now find it, as to police, to manners, and to morals. India has always been, and India always will be, what it now is; and those who trade to India will carry money thither; and bring none back.'

' "As the Court have, in their letter of the 13th January, 1809, to the President of the India Board, given the same views, and in some detail, on this subject, not deriving their opinion from any single authority, but from the broad page of history and practice, it is unnecessary for your Committee again to enlarge upon it. But may not the attention of manufacturers of woollens, metals, cotton fabrics, potteries, be still called to the habits of the Indian people, the bulk of whom live all their days upon rice, and go only half covered with a slight cotton cloth—the rice and cotton both produced by their own soil? The earnings of the common labouring classes, and consequently their expenses, may be estimated, on an average, not to exceed 4*l.* 10*s.* per man per annum. They are indolent by nature, frugal by habit, under manifold religious restrictions. What demand of the manufactures from Europe is to be expected from these?"—With a great deal more in the same strain.'

Fallacy of these Statements.

' Whenever information is conveyed to the public by the Court of Directors, it is naturally received with all the respect due to so high an authority, and commands the ready belief of all who are indisposed to further research; but, in a case where the vital interests of India, and many important interests of this country, are concerned, feelings of deference must not be allowed to silence the dictates of truth. It will readily be admitted that the same prejudices, as exhibited in the preceding extract, are to be found in many ancient, and even modern, authors, and that the people of India are in that wretched poverty above described; but it is, at the same time, confidently affirmed, that all the reasoning founded upon these facts is contrary to *nature* and *experience*, and the conclusions thence drawn absolutely false.

' The reasoning is applied to the bulk of the people; who, from religious prejudices, are stated to abhor our (*i. e.* animal) food, and consequently to live all their days upon rice. The Committee of correspondence might have stated this position more generally; since rice is only the food of the lower classes in countries where it happens to be the cheapest production of the soil. In other parts, that excessive poverty, which the Committee have depicted as the lot of Native Indians, obliges them to be content with worse, and still cheaper, nutriment. It is therefore true that grain, and other

vegetables, constitute the common food of the great bulk of the people of India, but it is an error to suppose that nature, in that climate, permits not the use of animal food, or that the religion of the people requires them to abstain from it; and it is surprising that a prejudice should have gained so much credit and currency, in the western world, when the European residents in India must have almost daily proofs before their eyes of its being absolutely belied by the ordinary practice of Mussulmans, Portuguese, and other castes, and even of the Hindoos themselves.

Real State of the Hindoos.

'The Brahmins, being of abstemious habits, are generally supposed to be prohibited the use of animal food. The law, in respect to Brahmins, will presently be stated. The mixed tribes, composing the great mass of the Hindoo population, are *certainly under no legal restraints in this respect*. Accordingly, the higher classes, who can afford it, consume meat daily. Many, it is true, from affectation of Brahminical purity, content themselves with simpler food, and some may be supposed, as in other countries, to prefer it; but the custom of eating animal food is so general, as for example in Bombay, that a public bazaar, or market-place, is there set apart for the convenience of the Hindoos, in which mutton, kid, lamb, and fish, are daily sold for Hindoo consumption. It is situated in a separate quarter of the town from that in which meat is sold for the use of the Europeans and Mussulmans; because, in the latter, the flesh of oxen, and cows, and beef calves, killed by low caste people, being exposed, is offensive to Hindoo superstition. I have a personal knowledge of Hindoo families of wealth and respectability, persons, indeed, who claim descent from the second or Chattrya caste, in which the meats and fish furnished in this bazaar enter into their ordinary and daily meals.

'The Indian seas abound with fish; and the coasts of India, for many thousand miles in extent, are lined with fishermen, who all eat animal food. It has often been remarked that no towns or villages are so populous, in proportion to their extent, as those occupied by fishermen, and the quantities of fish cured on the coast, to be afterwards conveyed for consumption into the interior of the country, are immense. The palankeen-bearers are Hindoos, mostly fishermen; and no man, who has kept a palankeen in India, but knows the thankfulness with which his bearers receive a present of a sheep or goat, and the good appetite with which they immediately feast upon it. The Hindoos are, in many parts, addicted to hunting, and eat wild hog, venison, and other descriptions of game.

'There are, besides, other low castes, such as Dheras, Halmoores, Chandalas, Mochees, and other denominations, who, being found all

over India, consequently constitute in the aggregate a numerous body, and who are so fond of meat, as, in their state of degradation and poverty, actually to devour carrion with great avidity, when they can get nothing better. To these may be added another race, also spread over the face of the country, who live by entrapping wild animals and birds, and are exceedingly expert in their calling. In Guzerat this tribe are called Vagrees, or Wagrees; and they avowedly eat the flesh of every bird and beast, without distinction—whether killed, or dying a natural death.

‘To these instances many more might be added; but it is perhaps of more importance in the present question, to prove that the higher classes of the Hindoos are not prohibited the use of animal food. It has accordingly been shown that, with habitual or acquired objections to the flesh of cattle, they still consume other animal meats daily, where they have the means of so doing, and the fair inference from the preceding undoubted facts is, that poverty is the only check to a more extended use of this food, which, with the progress of wealth, might consequently become universal; or be only limited by the prejudice of the priesthood, who may always be expected to give to their habits a cast of mysterious peculiarity and self-denial, to excite more effectually the reverence and admiration of the vulgar.*

Under the head of Penances, it is enacted by Menu, (the great Hindoo lawgiver,) that flesh meat not only is allowable, but absolutely enjoined to be eaten, when it has been “hallowed for a sacrifice;” or, “sanctified by *Mantras*, or sacred texts from the Vedas;” or, “presented, or offered, to manes, or the deities,” of which more will be said presently. In short, this “food of gods” seems to have been considered, in old times, of a sacrificial nature, and therefore to be eaten with certain holy rites and observances, which should render it a worthy oblation. “It is delivered as a rule of the gods, that meat must be swallowed only for the purpose of sacrifice;” and it is immediately added, “No sin is committed by him, who, having honoured the deities and the manes, eats flesh-meat. He who eats according to law, commits no sin, even though every day he taste the flesh of such animals as may be lawfully tasted; since both animals who may be eaten, and those who eat them, are equally created by Brahma.”

‘On the other hand, to eat flesh-meat “in vain,” or without any of these holy rites, is denounced as the sin of gigantic or blood-

* “Hindoos consider the slaughter of kine, and the eating of cows’ flesh, as sinful. But many tribes of Hindoos, and even some Brahmins, have no objection to the use of other animal food.

“Meat (mutton and goats’ flesh,) being more than double the price of vegetable food, cannot be afforded as a common diet upon the usual earnings of labour.”—*Remarks on Husbandry of Bengal*, p. 112, 113.

thirsty demons; and the TWICE-BORN man who desires to "enlarge his own flesh with the flesh of other creatures, without an oblation to the manes or gods," brings on himself a variety of curses in this life and in the world to come.

'We are hence led to some beautiful reflections on the wantonness of injuring animals that are not themselves injurious, from any selfish motives, whether of pleasure or advantage; and the TWICE-BORN is told, that he who gives no creatures willingly the pain of confinement or death, but seeks the good of all sentient beings, enjoys bliss without end.

'These texts are mixed up with general recommendations to abstain from flesh-meat, such abstinence being deemed highly virtuous; but it, of course, means in cases where the use of it is not, as above-stated, expressly allowed, or enjoined, and as a salutary caution against excess; for even the recommendations to abstinence conclude with the following verse: "In lawfully tasting meat, in drinking fermented liquor, in caressing women, there is no turpitude; for to such enjoyments men are naturally prone; but a virtuous abstinence from them produces signal compensation."

'We are also expressly told by Brighu, that the slaughter of animals for the holy purposes above described, is in truth no slaughter; and that the hurt done to animals which the scripture ordains, must be considered as no hurt at all; whilst the same authority adds, that "he who, engaged in holy rites, according to law, refuses to eat flesh-meat, shall sink in another world, for twenty-one births, to the state of a beast."

'In the third chapter of this work we have a particular account of the sacrifices, or oblations above referred to, which the TWICE-BORN were, in ancient times, required to perform.'

Expenses of Living in India.

'The numerous quotations already made from the sacred laws of the Hindoos, and the highest Indian authorities, are, it is presumed, sufficient to take from credulity itself every standing place, on which to rest the alleged simplicity and immutability of Hindoo habits—to say nothing of the fifteen millions of Musulmans, and other natives, who never were pretended to be bound, in these respects, by legal or religious restraints. It is true enough, as asserted by the rulers of India, that the great mass of the population, Hindoo, Musulman, and others, are obliged to live all their days on rice, or the coarsest, and the cheapest grains, and to go only half covered with a slight cotton cloth—that the expenses of a labouring man, with a wife and two children, are only about 3*l.* per annum, the article of clothing being only 6*s.* for this family of four persons.* All this I have already

* Colonel Munro states the average price of agricultural labour, in the "Ceded Districts," to be about 5*s.* per month, or 2*d.* per day. He

admitted. Those who have visited Ireland may conceive the possibility of human beings, when necessity compels, contriving to drag on a miserable existence in this state of abject poverty and want; but to believe that 100 millions of human beings should be so much in love with this simple system of wretchedness, as to be one and all "resolute to maintain it against innovation," being "what from age to age they have been accustomed to venerate," requires a degree of faith in mysteries and marvels, which the strength of natural reason is unable to reach, and which the inspired high priests of the great Temple in Leadenhall-street must, therefore, be left to expound.

'In the mean time, I would ask any Indian gentleman, who has been in the habit of visiting the palaces of the Native Princes of India, or the habitations of the wealthier Natives, Hindoo, Musulman, or others; of meeting their splendid retinues and equipages abroad; attending their processions—their religious feasts—their marriages and other domestic ceremonies—whether the grandeur and magnificence of their displays, the luxuries, the indulgencies, the enjoyments, the profuse expenditure of every kind, which he has, in these places, or on these occasions, witnessed, have left on his mind any impression of that unalterable simplicity and poverty, of that *semi-demi* state of clothing and starvation, which the Honourable Court would have us believe to be almost an object of idolatrous worship to the Natives of India.—Or, if there be still any believers in this monstrous and unnatural creed, let me beg of them to peruse with attention the following statement, taken from the accounts annually laid before Parliament, and ordered by the House of Commons to be printed—May 15, 1827.

framed tables, dividing the population (about 2,000,000 persons) into three classes, and ascertained the average annual expense of each individual, for clothing, food, and every other article, to be as follows:

First class, containing about one fourth of the population,	£.	s.	d.
average per head.....	2	0	0
Second class, containing about one half of the population,			
average per head.....	1	7	0
Third class, containing about one fourth of the population,			
average per head.....	0	18	0

Minutes of Evidence, 12th April, 1813, p. 124.

'This statement was given by Colonel Munro to the Committee, apparently for the purpose of supporting the then fashionable and favourite doctrine that it was impossible to extend the consumption of European commodities among so poor and simple a people as the Native Indians. The doctrine is now sufficiently refuted by facts; but what a lamentable picture does it afford to us of the wretched poverty of this unhappy people, to be told, on the authority of Colonel Munro, that the expenditure of a person, of what he terms the first class, is only equal to 2l. sterling per annum—not so much as the gains of a common labourer in this country for one month!

Commercial Results of Experience.

Official Value of Exports from the United Kingdom to the East Indies and China, together with the Mauritius.

Years.	East India Company's Trade.	Private Trade.
1814	£1,117,515	£578,889
1815	1,118,302	946,264
1816	952,674	1,232,968
1817	881,440	1,898,186
1818	820,566	2,365,185
1819	887,498	1,486,058
1820	1,129,917	2,142,894
1821	1,536,657	2,766,388
1822	989,070	2,886,864
1823	982,839	3,372,592
1824	1,050,700	3,344,100
1825	1,000,907	2,944,169
1826	1,292,833	3,584,300
	13) 13,760,918	13) 29,548,557
Aver. per. an.	£1,058,532	£2,272,989

Official Value of the Imports into the United Kingdom, from the East Indies and China, together with the Mauritius.

Years.	East India Company's Trade.	Private Trade.
1814	£3,986,523	£2,311,863
1815	3,948,794	4,089,942
1816	4,591,172	3,719,525
1817	4,094,225	3,593,053
1818	2,944,626	4,393,063
1819	3,244,431	4,293,132
1820	3,907,789	3,654,858
1821	3,892,805	2,340,766
1822	3,160,742	1,945,658
1823	3,636,196	3,282,344
1824	3,618,425	3,693,930
1825	3,469,433	3,112,625
1826	3,696,960	4,305,878
	13) 48,192,121	13) 41,736,637
Aver. per. an.	£3,707,086	£3,441,280

Excess of private trade to India over the whole of the Company's trade to India and China in thirteen years, £12,332,455.

‘These statements, however, commence with the year when the Indian trade was first opened to private British merchants; at which time the monopolists of Leadenhall-street published a manifesto to warn the merchants and manufacturers of Britain of the danger they would incur from commercial dealings with men in such a “mis-shapen structure of society” as that of India;—with men in the lowest depths of poverty from choice, as well as from religious restriction; absolutely immutable in all their habits; and who were supplied, under the monopoly, to the fullest extent of their wants, adding, “What further demand for the manufactures of Europe is to be expected from such a people?” The statements above given are the best answer to these assertions, and to the concluding query—they show that the immutability of the Native Indians has, at all events, since 1813, become mutable;—that their love of poverty and simplicity has been unaccountably changed for a love of comforts and variety; and that the demand for European manufactures, both as to quantity and kind, has prodigiously increased since the prophetic denunciations of impossibility were proclaimed from Leadenhall-street; and consequently increasing, in the same ratio, the demand in return for the produce of India. Let it also be remembered that the exports of the private trade are greatly more numerous than the preceding statements might lead us to suppose. They consist of all the staple manufactures of

Britain—woollens and cottons of every variety and value; manufactured silks; hardware of all descriptions—iron, copper, lead, tin, and spelta, in large quantities; marine and military stores; machinery for various uses; glass ware of the richest specimens, down to articles of the commonest use; china ware, or porcelain, the same; jewellery of all sorts; gold and silver plate, and ornaments; clocks; watches; furniture; carriages; harness; haberdashery; hosiery; stationery; books; in short, every article of luxury, comfort, or convenience, which British industry can produce.

‘Taking, however, the official statements as presented to Parliament, the following results are undeniable; viz. that the average per annum of

The East India Company's export trade to India and China is...	£1,058,532	Whilst that of the private trade to India <i>alone</i> is	£2,272,989
The East India Company's import trade from India and China is...	3,707,086	And that of the private trade from India <i>alone</i> is	3,441,280
Total		Total	
£4,765,618		£5,714,269	

‘We hence see that the official value of the exports by private traders to *India alone* is more than *double* the Company's exports to *India and China together*; and that the whole of the private trade to India alone exceeds the whole of the Company's trade to India and China together, by nearly one million sterling per annum. It is to be lamented that no distinction is made, in these official accounts, between the Company's exports to India and those to China; for, if this were done, it can scarcely be doubted but the exports by private traders would be treble, or quadruple, those of the Company's exports to India separately. One fact, however, is certain, that, the average of the Company's trade being now much the same as formerly, private traders, since the opening, have carried on a trade with India, averaging, for the last thirteen years, nearly six millions sterling per annum over and above all that is done, or ever has been done, by the East India Company.—So much for the doctrine of those who have so pertinaciously contended, that the supply of European commodities, under the monopoly, was fully equal to the demand in India, and that the trade was incapable of increase. But plain facts require no gloss; and those now adduced, being supported by official proofs, refute, of themselves, without either comment or explanation, the gross errors and absurdities with which the British public have been so long deluded, in respect to the simplicity and immutability of Native Indians.

‘In the discussions of 1813, I stood almost alone, in strenuously asserting that the commercial intercourse with India would be what it is now proved to be, by the opening then conceded. I certainly

pretend to no prophetic inspiration; but, from my knowledge and experience of the inhabitants of the East, I do not hesitate again, as confidently, to affirm, that the present increase is not a tythe of what our trade with India will be, if, at the expiration of the present charter, it be ridden of other restraints, and fairly laid open to the skill, and enterprise, and capital of the private merchants of Britain, and to the natural and unfettered energies of our Indian subjects.'

Authorities against Free Trade.

'Before I conclude, it may be useful to caution the reader and the public against being deceived by the weight of great names, who may be induced, from whatever motives, to offer opinions on this subject, opposed to plain, recorded, and undeniable facts. On the renewal of the existing charter in 1813, opinions, proceeding from high authority, influenced prejudicially the discussions then pending; and which subsequent events have proved to be most erroneous. Examinations will probably again take place, previous to the new arrangement to be adopted for India in 1833; and, to guard against the recurrence of similar delusions, I shall briefly recur to what passed at the last renewal.

'Colonel Munro (in his evidence given in 1813, before the House of Commons) stated, that, unless a "free trade," as he calls it, were confined to the three Presidencies, or one or two other ports having European garrisons and magistrates, and subject also to the system of licenses, and all the other restraints now in force, including the power of arbitrary deportation, (glorious free trade!) the "security of our possessions in India would be endangered, and the Government unable to maintain its authority." *

'This is precisely the doctrine of his great masters, the monopolists; to which may be opposed the experience, I believe, of the whole world, and the following short observation; viz. that, although, under despotic governments, it is usual enough for proud masters to insult and maltreat their submissive slaves, still the intercourse which would subsist between European merchants and Native Indians, must necessarily be of a different stamp. The buyers and sellers of commodities, when brought into contact, have no motive for quarrel or abuse, but, on the contrary, the strongest possible inducements to conciliatory demeanor towards each other.

'It is the East India Company and their own servants, armed as they are with power, and instigated by jealousy, who have, from the earliest times to the present hour, been involved in quarrel, disturbance, and war, with the Natives of India, and who, to guard their own privileges, ascribe to others the outrages and disorders of which they themselves have been most guilty. If unarmed, peaceful traders, not having the same incitements to violence, were equally

* 'Minutes of Evidence, April 12, 1813, pp. 131, 132—137.'

prone to the same contentions, how has it happened that merchants, who have found their way into the interior,—that numerous French, Dutch, Portuguese, Danes, and Americans, have been able, for a long succession of years, to carry on commercial dealings, not only with Native Indians, but with other Asiatics of far more sensitive and capricious temperaments? *

‘In the true spirit, however, of monopoly, British merchants in India have ever been considered interlopers and enemies—sometimes exposed to virulent persecution and barbarous cruelty,† and uniformly branded with the imputation of being incorrigible disturbers of the public peace. When, in 1813, the Indian monopoly began to savour badly with the public, and to require the aid of collateral props, alarms were again industriously spread. A Hindoo was magnified into a nondescript, whom none but dexterous monopolists were qualified to manage. Beware, say the privileged order, of granting access to strangers! Free traders are a pestilence! Even youths, proceeding to join their corps, are little better than moving volcanoes! And, to crown the whole, it is deliberately asserted, in which Colonel Thomas Munro, and other covenanted servants, as deliberately concur, that the Company’s commercial dealings in India have not only raised the national character in the eyes of the Natives,‡ but that the continuance of the monopoly is

* ‘During my service in India, I knew several European merchants, who resided in districts not subject to the Company’s jurisdiction, in perfect harmony with the Natives. The Americans carry on a trade with the Chinese, equal to that of the Company’s monopoly trade. We never hear of quarrels between the Americans and the Natives; whilst the Company’s supercargoes, in spite of the charm of their monopoly, have not only been frequently but seriously embroiled.’

† ‘Mr. Mill, in giving an account of the shocking cruelties perpetrated by the Company against “*interlopers*,” in 1691, subjoins the following note, which characterises in true colours the spirit of monopoly; and which, however tempered it may be by later laws, can never be extinguished but with the abolition of the monopoly itself.

“Sir Josiah Child, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, wrote to the Governor of Bombay, to spare no severities to crush their countrymen who invaded the ground of the Company’s pretensions in India. The Governor replied, by professing his readiness to omit nothing which lay within the sphere of his power, to satisfy the wishes of the Company; but the laws of England, unhappily, would not let him proceed so far as might otherwise be desirable. Sir Josiah wrote back with anger, that he expected his orders were to be his rules, and not the laws of England, which were an heap of nonsense, compiled by a few ignorant country gentlemen, who hardly knew how to make laws for the good of their own private families, much less for the regulating of companies and foreign commerce. Hamilton’s New Account of India, p. 232.”

‡ ‘For an account of the arbitrary proceedings of the Company in respect to their India trade, see the author’s Speeches, Part 2, and the Appendices annexed to it, and Lord Wellesley’s Letter, of 1804, pub-

necessary to enable the Government to carry on the political administration of the country!!

‘On the other two heads, Colonel Munro deposes as follows :

‘That, in the event of a free trade to India, there would be no considerable increase of European commodities among the Natives ; that the Natives have no taste for our manufactures, but greatly prefer their own ; that “there are very few persons in India that purchase any European commodities ; it does not depend upon a man’s wealth or poverty ; *the wealthy man purchases no more than his poor neighbour* ; there is no gradation in the consumption of European commodities depending on the wealth of individuals ; at our principal settlements, where we have been longest established, the Natives have adopted none of our habits, and scarcely use any of our commodities.”

‘In another part he observes, that European articles in demand by Natives “are very trifling ; a few penknives, or scissors, or small looking-glasses, or spectacles, compose almost the whole cargo of European goods that are to be found in the interior of India.”

‘In conformity with the preceding doctrines, Colonel Munro adds, that the then supply of European commodities “was certainly equal to the demand of every part of India that I have seen ;” and in reply to a question, as to whether the supply was equal to any probable increase of demand that could be then contemplated, he observes, “The present system of supply is equal, and much more than equal, to any probable increase which is likely to take place.”

‘Although Colonel Munro, in his cross-examination before the Committee of the House of Commons, was compelled to admit facts at variance with the preceding quotations ; yet these are the doctrines which he deliberately held, which confirmed him in the favour of the Honourable Court, and to which several other servants of the Company, examined on that occasion, also subscribed. I have given the evidence in his own words, lest I might be accused of misrepresentations ; for there are many persons now in England, of perhaps equal experience with Colonel Munro, in the habits and dispositions of Native Indians, who will read, with astonishment, the fallacy and absurdity of these opinions. For my own part, I

lished in England in 1812. To say nothing of the oppressions recorded in those papers, and which will be noticed hereafter, the reader may judge of the effect of the Company’s commercial dealings, in raising the national character, by Lord Wellesley’s express admission, that the “*main and avowed object of the Company’s system is, an exclusive appropriation of the labour of the weavers, and the establishment of a control over that labour, to enable the commercial officers to obtain the proportion of the goods required for the Company at prices to be regulated by the officers themselves.*”

refer to the statements given in the preceding pages, for their complete refutation.—They are recapitulated here for the sole purpose of guarding against future delusion; and to express a hope that, if any more Committees be appointed to sit on India affairs, they will not allow themselves, in the face of plain recorded facts, to be led astray by the mis-statements of 1813.'

Postscript, containing Confirmations from Bishop Heber's Journal.

'The greater part of the foregoing tract was written many years ago; but circumstances occurring to delay the publication, it ceased to occupy attention, until lately, that I have been induced to renew my first intention. After finishing the first and second parts,—and, when this part was in the hands of the printer, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the recently published Journal of Bishop Heber, and was much gratified to find that it abounds with passages strongly confirmative of the opinions I have advanced in both the first and second parts, relative to the Natives of India—their food, habits, castes, natural disposition, and capacity of improvement.

'The reader will recollect the extraordinary pains that were taken in 1813 to convince Parliament and the British public, that we were then about to legislate for men in a "mis-shapen structure of society,"—for a people so bound down by religious prejudices and laws, as to be unlike all the other great families of mankind—to be immutable in their habits—utterly incapable of improvement, or of extended wants, and consequently only fit to be governed by, what?—by a commercial monopoly! It is to dissipate this monstrous delusion—to show who and what it is we are called upon to govern—to prove, if I can, that our Indian subjects are as capable of knowledge, of virtue, of enjoying the blessings of life as ourselves, that I have ventured to present myself to the notice of the public, and convinced, as I am, that accurate knowledge on these points is indispensable to a sound legislation for India, I trust it will not be deemed superfluous, if I here subjoin the Bishop's authority, as supporting the view I have taken of this fundamental part of the subject. Every reader of the Bishop's work must, I think, be impressed with the sound sense, impartial judgment, and truly Christian feelings, of its author; and, as far as his attention was drawn to facts illustrative of the habits and condition of the Natives, of which many interesting details are given throughout the Journal, his testimony, as an eye-witness of all that he describes, is invaluable; and his character too high, and too well established, to doubt for a moment the authenticity of his narrations.

'To save the reader the trouble of referring to two large volumes, I here subjoin a few extracts, to enable him to contrast the Bishop's facts with those I have adduced, and with the adverse opinions, given by others in 1813.

‘ And first, as to the blood of Hindoos, and the allegation that they are compelled “to live all their days upon rice.”

‘ “I had always heard and fully believed till I came to India, that it was a grievous crime, in the opinion of the Brahmins, to eat the flesh or shed the blood of any living creature whatever. I have now myself seen Brahmins of the highest caste cut off the head of goats as a sacrifice to *doorga* ; and I know from the testimony of Brahmins, as well as from other sources, that not only heratombs of animals are often offered in this manner, as a most meritorious act, (a raja, about twenty-five years back, offered sixty thousand in one fortnight,) but that any person, Brahmins not excepted, eats readily of the flesh of whatever has been offered up to one of their divinities, while, among almost all the other castes, mutton, pork, venison, fish, any thing but beef and fowls, are consumed as readily as in Europe.”—Vol. ii. p. 379.

‘ Let the reader next compare the following paragraphs, with the alleged immutability of Hindoo habits, with their being doomed to go for ever “half covered with a slight cotton cloth,” and with their demand for European articles being confined to a “few pen-knives, scissors, and spectacles.”

‘ “Their (the wealthy Natives) houses are adorned with verandahs and Corinthian pillars ; they have very handsome carriages, often built in England ; they speak tolerable English, and they show a considerable liking for European society, where, (which unfortunately is not always the case,) they are encouraged or permitted to frequent it on terms of any thing like equality.”—Vol. ii. p. 291.

‘ “Nor have their (the Hindoos) religious prejudices, and the unchangeableness of their habits, been less exaggerated. Some of the best informed of their nation, with whom I have conversed, assure me, that half their most remarkable customs of civil and domestic life are borrowed from their Mohammedan conquerors, and at present there is an obvious and increasing disposition to imitate the English in every thing, which has already led to very remarkable changes, and will, probably, to still more important. The wealthy natives now all affect to have their houses decorated with Corinthian pillars and filled with English furniture ; they drive the best horses and the most dashing carriages in Calcutta ; many of them speak English fluently and are tolerably read in English literature ; and the children of one of our friends I saw one day dressed in jackets and trowsers, with round hats, shoes and stockings. In the Bengalee newspapers, of which there are two or three, politics are canvassed with a bias, as I am told, inclining to Whiggism ; and one of their leading men gave a great dinner not long since in honour of the Spanish revolution—among the lower orders the same feeling shows itself more beneficially in a growing neglect of caste.”—Vol. ii. p. 306.

‘ As Bishop Heber penetrated into the interior of India, he found the same taste as in Calcutta, for European articles and for luxuries, to prevail every where among the Natives. Of Benares, he writes as follows :

‘ “ But what surprised me still more than yesterday, as I penetrated further into it, were the large, lofty, and handsome dwelling houses, the beauty and apparent richness of the goods exposed in the bazaars, and the evident hum of business. Benares is, in fact, a very industrious and wealthy, as well as a very holy city. It is the great mart where the shawls of the north, the diamonds of the south, and the muslins of Dacca and the eastern provinces centre, and it has very considerable silk, cotton, and fine woollen manufactories of its own ; while English hardware, swords, shields, and spears, from Lucknow and Monghyr, and those European luxuries and elegancies which are daily becoming more popular in India, circulate from hence through Bundeeund, Goruckpoor, Nepaul, and other tracts which are removed from the main artery of the Ganges.”—Vol. i. p. 289.

‘ Proceeding still further into the interior of the country, and when at Nusseerabad, distant above 1000 miles from Calcutta, the Bishop continues his journal in the same strain, viz.

‘ “ European articles are at Nusseerabad, as might be expected, very dear ; the shops are kept by a Greek and two Parsees from Bombay : they had in their lists all the usual items of a Calcutta warehouse. English cotton cloths, both white and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country, and may, I learned to my surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hard-ware, crockery, writing-desks, &c., at Pallee, a large town and celebrated mart in Marwar, on the edge of the desert, several days’ journey west of Joudpoor, where, till very lately, no European was known to have penetrated.”—Vol. ii. p. 36.

‘ Of the character of Indians, their capacity, and even anxious desire for improvement, the Bishop’s testimony is equally precise ; and, as this is a point of pre-eminent importance, the reader’s attention is particularly requested to the following extracts :

‘ “ Hearing all I had heard of the prejudices of the Hindoos and Musulmans, I certainly did not at all expect to find that the common people would, not only without objection, but with the greatest thankfulness, send their children to schools on Bell’s system ; and they seem to be fully sensible of the advantages conferred by writing, arithmetic, and, above all, by a knowledge of English. There are now, in Calcutta and the surrounding villages, twenty boys’ schools containing from 60 to 120 each, and twenty-three girls’ each of 25 or 30.”—Vol. ii. p. 300.

‘ “ I do not by any means assent to the pictures of depravity and

general worthlessness which some have drawn of the Hindoos. They are decidedly, by nature, a mild, pleasing, and intelligent race; sober, parsimonious, and, where an object is held out to them, most industrious and persevering."—Vol. ii. p. 307.

"One fact indeed during this journey has been impressed upon my mind very forcibly, that the character and situation of the Natives of these great countries are exceedingly little known, and in many instances grossly misrepresented, not only by the English public in general, but by a great proportion of those also, who, though they have been in India, have taken their views of its population, manners, and productions, from Calcutta, or at most from Bengal."—Vol. ii. p. 379.

"There are many other passages in the Bishop's work of the same import as the preceding extracts, all strongly corroborative of the opinions I have invariably held in regard to the Natives of India. The extracts will also be found to bear on much of the matter contained in the second and other Parts about to be published; but I shall close my notice of them, for the present, with one short remark. It is clear, from the whole tenor of the Bishop's writings, that he went to India, fully impressed with the erroneous notions commonly entertained by English gentlemen relative to the castes of the Hindoos; for he frequently expresses himself as if the influence of caste did once exist in greater rigour, and was in these latter times gradually decaying. But the fact is, and the authorities which I have quoted prove it, that the Hindoo castes are now the same as they have been for centuries. The constitution of their society would always have admitted their gratifying their tastes and the natural bias of their minds, to the same extent as is now perceptible, and to much greater, if the gates of knowledge had been fairly opened—the means of attaining it honestly encouraged—and laws and regulations enacted, really calculated to improve their condition. But in these respects our system, both social and political, has unfortunately been fraught with obstruction and discouragement. In spite of these impediments, however, the light of knowledge, irresistible in its progress, has at length penetrated the barrier of Eastern darkness. Gleams are now perceptible, which, in the generous and intelligent minds of Native Indians, are likely to work the most important changes; and in the name of justice, liberality, and sound policy, the British Government is now called upon to extend its fostering and protecting arm, to a people who are anxious to receive, as they will gratefully acknowledge, the blessings and benefits which that Government will shortly again be empowered to bestow."

To all which we cordially say, from the bottom of our heart,
AMEN!

CORRECTION OF MISSTATEMENTS ON INDIA AFFAIRS IN 'THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.'

['The Quarterly Review' for March, 1827, contained an article on Major Snodgrass's 'History of the Burmese War,' to which was attached an account of the attack upon Denabew by the water column, under the command of Brigadier-General Cotton. On this article reaching India, it attracted the notice of an officer of distinction, who writes us, that the person from whom the author of the article in 'The Quarterly Review' received his information, could not have been present, nor was his description of this occurrence correct. Being aware of the impression which such a publication would be likely to create against Brigadier-General Cotton, and the column composing that small force, he has requested us to give publicity to the accompanying account, for the perfect accuracy of which he vouches, having been attached to the water column until the arrival of the army at Prome, and landed with the troops at Denabew: his object in so doing being only to state facts, and to rescue Brigadier-General Cotton and his column from the impression which the false statements in 'The Quarterly Review' are otherwise likely to perpetuate. We, therefore, readily acquiesce in the wish, and give the statement as it reached us accordingly.]

Expedition of the Water Column, from Rangoon, with an Account of the Attack made by it on Denabew.

Feb. 16th, 1825.—THE troops embarked at Rangoon, under the command of Brigadier-General Cotton, consisting of

Madras Artillery,	Rank and File, 75	Commanded by Captain Kenan.
Rocket Brigade	30	Commanded by Lieutenant Paton.
47th Regiment	100	Commanded by Lieut.-Col. O'Donoghue.
89th Regiment	450	Commanded by Major Basden.
Madras Europeans	200	Commanded by Captain Cursham.
<hr/>		
Total Europeans	855	Rank and File.
Bayonets	750	

18th Madras Native Infantry embarked in } 236 Rank and File.
the Provision Boats, and left at Teesit. } Commanded by Captain D. Ross.

Staff of the Force, Brigadier-General Cotton, Commanding.

Aid-de-Camp, Captain Wainwright, 47th Regiment.

Acting Co., Lieutenant Wilson, 13th Regiment.

Major of Brigade, Captain Sadlier, 47th Regiment.

Second in Command, Brigadier Lieutenant Colonel Mallet, 89th Regiment.

Acting Aid-de-Camp, Lieutenant C. Forbes, 89th Regiment.

Major of Brigade, Captain Young, 89th Regiment.

Assistant Quarter-Master-General, Captain Steele, Madras Native Infantry.

Assistant Adjutant-General, Captain Ker, Madras Native Infantry.

Deputy-Assistant-General, Captain Lourie, Madras Native Infantry.

Acting Deputy-Paymaster-General, Captain Todd, Madras Native Infantry.

17th.—Set sail at day-light, reached Teesit, a village on the left bank of the river, where three stockades, destroyed by Brigadier-General Fraser, some time before, were found rebuilt, but evacuated. They were immediately destroyed. 'In' the evening the advance boats were fired upon, and had two men killed and one wounded.

18th.—Proceeded up the river, the light division commanded by Major Basden, 89th Regiment, burnt another stockade on the right bank. In the evening came to anchor within six or seven miles from Paulang, when Brigadier-General Cotton, accompanied by Captains Alexander and Chad, from the steam-boat, immediately proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's position. They found two stockades, nearly opposite to each other; the nearest to us on the left bank, called Yoatheet, and the other on the right bank, named Meighce; and about a mile farther up, on the point of land, formed

by the river branching off, was seen the extensive stockade of Panlang, all fully occupied by troops.

19th.—At day-light, a point of land, five hundred yards distant from the nearest stockade, was occupied; and a battery of four mortars and two six pounders, under the command of Captain Kennan, was erected, and soon began playing upon the stockades.

It was intended to bring up the armed vessel *Satellite* which accompanied the flotilla, with the steam-boat; but the former grounded and occasioned great delay, in endeavouring to get her off, in which they did not then succeed. Two columns of attack were formed, on the right and left banks of the river; the right under Lieut. Col. O'Donoghue, 47th regiment, and the left under Major Basden, 89th regiment. At five o'clock, P. M., the steam-boat coming up, she immediately proceeded in advance and anchored between the two stockades, the two columns of boats advancing in the rear. The rockets commenced playing from the steam-boat, right and left, into the first stockades, when the signal was made for landing, Brigadier-General Cotton proceeding with the right column, and Brigadier Lieutenant-Colonel Mallet with the left; both stockades were instantly taken, with the loss only of one man, of the navy, who was shot in the boat. The different columns lost no time in re-embarking, and moved to the large stockade, which was evacuated by the enemy, and immediately taken possession of by our troops. The enemy had between four and five thousand men in the three stockades, commanded by the Kee Wongee. The flotilla was detained here in endeavouring to get off the *Satellite*, and forming a post at this place, until the 25th, when they proceeded to Mizlee, about ten miles up to the branch of the river, leading to Yangaacham Yah. The 18th Native Infantry, under the command of Captain Ross, with twenty-five men of the Madras European regiment, were left to garrison Panlang.

26th.—The flotilla weighed anchor and proceeded eighteen miles, when we anchored at a place called Tallyoda. The gun brigs had here great difficulty in passing the sands, and frequently grounded. The advance and light division of the navy boats had taken up a position the evening before, in the river Irruwaddy, commanding the entrance of the branch leading to Panlang.

27th.—The steam vessel was lightened, and, with the smaller boats that could proceed, joined the advance division in the Irruwaddy. As the flotilla advanced, they found the enemy occupied the left bank of the river, from which they were dislodged, and a position was taken up about ten miles below Denabew, the left resting on an island which here divides the river. Two six pounders were placed upon the point, commanding the space between the island and left bank. With the greatest difficulty and exertion the larger brigs could be brought over the flats and sands, and the whole of the flotilla did not join the advance until the 5th of March. We here expected to find Brigadier-General

Campbell, and his force, awaiting our approach at a village called Lain, on the left bank of the river; but General Cotton had received a despatch from General Campbell, desiring him to make an attack upon Denabew, with the force he then had under his command; that he (General Campbell) should move on from Serawah, where he had arrived with his column, towards Prome, the next day, and that General Cotton's force would be sufficient to take Denabew.

March 6.—The flotilla got under weigh early in the morning, and took up a position two miles below Denabew, on an island near the right bank of the river, from whence General Cotton proceeded with a detachment of the 89th regiment to reconnoitre the enemy's work.

7th.—At six o'clock, A.M., two hundred and fifty rank and file of the 89th regiment, ninety-four of the 47th, and one hundred rank and file of the Madras European regiment, landed with four six pounders, two five and a half inch howitzers, and two rockets, under the command of Brigadier-General Cotton, about a mile and a half down the bank of the river, and marched up in two divisions, the right commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Donoghue, 47th regiment, and the left by Major Baden, 89th regiment. They proceeded direct to the first outpost or stockade, which was immediately taken without much resistance, in which our loss was twenty-six rank and file, killed and wounded. Six hundred prisoners were taken and placed in the stockade, and about four hundred were killed and wounded. Six guns, twenty jinjals, one hundred muskets, and two hundred spears, were captured in the post. Brigadier-General Cotton then formed his battery of four six pounders, two eight and a half inch howitzers, two five and a half inch howitzers, and two rocket tubes, at a distance of about four hundred yards from the second stockade, on the right of which, and to the left of the first outpost, was another stockade which flanked the second front face. A picquet of fifty men of the Madras Europeans, under the command of Captain Curle, was placed between the stockade taken and the enemy's post to the left. Another picquet of forty men was placed to protect the battery. The battery played upon the enemy's stockade, apparently, with good effect, which was returned from the stockade with heavy artillery and jinjals during the day. About eleven o'clock, A.M., the officers commanding the engineers and artillery reported that a favourable opportunity then occurred of attacking the enemy's works by a storming party, which was immediately in readiness; when 200 men, under the command of Captain Ross, 89th regiment, were directed to advance to a gateway in the centre of the front face of the stockade. No impediment appeared between the battery and the stockade; but, on the storming party reaching within fifty yards of it, they found a deep nulla or ravine, faced with iron spikes, and every obstacle that could be placed there to obstruct their progress, while a heavy fire from the enemy's stockade continued to play upon them. A reserve of all the men that

could be sent out of the stockade, already in our possession, with the picquet at the battery, amounting to seventy-five rank and file, were ordered to be in readiness to move on to the assistance of the advance party; but, before the reserve could be formed, on the arrival of the storming party at the ravine, they swerved to the right, and, before any assistance could be given, they had moved off from their position, and were under the bank of the river, from whence Captain Ross hoped to force a passage into the corner of the stockade; but here he unfortunately received his death-wound, having been severely wounded previously. Captain Cannon, of the 89th regiment, was also killed here; and Lieutenant Charles King, of the 89th regiment, was severely wounded. Orders were given for the party to bring off their killed and wounded, and then retire; which was done. Besides two captains killed, and one subaltern severely wounded, three subalterns of the 89th regiment were slightly wounded, and eighty-four rank and file were killed and wounded. Every individual killed and wounded was brought off, and, in the course of the day, those unfortunately killed were buried. The wounded were first put on board the *Swift* gun-brig, and, the next day, were sent to Rangoon. 'The Quarterly Review,' of March, 1827, in its article on the Burmese War, by Major Snodgrass, says, that, 'in the attack by Brigadier-General Cotton on Denabew, three hundred of our men were killed and wounded, and the retreat was so precipitate that the wounded were not carried off. The next day, most of the killed and wounded men who had been left in the stockade were crucified upon rafts, which were sent down the stream, to remind the invaders of their ill-concerted and injudicious attempt;' *not one word of which is true!* Not only were the British wounded sent on board the flotilla, but, previous to the troops retiring, every Burmese that could be found who was wounded here, was sent off, and some carried on the backs of their friends who had been so fortunate as to escape. On the army's taking possession of Denabew, at the second attack, the friends of the deceased Europeans who had been buried there, examined the graves, and found that not one had been removed or disturbed. So much for the veracity of 'The Quarterly's' source of information; but to proceed:

Our battery continued playing upon the enemy's stockade, until six o'clock in the evening, which was returned with a heavy fire, and which, during the day, occasioned fifteen men to be killed and wounded, at and near the battery. Several twenty-four-pound cannonades, with ammunition, &c., were landed and brought to the stockade, with an intention of forming a heavy battery during the night, to attack the enemy's stockade the next day.

At six o'clock, P. M., all the prisoners were released, and desired to go whither they pleased; they went off and retired to the villages, towards Rangoon, taking with them all their wounded friends. The wounded Burmese prisoners had been attended by our surgeons during the day, and their wounds dressed. Se-

veral of these people were afterwards seen on board the British fleet at Rangoon, serving with our transports as sailors. Soon after six o'clock it became dusk, when a packet was placed at the battery, under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Donoghue, and the remainder of the troops, with the guns, &c., were removed into the stockade; after which a consultation was held, to consider the propriety of remaining, with so small a force, to attack the stockade the next day, or returning on board the flotilla that night, after embarking the whole of the guns, ammunition, &c., and waiting for the return of Brigadier-General Campbell's column, to assist in reducing the enemy's works. To retire was decided upon; one hundred and twenty-six men were killed and wounded on this day, leaving two hundred and seventy-four of the four hundred men landed in the morning, of which a number were knocked up, from the severe fatigue they had undergone during this day, and were reported sick.

Instructions were given to carry off the guns, rockets, ammunition, howitzers, &c., which were all in the stockade; and a party of one hundred and fifty men was appointed for the purpose, with the assistance of Captain Alexander, who sent some people from the boats. At ten o'clock at night, two faces of the stockade were attacked by the enemy, who were received by a very sharp fire from the little band within, which soon dispersed them: at eleven and twelve o'clock, they again made attacks; but the troops inside were prepared to receive them, and not more than two rounds were fired into the stockade at each time. In the mean time our people were carrying off the guns, &c., without being perceived by the enemy; during which time the troops inside the stockade destroyed the guns, jinjals, arms, pikes, &c., that were taken in the morning, and threw them into the river that was close to the stockade. At one o'clock, A.M., every thing was on board the boats; the enemy gave us another salute, immediately after which the troops marched out and embarked, unobserved by the enemy; nor did they appear for some time to suspect our intention of retiring, as it was not till after the men were all on board that we heard the slightest demonstration of joy at our departure, when, as is their usual custom, they set up a most horrible yell, their music, with Bandoolah's band, making a tremendous noise; after which, a house that we had occupied during the day, in rear of the battery, was set on fire, and burned to the ground. We lay very quietly at anchor, until six o'clock the next morning, when the flotilla dropped down to the island we first occupied; where we lay until intelligence was received of Brigadier-General Campbell's retracing his steps, and marching upon Denabew, crossing the river with what boats and canoes he could secure for his men, horses, guns, &c., at Serawah, to Henzidar.

We lay very quietly, unmolested by the enemy, in this position, until the 16th, when General Cotton received accounts from General Campbell, with instructions, to move up the river, and anchor the flotilla near Denabew.* The flotilla immediately got under

weigh, and proceeded to the island before occupied, for the attack, where they were again ranged across the river, and a battery formed on the point of the island, about a mile and a half from Denabew, with a large village in our rear, which appeared unoccupied. Here the flotilla remained until the arrival of Brigadier-General Campbell's column, which made its appearance on the 25th, to the great delight of the troops on board the flotilla. From the time we had taken our position at this place, we had been attacked every night by the enemy from shore, as well as by the war-boats. On the night of the 17th, guns were brought from Denabew, 'opposite to the flotilla, which, about half-past twelve o'clock, commenced a heavy fire on them. At the same moment the war-boats made a desperate attack to get into our rear, in which they failed, and were beat off without any loss on our side—the enemy had one gold boat sunk in the engagement. Every night after firing from the shore was kept up on the boats, but with little effect.

When it is considered that any serious disaster happening to General Cotton's force would have put a stop to the whole proceedings of the campaign; that the army in advance was entirely dependent on this force for its existence; that provision boats were constantly going to Panlang and back; that, on their return to Denabew, the troops of General Campbell's column were short of provisions, and had been without spirits for two or three days;—the destruction of this small force would have put an end to the campaign, and subjected General Campbell's column to the greatest disasters, if not to utter destruction. Had Brigadier-General Cotton attacked the enemy's stockade on the opposite face, he must have divided his force, and left the provision boats in the rear unprotected, except with the troops on board. The enemy's war-boats, thirty in number, besides the batteries from the stockade, would have been in full play upon our boats, until the troops landed, when the navy would be fully employed with the enemy's war-boats, in place of giving that assistance to the troops they would have so much required. The principal stockade, which this small force would thus have attacked, was nine hundred yards in length, by seven hundred on the river face, immensely strong, with fifteen thousand men to protect it. Captain Alexander with his naval force, during the attack on shore, would have been compelled to be entirely engaged with the enemy's war-boats, to prevent the possibility of their passing the advance division, as they would then have had an easy conquest of our provision boats in the rear, and would, at all events, have escaped to intercept our boats coming up from Rangoon. General Cotton, as well as Captain Alexander, had too much at stake, not to have acted from the best considerations and interest for the service on which they were engaged. They acted with judgment, they did their duty, and preserved the whole force, which, by one act of imprudence, might have destroyed the whole British army in Burma.

JOURNEY FROM MADRAS TO BOMBAY.*

[Concluded.]

Embarcation at Calicut—Tellicherry—Goa—Entry to the Harbour of Bombay.

MARCH 24th.—I learned this morning that Mr. ———, the collector, had kindly prevailed on the Captain of the *Ernaad* to give me a passage to Bombay, and the ship was to sail in the evening. The afternoon was spent in conviviality, and I had an opportunity of conversing with a gentleman, who is a landed proprietor in Malabar, from whom I learned that, of the spices, pepper thrives the best on this coast, and that the country of Courg yields the best cardamoms. By far the most profitable cultivation, however, in the lowlands, is, as he stated, that of cocoa-nut trees, the fruit of which is sent to the eastward, and to Arabia, where the outer fibrous part is converted into kayar rope, while from the nut itself is drawn the valuable oil, so well known in commerce. This gentleman estimated the Mapalars as forming one third of the population of these coasts. After having supped, and played cards till midnight, those among us who were going to Bombay, went down to the sea-shore in order to embark. It was a fine moonlight night, and the surf was not high. Long flat-bottomed boats were in readiness to carry us through it, and the impetus given them by the boatman, in launching us off, was sufficient to clear it. The ship's boats were lying outside, and, in about an hour, we arrived on board. Before I take leave of Calicut, I may mention that it was the first port that Vasco de Gama made in India, as thus recorded by his poet:—

'And now their ensigns blazing o'er the tide,
On India's shore the Lusian Heroes ride.
High to the fleecy clouds, resplendent far,
Appear the regal towers of Malabar.
Imperial Calicut, the lordly seat
Of the first Monarch of the Indian state.
Right to the port the valiant Gama bends.
With joyful shouts a fleet of boats attends.'

The old town of his time, however, is supposed to be now under water, and the present one certainly answers little to the poet's description. The general features of the country, of course, are not altered, and they are thus very truly described :

'Behold these mountain tops, of various size,
Blend their dim ridges with the fleecy skies;
Nature's rug wall, against the fierce Canar,
They guard the fertile lawns of Malabar.

Here, from the mountain to the surgy main,
 Fair as a garden, spreads the smiling plain:
 And lo, the Empress of the Indian powers,
 There lofty Calicut resplendent towers;
 Her's every fragrance of the spicy shore,
 Her's every gem of India's countless store:
 Great Samorin, her lord's imperial style,
 The mighty lord of India's utmost soil,
 To him the kings their duteous tribute pay,
 And at his feet confess their borrowed sway.

Mickle's Tr. of Camoën's Lusiad, Book VII.

Not only here, but throughout the whole peninsula, there is reason to believe, that the sea is encroaching on the land. At the seven pagodas, on the Coromandel coast, the ancient town of Mahaveliyaram is said to be some miles from the land; and that there has been some encroachment is evident, because there is a stone pillar before the pagoda, near the sea, which was formerly used in ceremonies, and is now partly covered by the waves at high water. As soon as we arrived on board, I was shown to a cabin that was prepared for me, on the starboard side of the cuddy; it had a port and a round scuttle in it, and was clean and airy. As my luggage had been sent on board before me, I found my palankeen lashed to the side of the ship, and I should have been at a loss where to sleep, had not Dr. ———'s kindness supplied me with a couch. The cockroaches, with which the vessel abounded, were a considerable annoyance. This, as all who have been in India know, is a very loathsome insect, as large as a beetle, and having a peculiarly disagreeable odour. Its bite is not venomous; but, as it attacks the nails, and the horny parts of the skin, it is not uncommon to find, in the morning, one's toes and fingers nibbled all round; this circumstance has actually happened to myself more than once. Cockroaches are very destructive to all sorts of goods: for they gnaw, with ease, through trunks and packages.

March 25th.—The next morning we had a fair breeze, and about eight o'clock hove in sight of a man-of-war brig, which, on a nearer view, proved to be the *Victor*, commanded by the celebrated Captain B. H——. He boarded us; and, as I had despaired of seeing him again, this was to me a very agreeable, as it was an unexpected, meeting. He had left Bombay a week before, and was on his way to Point-de-Galle. After a short interview, we parted, and pursued our opposite courses. In the evening, we were off Tellicherry, where we had to ship seventy-five tons of lead.

March 26th.—On the following morning, the Captain and passengers went on shore. Upon landing, we all mounted sedan chairs, and, passing through the town, which was, like Calicut, composed of narrow streets, filled with small shops, went about a mile into the country, to the house of the senior Judge of the Circuit Court.

The country, as we passed along, was more open than that of

Calicut, and the house was finely situated, on a wooded hill, which is watered on three sides by a beautiful river. It is one of the handsomest mansions I have seen in India; being two stories high, and composed of two squares, with large centre rooms, and spacious galleries around them, all floored, and enclosed with venetians. The owner being absent, his house was empty, but it was at his particular request that Dr. ——— made use of it. We dined early, intending to have taken a long walk in the afternoon; for we did not suppose that the vessel would have completed her cargo before the next evening. There came a note, however, in the course of the day, to say that we must be on board before dark, and I was thus prevented from examining, with minuteness, the rocks near the shore of this place, which are principally composed of an iron ore, so rich as to yield about seventy-five per cent. of this metal, and, consequently, to make it worth while to work it in small quantities. On our way to the beach, I obtained a view of the old fort of this place; and procured some specimens of the rocks which appeared in the road. The iron ore already mentioned I found to contain quartz, and to be of the same nature as that prevalent at Calicut, where it is also worked, and contains fifty per cent. of iron.

March 27th.—At sun-rise, having got all our lead on board, we set sail, and, in the course of the day, came in sight of Mount Dilly, which, being a projecting land, it is sometimes difficult to double at this season of the year.

We passed it on the following morning; but, as we kept at some distance from the coast, I could only observe of it, that it was rugged and mountainous. Of a sea-voyage, however short, little can be said that is at all interesting; but, as it is the duty of a traveller to describe his means of conveyance, I will say a word or two on mine. Our ship was of about five hundred tons burthen, and was employed by the government in bringing teak, pepper, and other timber from Malabar to the dock-yards of Bombay. The officers were English, consisting of the captain, the first and second mate, and the gunner. The men were all natives, principally Mohammedans, about ninety in number. The chief of these was called the *serang*, whose duties on board corresponded with those of a boatswain. Under him, nine or ten tindals officiated as boatswain's mates, and the rest of the ship's crew were called, without distinction, *kulasies*, or *lascars*. They were, however, divided, like the crew of a man-of-war, into fore-castle-men, fore, main, and mizentop-men, waiters, and after-guard, each under a different native name. The whole of this crew the *serang* supplied to the captain by contract, and became responsible for their conduct. The amount of the contract, of course, depended on the length of the voyage and other circumstances; but the pay of the men was from seven to twenty-six rupees a month, according to their abilities, the latter being the wages of the sea-kannies, or quartermasters, who

steer the ship. The language in which the duty was carried on was Hindoostanee, but many of the sea-terms were Arabic, Portuguese, or English, and even Tamil and Malays had their share in forming this jargon. All the timber on board was taken in at stern-ports; but, on the last trip this vessel made, she conveyed two spars, intended for the main-masts of seventy-four gun ships, which were ninety feet long, perfectly straight, and so large that they could not be taken on board in the usual manner, and were, therefore, slung under the channels outside the ship.

March 31st.—We passed Pigeon Island to-day, which was very small, and apparently composed, like the mountains on the coast, of granite. On the following day we made Anjoo Davi Island, which belongs to the Portuguese, and is used by them like Botany Bay with us, as a receptacle for transported prisoners. It seemed about one mile and a half long, and we perceived several houses and cocoa-nut groves upon it.

Nothing remarkable occurred on the 2nd of April. In the afternoon of the 3rd, I had the good fortune to witness the dying of a dolphin, which the serang had succeeded in striking with a harpoon; and certainly it was a most curious and beautiful sight. When first brought on deck, it appeared nearly black on the back and dorsal fin, and of a bright golden yellow on the belly. In the course of a minute, some light blue spots began to appear all over; these again gradually disappeared, and the belly then assumed a deadly white colour, which continued to spread until the whole fish, even to the very ends of the fins, was of the same hue, the eye only excepted, which changed from a black to a deep yellow. Its appearance seemed now to indicate that the fish was dead; but presently it changed again, gradually becoming golden yellow on the belly, and purple, with blue spots, on the fins and back. This colouring continued until it was dead. In the course of the evening, we came in sight of the Vingorla rocks, of which there were about twenty above water, and many others below the surface. The wind freshened towards night, and it lightened much. About ten o'clock, it fell calm, the atmosphere felt sultry, and the thunder and lightning continued with increased violence until eleven, when a breeze from the south-west sprang up.

April 4th.—We passed the settlement and town of Goa this morning, whose white houses and convents appeared on the shore, but were at too great a distance to admit of more than general observations on this place.

April 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th.—We were too far from the coast to discover more than that it was composed of high barren mountains, not far from the sea. Our motive for not approaching the land was to avoid the violent gusts of wind which occasionally come down through the apertures between these mountains,

April 9th.—Early in the morning, the islands of Hienara and Kenara, and the high land of Full Point appeared in the horizon. About two o'clock in the day, we began to enter Bombay harbour, and the view on both sides of us was strikingly beautiful. On our right, the bare and lofty hills of Caranja Island bore a strong contrast with the low woody neck of land formed of Coulaba and Old Woman's Island on our left; and, as we approached the Fort, the city of Bombay, the Light-house, and Morley's Folly became the most prominent objects on that side. Before us, the heights of Salsette and the island of Elephanta, with the more distant mountain on the Mah-ratta coast, called the Neat's Tongue, formed a back-ground which brought the wooded islands lying in the harbour more distinctly to view. It was, at this time, the dry season, and few traces of vegetation were to be seen; but, after the monsoon, when the fields are clothed with verdure and the woods with foliage, the prospect of the surrounding scenery from the harbour of Bombay is not to be surpassed by any in India. As a port for shipping, the harbour is most complete; a thousand sail might anchor there, and it is sheltered from every wind but the south-west, which seldom blows with much violence. The navigation at the entrance is intricate, and King's or Company's ships are not allowed to come in without a pilot. Along the coast and in the bay, an extensive fishery is carried on. Huge stakes are sunk into the ground by means of boats loaded with stones fastened to them at high water, which drive them down as the tide ebbs; the boats are then let loose, and the operation is repeated, if necessary. Rows of these stakes are placed at the distance of thirty or forty yards from each other, with nets extended between each, and they run out from the shore as far as into ten fathoms of water. They interfere with the navigation of the port, and are a considerable annoyance to shipping; for the captain of any vessel which may chance to run over them is fined by the Government 100 rupees for each stake so damaged. When within half a mile of our anchorage off the town, we all went ashore in a harbour-boat, and, on landing, walked to the esplanade of the fort, where my relative was living in tents with his family. It is one advantage of an Indian climate, that even ladies may adopt this wandering life, without any risk of catching cold, or suffering any material inconvenience. In this instance, the whole *ménage* was under canvas, and very comfortably accommodated.

THE NEGRO BOY.*

An African Prince, on his arrival in England, being asked what he had given for his watch, answered, 'What I would never give again—I gave a fine boy.'

When avarice enslaves the mind,

And selfish views alone bear sway,

Man turns a savage to his kind,

And blood and rapine mark his way :

Alas ! for this poor simple toy,

I sold a blooming negro boy.

His father's hope, his mother's pride,

Though black, yet comely to the view ;

I tore him helpless from their side,

And gave him to a ruffian crew ;

To fiends, that Africa's coast annoy,

I sold the blooming negro boy.

From country, friends, and parents torn,

His tender limbs in chains confined ;

I saw him o'er the billows borne,

And mark'd his agony of mind.

But still, to gain the simple toy,

I gave away the negro boy.

In isles that deck the western wave,

I doom'd the hapless youth to dwell,

A poor, forlorn, insulted slave,

A beast that Christians buy and sell ;

And in their cruel tasks employ

The much-enduring negro boy.

His wretched parents long shall mourn,—

Shall long explore the distant main,

In hopes to see the youth return,

But all their hopes and sighs are vain.

They never shall the sight enjoy

Of their lamented negro boy.

Beneath a tyrant's harsh command,

He wears away his youthful prime,

Far distant from his native land,

A stranger in a foreign clime.

No pleasing thoughts his mind employ—

A poor, dejected negro boy.

But He, who walks upon the wind,—

Whose voice in thunder's heard on high—

Who doth the raging tempest bind,

Or wings the lightning through the sky ;

In his own time will sure destroy

The afflictions of the negro boy.

* From 'Freedom's Journal,' a newspaper published in New York, and edited by persons of colour.

THE REFUGEE.—A SKETCH FROM REAL LIFE.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1823, Don Carlos de Guzman fled with precipitation from the tyrannical oppressors of his persecuted country, and sought an asylum in England. Don Carlos was the only surviving son of the illustrious house of Guzman, which, from time immemorial, had been distinguished for its attachment and fidelity to the reigning monarchs of Spain. At that critical juncture, when the light of liberty faintly glimmered on the political horizon of convulsed Spain, the father of Carlos was aroused from the apathy in which he, and a countless multitude of his unfortunate countrymen, had so long slumbered. His glowing imagination portrayed the dreadful horrors of a revolutionary contest, and he maturely considered what character he ought conscientiously to assume in the rapidly-approaching tragedy. His love of liberty and justice eventually overcame his (till then) invulnerable loyalty, and he yielded to sentiments that, he brought himself to believe, absolved him from all allegiance towards his lawful, but misguided, sovereign. With that promptitude and firmness which strongly marked his character, he instantly tendered his services to the then champion of freedom, the immortal Quiroga. This great chieftain received the chivalrous Guzman with mingled feelings of pride and pleasure, conscious that so important a personage, numbered with his heroic little band, would inspire confidence, and advance the meritorious cause undertaken in behalf of an oppressed and degraded people.

Carlos was then in his twenty-fifth year, and held the rank of Captain in the Guards. He had visited most of the principal cities in Europe, and had resided, from choice, for a period of six or seven months, in the capital of England, where his engaging manners and gentlemanly deportment procured for him the friendship of several families of rank and fashion. The free institutions of Britain, so widely differing from the narrow policy and bigoted fanaticism of his own country, endeared him to her liberal principles, and ere he quitted the shores of England, he had acquired a tolerably accurate knowledge of the ground-work of her Constitution. Often would he compare the benefits, secured to a people by the spirit of liberty which was felt, more or less, by all classes in England, with the degenerated state of morals, literature, and legislation in his own country, and inveigh bitterly at those who wantonly trampled on the rights of their fellow-creatures.

Guzman imparted to Carlos the resolution he had formed to risk his life in attempting to check the baneful strides of arbitrary power which threatened destruction to his devoted country, and not only enchained the nation, but absolutely fettered the very faculties of its subjects. With the frankness and cordiality of an old and tried

friend, he demanded of his son, whether he was willing to follow the fortunes of his father, and fight under the banner that he himself had solemnly sworn to protect. He depicted, in vivid colours, the ignominious state of his native land, when compared with the nations of the civilised world, and minutely described the dangers of the enterprise he proposed, leaving Carlos to determine according to the dictates of his conscience. Carlos assented. The lamentable history of that eventful period, and the total discomfiture of the patriotic cause, is yet fresh in the minds of men.

Guzman himself sacrificed his valuable life in his laudable attempt to extirpate the hateful dominion of fanaticism and despotism, and, with him, perished the hopes and fortunes of the Guzmans;—the patriotism of the father reduced his unfortunate family to indigence and contempt. The surviving patriots dispersed in every direction, and Carlos, after enduring innumerable hardships, reached the garrison of Gibraltar in safety, from whence he was enabled, by the liberality of individuals, to procure a passage to England; where he, in common with numbers of his companions in adversity, was welcomed by a generous people. The recollection of the happy days he had enjoyed in the country, where he then found himself a fugitive, and destitute of the means of subsistence, calmed his agitated feelings, and was a source from which he derived indescribable consolation. But, alas! his fashionable friends had either forgotten him, or pretended not to recognise their former favourite in his miserably deteriorated habiliments! Deeply as he regretted the error which his warm imagination had conceived, he did not despair of meeting with a more cordial reception in an humbler sphere, as he was not ignorant of the noble and generous sympathy for which the English nation was so justly renowned. He was not disappointed. The pittance which he enjoyed, barely sufficed to procure the necessaries of life; yet, trifling as this donation was, it was received with heartfelt gratitude, and frequently did he land, with sincerity, the munificence of a people who pitied his misfortunes and assuaged his sufferings.

To the beneficent individuals who distributed these charitable gifts, would Carlos, when he received his weekly stipend, confess his grateful obligations; and often, whilst his eyes were bedewed with tears, would he offer up a prayer to the Giver of all good for the happiness of his unknown benefactors. Unacquainted with every pursuit, save the profession of arms, Carlos was frequently at a loss to beguile his leisure hours: his time was chiefly occupied in sketching scenes familiar to him, in various provinces of his native land; and, as he possessed an admirable skill in drawing, this amusement constituted his chief delight, and contributed likewise to increase his scanty store of wealth. In the evening, he would steal forth, as if ashamed of his very shadow, to provide a sufficiency for the coming day; and, when his labours were re-

warded with more than ordinary success, he would seek some of his unfortunate friends, and, in social converse, share with them the remnant of those earnings which his ill-paid talents had acquired. .

Thus passed the days of Carlos during a period of three long years, in one unvaried scene of helpless misery. Buoyed up with the cheering expectation of soon revisiting his beloved country, he strenuously endeavoured to banish from his mind the mischievous effects of a growing melancholy; but, finding that his most sanguine hopes brought no solace with them, after so long an interval of patient suffering, his fortitude forsook him, and he would fervently invoke Heaven to rid him of his miserable existence! His humble abode was in an obscure part of the town, encompassed by creatures, the very dregs of society, whose shameful improvidence, contrasted with his forlorn condition, tended to augment the wretchedness he experienced, and caused him to marvel at the secret dispensations of an all-wise Providence, in bestowing upon such worthless beings the luxuries of life, whilst deserving objects were perishing for its common wants. He grew daily more dejected; his dark eyes had lost their wonted lustre, and his cadaverous aspect betokened premature decay. His hurried step and careless demeanour too plainly indicated his total indifference to what was passing around him. Fruitless was the solicitude of the few friends who strove to banish these gloomy forebodings from his mind; they defied the charm of consolation, and the too susceptible heart of the once lively Carlos sank beneath their powerful influence.

In one of his solitary rambles, he was accosted by some of his acquaintances, who prevailed upon him to accompany them to their comfortless dwelling. Here he sat, a silent spectator, till the copious draughts he had swallowed awakened his dormant genius, and drew forth bursts of eloquence that struck the astonished assembly with amazement and admiration; but the wretched Carlos had not tasted food that day, and the intoxicating beverage, of which he had partaken so freely, bereaved him of his reason. At intervals, he would utter the most shocking imprecations, succeeded by language extravagantly ridiculous, and then he assumed the tone of one conscious of his deplorable condition.

After this commixture of madness and folly, he suddenly started from the chair whereon he was seated, and furiously rushed into the street. His friends eagerly pursued him, apprehensive that, in his frenzied state, he might be guilty of self-destruction, but no where could they discover the miserable young man. Two days elapsed, and Carlos appeared not; but, on the following, about the hour of six, he was brought to that house, where he had incessantly bemoaned his unhappy fate, a corpse! The melancholy catastrophe was communicated to some few of his most intimate friends, who followed his mortal remains to that house from whence no traveller returns.

DESCRIPTION OF ASTRAKHAN.

Fragment of the Incited Journal of a Traveller.

THE average or ordinary population of Astrakhan is reckoned at 30,000. The number is twice as great at certain periods, when commerce or the fishery attracts the multitude. All the clerks, and many of the merchants, are Russians; the rest of the population is composed of Tartars, Armenians, Persians, Indians, Georgians, Kalmucks, Bulgarians, and individuals from almost every country of Europe. The greater part of these nations have churches or chapels.

The trade of Astrakhan with Persia, India, China, and Bulgaria, is very considerable, but the balance is not in favour of Russia; the imports greatly exceed the exports. The articles of exportation are cloths, leather, cochineal, silks, velvets, &c.; the imports are raw silk, cotton, rice, gull-nuts, madder, dry fruits, carpets, colours, &c. There are also Russian, Tartar, Indian, Persian, and Armenian bazaars. It is interesting, in the crowd, through which a passage can scarcely be made, to observe the various costumes of so many nations, and to mark the particular traits which severally characterise them. The Tartar and Indian, although differing in many respects, have a certain expression of frankness and cordiality, while the pliant and sensual, Persian, and the harsh-looking Armenian, betray deceit and cunning; in this respect, they are very different from the Ischerkessians and Georgians, whose port is lofty and noble.

I one day went to the great bazaar of the Indians, to be present at their religious worship; for this purpose they assemble every night, after having bathed in the Wolga. Pallas has described their rites; the principal consists in frequently prostrating themselves, with naked feet, on a carpet, before an altar covered with idols, and in keeping up, in turn with the Brahmins, a not inharmonious song. During this ceremony, incense is constantly scattered, while little bells are rung, and cymbals played. The idols are made of stone, brought from the banks of the Ganges.

The Hindoos whom I have seen, who came from a province bordering on Persia, are, for the most part, of the middle size, well-proportioned, of a clear brown colour, and dressed in silk or cotton stuffs. They did not bring their wives with them, frequently associating with the Tartar women; occasionally, they brought some young married people, to take a part in their traffic. They usually mark their foreheads with red or yellow lines. Some of them wear ear-rings, not at the tip of the ear, but in the cartilage. Their food is very simple, consisting, usually, of rice and fruits; but, notwithstanding their belief in the metempsychosis,

they sometimes eat mutton: Their ordinary drink is water or coffee. Astrakhan is surrounded with extensive vineyards, which produce fine grapes, making one of the principal articles of commerce. Fruits of all sorts, with melons and strawberries, are gathered in abundance; two of these latter are sold for a kopeck; a pound of grapes costs seven kopecks. There are many silk-manufactories; the material employed comes, for the most part, from Persia; and the stuffs, wrought in the Oriental style, are sent back to the Persians.

Among the commercial nations that are met with at Astrakhan, the Persians excel all others, by their stature and noble mien. They are extremely polished, and perfectly versed in trade, but over-reaching. Though very religious, they drink wine, and give themselves up to all manner of excesses, till they are fifty years of age; at which period commences the age of penitence, as it is called.

The fishery on the banks of the Wolga, and the Caspian Sea, is very considerable. There are some stations that are let for 100,000 roubles yearly. Between Astrakhan and Sarepta, a distance of 400 versts, there are only two small towns, and some miserable villages, inhabited by Tartars; some scattered stations of Cossacs are met with on the other side of the Wolga. In the interior, are many salt lakes, of great extent, such as that of Bagdo, not far from Tschernojar, which is seven miles in circumference, and furnishes excellent salt.

After visiting the quarantine establishment, near Zarizyn, the author, without stopping long, returned to St. Petersburg, by the way of Saratow, Penza, and Moscow.

ON A RETURNED PORTRAIT.

‘Have years of care for thine and thee,
Alike been all employed in vain?’—*Byron.*

‘Eyes, look your last;
Arms, take your last embrace and lips, do you
The door of breath seal with a righteous kiss.’

—*Ramus and Juliet.*

FAREWELL!—thou lone and lovely good,
Sole relic of the bitter past; *
These heart-wrung tears should be of blood,
When aching eyes must look their last.
Heaven knows how I have clung to thee,
Fruit-bond in hope’s extremity.

Like some thirst-fevered pilgrim, bent
O’er the life-waters in the waste,
My soul hath drunk thy blandishment;
And smiled on ~~thy~~ remembrance traced:
So long I bow’d me in thy shrine,
That reason held thee half divine.

A beacon star, thy smile could fling
 Its light o'er life's tempestuous sea ;
 And thought of evil ne'er could spring,
 Within the mind that worshipp'd thee :
 One look upon thine angel face,
 And error would its steps retrace.

Thou art recall'd ! Ah ! could she not
 Who gave thee, leave one fragile flower,
 To mark the chill and lonely spot,
 Of wailing love's deserted bower ?
 Not leave one honey-drop to bless
 The bitter cup my lips must press ?

Why do I weep ?—Go, ask the wild
 And desert tigress, who hath lost
 Her infant offspring, or the child-
 Bereaved mother, what it cost,
 Her love-born blessings to forego—
 Then smile upon my frantic woe.

For all that e'er was held most dear
 By others, thou hast been to me ;
 My soul's blest guide through hope and fear,
 I knelt idolater to thee !
 Thy home hath been upon that breast,
 Thy living likeness robb'd of rest.

Thou wert the fragrant flower that grew,
 When all was dark and drear around,
 The glittering drop of fresh'ning dew,
 That balmed the parch'd and wither'd ground ;
 Thou wert the star, whose brightness set,
 Leaves nothing earthly to regret.

The past, with all its tale of guile,
 Was lost in sweet ecstatic dreams ;
 When hanging on thy fadeless smile,
 I sunned my heart within its beams ;
 Oh ! could I deem one all so fair,
 Would ever make that heart despair ?

But go ! The curse that should have sped,
 Affection quenches now in tears,
 I will not, blight (though love hath fled)
 The name that memory still endears.
 Farewell !—one long and sound-fixed glance,
 The last, in love's deceitful trance.

G. D. R.

ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE CENSORSHIP
OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.

No IV.

‘Grossius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna,
Castigatque, auti^que dolos, subigitque fateri.’

‘First he punisheth, and *then* he trieth, and lastly compelleth to confess, and makes and mars laws at his pleasure, like as the Centurion, in the holy history, did to St. Paul, for the text saith, “Centurio apprehendi Paulum iussit, et eum catenis alligari, et tunc interrogavit, quis fuisset, et quid fecisset.” But good judges and justices abhor these courses.’—*Coke, 2 Inst. 53.*

DOCTOR MACLEAN’S LETTER VI.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, on the singularity of sending a person, accused of an offence, from India to England, in order to be liberated, not to be tried; and on his assertion of the right of exercising a jurisdiction beyond the territories he governed.

MY LORD,—If you really considered me as coming within the meaning of those clauses of the Acts of Parliament respecting India, which give to Governors, in certain cases, the power of transportation, you ought, in order to be consistent, according to your own interpretation of them, to have sent me to England, *not* to be liberated, but to be tried. The very words of the Act of 1793 are, ‘there to answer for his, her, or their offence, according to due course of law.’ See the 33d of Geo. III. chap. 52, sec. 132.—Thus the law clearly infers an offence, for which a specific punishment is provided. I think, then, I have just cause of complaint that you did not, at least after inflicting punishment, give me an opportunity, by the forms of a trial, to show how far I had deserved it. Even the judge of hell tries, *after having* punished, an offender. But you, my Lord, adopt a course of justice peculiar to yourself: I am sent on board a ship, where I remain ten months a prisoner, according to the definition of Dr. Johnson, with the constant risk of drowning. On arriving in England, I naturally expect to be tried according to the provisions of the law, on which you pretended to act. But no prosecution is brought, or even meditated. You well knew, my Lord, that the circumstances would not bear an investigation. You knew that the law itself could not stand the test of a single trial. Why, then, such solicitude that I should be kept a prisoner till my arrival in England? Did you apprehend that, if released sooner, I should return to participate in the blessings of your free government? You could scarcely, I think, have formed so false an estimate of my ambition. Your Lordship must, therefore, pardon me, if I suspect the order had no object but to gratify the yearnings of a tyrannical mind.

The instructions of your secretary to the Captain of the *Busbridge* are also exceedingly curious in another point of view.—‘The Honourable the Governor-General in Council directs me to signify to you his *most positive commands*, that particular care be taken to prevent the escape of Mr. Maclean from the *Busbridge*, from the period of his embarkation to that of the ship being quitted by the pilot, or by any subsequent opportunity that may happen in the course of the voyage; and to acquaint you, that you will be held responsible for the security of his person till his arrival in England, when you will discharge him, giving due notice of the same to the Secretary of the Court of Directors.’—This open and manly assertion of the right of extending your jurisdiction beyond the territories you govern, deserves, I believe, the credit of originality. The doctrine, indeed, has since been adopted, and much improved upon, by that friend to good government, Buonaparte. If ever that prince of despots should realise his project of becoming Emperor of the West, he will find an Emperor of the East, ready made to his hands. How compendiously would the world be governed!

From the nature of your order to Captain Dubree, he could not, but at his peril, suffer me to land at Madras, Ceylon, the cape of Good Hope, the Brazils, St. Helena, or wherever else we might happen to touch, until the *Busbridge* should arrive in England. After having occasioned the dilapidation of my property, and the loss of my business in India, I was not to be permitted to avail myself of any opportunity that might occur of settling advantageously in any other country, where we might sojourn previous to the ship’s arrival in England; and this without any apparent motive. If you had ordered Captain Dubree to throw me out at one of the port-holes, or to suspend me from the main top-mast cross-trees in irons* during the passage, it would not have been a more perfect, although a more odious, instance, of abuse of power, and violation of law and justice.

Since I was consigned to England exclusively, not for the purpose of being brought to trial, but apparently for your Lordship’s amusement, you will perhaps expect that I should be grateful to you for not having ordered that my voyage should be farther prolonged to America, or perhaps round the world; or that you did not take the fancy of ordering me to be re-shipped for India, in order to enjoy, in a fuller degree, the benefits of your own mild administration. If the

* When the *Dusbridge* arrived in Madras Roads, it was actually reported in the place, that I was on board in irons. The case, as I have here chosen to bring it forward, being entirely on principles of a public nature, I have avoided stating the *causes*, or the hardships, which I suffered in consequence of the proceedings of the Marquis of Wellesley; or, which is of still greater consequence, the injury to my character, (as dear to me as his can be to the Marquis of Wellesley,) which must have resulted from them, *since to those who oppress, or persecute, it is necessary to desame.*

King of England, my Lord, were to ship any one of his subjects for refusing to make him an apology, (a thing his most Gracious Majesty would never think of exacting if he had the right,) in a vessel going on a voyage of discovery round the world, in order to deprive him of the protection of the laws, what would the people of this country think of such a proceeding? But I beg his Majesty's pardon, for placing him for a moment, even in idea, in such unconstitutional company.

You, my Lord, like other great men, are ambitious, even in the exercise of your clemency, of displaying an originality of genius. Was it to enable me to seek redress for oppression committed at the distance of 5,000 leagues, after having despoiled me of all the ordinary means of obtaining it, that you gave such particular instructions to land me in England only? For this favour, permit me to acknowledge my particular obligations, as well as for the unostentatious manner in which your secretary announces the gracious intention: 'He (the Captain) will be held responsible for the security of your person, until his arrival in England, when he is permitted to release you.' What a volume of tyranny in a few words!

LETTER VII.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c. on his extinction of the Liberty of the Press in India, and his establishment of an Imprimatur.

'To subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser as was formerly done, both before and after the Revolution, is to subject all freedom of sentiment to the prejudice of one man, and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government.'

Blackst. Com., vol. iv. p. 152.

MY LORD.—I have hitherto argued the case between us, entirely on the grounds which you have yourself thought proper to take. But the truth is, that, while my refusal to make an apology formed but a collateral reason for the measures which you chose to adopt, and the want of a license was but a mere pretext, indispensable, however, in so far as it was the only plea on which you could resort to arbitrary proceedings, your principal view was to aim, through me, a deadly blow at the liberty of the press in India, the extinction of which had been a favourite object of your ambition. To suppose that you had no motive for my expulsion less ridiculous than those which you chose yourself to assign, would be greatly to undervalue your understanding. You knew, I presume, that I was proprietor of a newspaper and a magazine. You were also probably informed that I was not a person capable of surrendering my right of free discussion, or submitting the length, breadth, and thickness of my ideas to be squared by the rule of any Secretary to the Government, however ingenious. If so, my Lord, most assuredly you were correctly informed. All attempts to limit the freedom of discussion, whether made by a banditti professing liberty and equality, by the rapacious

usurper of an imperial throne, or by the tyrannical governor of a province, I hold in equal detestation and abhorrence, and shall ever be ready, according to the humble measure of my ability, to frustrate or oppose them as becomes the subject of a free State. You were, therefore, perfectly right, consistently with your own views of extinguishing the liberty of the press, to contrive my imprisonment and removal; for, while I remained free, you could not have extinguished that liberty, or imposed your favourite imprimatur. That such was your real object is proved beyond a doubt, by your general regulations for the press, as well as by the particular acts recorded in the preceding correspondence.

These documents most clearly show, that the plan of attack was not so much directed against me personally, as against the whole system of public discussion. The editor of 'The Telegraph' was required to make an apology for having inserted my letter: 'But I know not,' says he, 'if it will be accepted.' It certainly was not accepted. A more abject one was dictated, and the unfortunate editor of 'The Telegraph' was obliged to insert it under the penalty of transportation, license and all, having a wife and seven or eight children to take along with him. He had undoubtedly the best reasons in nature for submitting to an act of degradation, and I am far from blaming him for it. But the terms of the apology dictated to this unfortunate man are so curious a specimen of the performance of a Governor of a hundred millions of people in his editorial capacity, that it is worthy of being studied by the present generation, and transmitted as a model of apologetical perfection to posterity. 'The editor, from error in judgment, having inserted a letter in 'The Telegraph' of the 28th of April under the signature of Charles Maclean, and also a subsequent letter on the same subject, in 'The Telegraph' of the 12 May, signed *Habeas Corpus*, and the terms of both the said letters appearing to him, on re-consideration, to be extremely improper, he is induced to apologise for having inserted them; particularly as the writers of the said letters have assumed a privilege of animadverting, through a medium of a public print, upon the proceedings of a court of justice, and of censuring the conduct of a public officer, for acts done in his official capacity.'

Now, my Lord, although, from the novelty of your apologetical labours, they ought to be treated tenderly in a literary or grammatical point of view, I cannot but notice a few contradictions in sense, which have escaped you, perhaps in the rapidity of diction. In the first place, if we did not know otherwise, we should suppose the editor of the Telegraph had been induced by himself to make a public apology to himself for having committed an error in judgment. We should also suppose, that the privilege of animadverting upon courts of justice was new and unknown; that public prints are an uncommon medium of animadversion; and that it was altogether

unusual to censure public officers but for acts done in their non-official capacity.

In this auspicious manner, my Lord, commenced the war against the press, which you have since carried on, in India, with so much valour, and with such uniform success. Encouraged by your first victories, your exploits acquired vigour in their progress, until they at length terminated in the *ne plus ultra* of human despotism, the direful regulations here published; regulations of so exquisite a hue as to deprive the literary labours of Buonaparte of every merit of originality. After my expulsion from India, and the apologies of the editor of the Telegraph, the system of terror was completely established throughout the literary department, and every error in judgment rendered impossible, by the infallible superintendence of one of the secretaries to the Government.

Thus skilfully fettered, my Lord, you have bequeathed the care of the press to your former secretary and worthy successor, who may enjoy the inheritance, without incurring the odium of the acquirement. The system of licensing, which, after the lapse of a century, you have recalled from the tomb, is, in more than one respect, deserving of our most attentive consideration.—Without entering into the merits of the resuscitation at this time of the day, I shall here only observe, that your mode, compared with that formerly in use under despotic governments, is very far from being an improvement. You have thought proper to confer the office of licenser on one of the secretaries to the Government, for the time being, with or without a salary, it matters very little which. Now I should be glad to be informed under what responsibility to the public this licenser is acting? He may be changed from day to day. He has no character to support in the scientific or literary world. He may be a very good accountant, and able to write common letters of business; but I should doubt very much of his skill in judging of the moral or political tendency of publications. I suspect if the licensers of the press under the ancient French monarchy had not been more exquisite, as well as more impartial, and independent judges of literary productions, than the secretaries to our Asiatic Governments, the world would have been deprived of the works of Montesquieu, Helvetius, Rousseau, and Voltaire. Raynal's East and West Indies, if submitted to your licensers, my Lord, would certainly never have seen the light; and the manuscripts of Bacon, Milton, Shakspeare, and Locke, I am rather apprehensive, might have been suspected of containing some latent heresy, and condemned to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. And who, indeed, can say that already works of the sublimest genius have not been brought to an untimely end by your arbitrary and infallible judges of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government.

But do not mistake me, my Lord, as admitting that, if you had

appointed the most able and the most upright man in the universe as the licenser of the press, the system can, under any modification, be tolerated; that it was either necessary or expedient; or that it is compatible with the existence of the smallest degree of freedom. In short, the right to impose previous restrictions upon publications is a pretension too atrocious to have been made even by the most profligate of our tyrants; and its open avowal is unexampled in the modern history of the nation.

It is a gross and most stupid error which apprehends any danger to society from the freedom of the press. Was the press free in France, when every species of atrocity was perpetrated with impunity in that country? No! It was always in the hands of some demagogue or faction, 'the arbitrary and infallible judges, for the time being, of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government.'—Nay, if the press had been free, it would have been utterly impossible that the atrocities of that era could have been palliated, concealed, tolerated, or committed. And what great difference is there between a French demagogue or usurper of power, and an English demagogue or usurper of power? He must be a person wholly incapable of deriving benefit from instruction, who can impute to any man desirous of imposing restrictions upon the press, however he may dissemble his views even from himself, any other than the most atrocious intentions. Of this I am very certain, that he who would most strenuously resist internal oppression, being most sensible of the blessings of freedom, would also be the most zealous to defeat foreign invasion; and that the domestic invader of our rights would, on the very same principle, be the first to betray us to a foreign enemy. If ever we become indifferent to the one, we shall, by a natural progress, soon be reconciled to the other; and then we should deservedly suffer the common lot of slaves.

But if any thing in nature can call forth our blushes, how must we redden at our own tameness, when we peruse the manly language in which Milton treated this subject more than a century and a half ago: 'We have it not (book-licensing) that can be heard of, from any ancient state, or polity, or church, nor by any statute left us by our ancestors, elder or latter; nor from the modern custom of any reformed city, or church abroad; but from the most antichristian council, and the most tyrannous inquisition that ever inquired. Till then, books were as freely admitted into the world as any other birth; the issue of the brain was no more stifled than the issue of the womb; no envious *Juno* sate cross-legged over the nativity of any man's offspring: but is it proved a monster, who denies that it was justly burnt or sunk into the sea.'—*Areopagitica*.

There is another inconvenience attending the species of imprimatur which you have set up, forming a serious grievance both to the public and to those whom it immediately affects:—*Proprietors of Newspapers may have to stop the press, and to disappoint their readers, if*

they do not happen to know where the Secretaries to the Government are engaged to dinner.

LETTER VIII.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c. on his violation of the principles of the British Constitution, by the assumption of the right of laying previous restraints upon publications.

‘This liberty (that of the press) is justly dear to every British subject. The Constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description: but there exist judicatures wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognisance of such publications, as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents may deserve.’

Official Correspondence between Britain and France, 1803, p. 26.

MY LORD,—It is a curious fact, whether it be considered as a coincidence, or only an imitation, that Bonaparte attempted to impose the same previous restrictions on the press in Britain that your Lordship so successfully imposed in India. On perusing your regulations, we find that the very first rule for the guidance of your secretaries in revising the materials for the press, enjoins that they shall prevent all such publications as shall appear to them of a certain tendency. But it is the law of the land, and the British Government, in their official correspondence with that of France, have expressly recognised it, that the British Constitution does not admit that any previous restraints should be laid upon publications of any description: and what are the topics which you have ordered not to be discussed? with a few exceptions, precisely such as are most essential to be known. *Observations on the state of public credit, the revenues, the finances*: the embarkation of troops or specie; naval or military preparations; the destination or expected arrival of ships; the conduct of government or any of its offices, civil or military, marine, commercial, or judicial;—statements with regard to the probability of war or peace; observations tending to convey information to an enemy, or to excite alarm or commotion within the Company’s territory; the republication of such passages from European newspapers as may tend to affect the influence and credit of the British power with the native states.

Now, in the name of common sense, I should be glad to know what species of information is left for the unhappy editors of newspapers to convey; unless it be the periodical ablutions of the Brahmins in the river Houghly, or the splendid processions of the Governor-General to the distant provinces? These gentlemen, indeed, will derive this miserable advantage from the change, that their responsibility to their readers and to the Government (the laws are out of the question) will be totally done away, since all their matter must be previously shaped and fashioned according to the ideas of some curious Secretary of the Government, and of course rendered perfectly agreeable to the feelings of the most noble the Governor-General.

'You have surely not considered, my Lord, that, if there be any subject on which publicity is essentially necessary to a nation, it is that of the state and appropriation of its finances. Let us, for a moment, contrast the darkness with which you have enveloped the finances of India, with the love of publicity which forms so prominent and excellent a feature in the character of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer,* and which, if his ambition be of the right kind, he will never depart from. In laying before the public a statement of the finances of Great Britain for the present year, (1806,) he thus expresses himself :

'If he indulged any pride in the financial detail which he had just laid before the House, it was this, that it is entirely open and without concealment. He had ever been of opinion that the publicity and notoriety of the financial affairs of Great Britain had been the prime source of her strength and success. He trusted this frankness and absence of disguise would never be departed from. Like the old Roman moralist, he would wish so to build his habitation that every corner should be open to every eye, and every passenger become a spectator of what was going on within.—He believed if there were a system in the world to which this sentiment might be justly applied, it was the financial system of Great Britain. If there was any point he was more ambitious to attain than another, it was the character of promoting that knowledge and publicity. He should look to it on all occasions, and consider it as inseparably connected with the discharge of his duty to his country.'

But your system, my Lord, is that of darkness, mystery, and concealment, in every department. How, in the fettered state of the Asiatic press, can the inhabitants of India, whether European or Native, know what is doing in Europe, or the inhabitants of Europe know what is doing in India? Commercial men cannot, but by means of private correspondence, even hear of the arrival or departure of ships. The consequences of such dreadful ignorance are too shocking to bear contemplation. Look at the state of the Continent of Europe, and say whether that would have been so deplorable as it now is, if the liberty of the press had continued to exist, even in a factious state, in France. Do you believe that, if the press were free at Paris, Buonaparte would venture to issue orders, which are now implicitly obeyed, and dare not even be questioned? Do you believe that, if there were a free press at Vienna, the recent calamities of the German Empire, occasioned by the imbecility, blunders and treachery of individuals, might not have been averted? Do you believe that, if a free press existed at Berlin, the wretched and mischievous policy of the Prussian Cabinet would have so long continued to prevail, to its own disgrace, and to the detriment of all Europe? Do you imagine that, if the press of Calcutta had con-

* The Marquis of Lansdown, then Lord Henry Petty.

tinued to enjoy its wonted freedom, even your own measures, my Lord, might not have received salutary checks, when erroneous, and essential assistance, when correct ?

Such is the powerful nature of truth, my Lord, that, with a free press for its circulation, the pernicious abuses to which so many nations are unhappily a prey, would instantaneously disappear, and the oppression by which their inhabitants are ground to dust, would speedily vanish. Despotism has a natural affinity to darkness ; liberty, to light. As flowers are nurtured into blossom by the heat and light of the sun, so are the virtuous propensities of man thrown into action by the animating beams of freedom.

With a press perfectly free, good institutions acquire perfection, and bad ones disappear. But the liberty of the press being extinguished, bad institutions spring up apace, and scarcely any good one can continue to exist. Were I asked what part of our Constitution it would be most fatal to lose, I would answer without hesitation : ' The liberty of the press. Leave me that, and I will ensure the rest. But take that away, and I cannot answer a single moment for any other part of the fabric.' I do not believe, my Lord, (for really I do not think you a mere devil,) that, at the commencement of your war against the press, you had any idea of the length you might be induced to go, or of the enormous criminality of your object. But, having once embarked, you thought it inconsistent with your dignity to return. Of what consequence is it to a nation, my Lord, if they are enslaved, whether the mischief arise from ignorance or design ? We have a grand lesson of colonial alienation before us, which may show the danger of arbitrary proceedings in our distant provinces. Did not the tyranny of Governors, in concurrence with the injudicious pretensions of the Legislature, first produce those discontents, which terminated in the separation of America from Great Britain ? That separation may now, indeed, be productive of a good to the world, which was little foreseen. If the principles of such men as you and Buonaparte should unhappily prevail in Europe, liberty will still have *one* asylum in the universe.

For the comparatively moderate measures of our American Governors, however, some plausible pretexts, some shadow of justification, might have existed. But what possible justification can be attempted by you, for having utterly extinguished the liberty of the press in India, unless it be the stale and vague pretext of state necessity, the usual argument of tyrants ?

——— ' So spake the fiend,
And with necessity, the tyrant's plea,
Excused his devilish deeds.'

But, besides that public men may easily mistake the gratification of their own particular propensities for the general good of the state, no species of necessity, at least no necessity under which you, my

Lord, as Governor-General of India, could have laboured, can be admitted as an excuse for violating the most essential principles of the British Constitution. Were you even beset with treason, sedition, insurrection, it would have formed no justification of your conduct, since there were British courts of judicature to try offenders. But the fact is, that there was even no visible pretext for your violent attack upon the press. Are the Natives of India become politicians? Or rather, are they not the least refractory subjects upon earth? Was not the press much more free, or licentious, if you will, under the administration of Mr. Hastings, and other Governors, than it was, at any time, during that of your Lordship? They, particularly Mr. Hastings, were even personally attacked; but they had too much conscious dignity and good sense to resent these ephemeral effusions of discontent, and too much wisdom to think of restraining the liberty of the press, on account of its occasional licentiousness. 'Good men,' says Junius, 'to whom alone I address myself, appear to me to consult their piety as little as their judgment and experience, when they admit the great and essential advantages accruing to society from the freedom of the press, yet indulge themselves in peevish or passionate exclamations against the abuse of it. Betraying an unreasonable expectation of benefits pure and entire from any human institution, they, in effect, arraign the goodness of Providence, and confess that they are dissatisfied with the common lot of humanity.'

After disobeying the orders of the Court of Directors, and treating the principles of the British Constitution with contempt, what more could be expected, but that, if there were no obstacle but your own inclinations, you would have declared yourself independent of both? But your restrictions on the press constitute by far the most extraordinary measure that I have heard or read of in civilised times. It is even the most extraordinary act of your own Government. If there were really any rational grounds for a measure of political audacity, on which very few Governors would have chosen to venture, you, my Lord, with all the ingenuity that belongs to you, will no doubt be able to explain. At present, however, it must be regarded as a singular phenomenon in the history of British Government, that the press, in our great Eastern Empire, should be subjected to restrictions, which would be reckoned disgraceful in any of our little islands in the West Indies, of which the inhabitants are principally slaves.

These restrictions I shall first consider, as they are a violation of the British Constitution, *which admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description*; and for this doctrine, without going back into antiquity, I will quote an authority to which even your Lordship will not object: I mean that of Lord Hawkesbury. It is yet in the recollection of every one, that, while this nobleman was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Buonaparte roused the utmost

indignation of every British subject, by attempting to dictate limitations to the press of this country, not, however, one tenth part so degrading as those you have imposed upon the press of India. When '*the first of a long series of conflicts between the greatest power in the world and the only free press remaining in Europe*'* began, Lord Hawkesbury, in his answer to M. Otto's representations, (see Correspondence between Great Britain and France, &c. 1803, p. 26.) declared the liberty of the press to be 'justly dear to every British subject. *The Constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description; but there exist judicatures, wholly independent of the Executive Government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents may deserve.*'

Now, I beg you will have the goodness carefully to compare this clear and luminous exposition of the noble Secretary of State, with your own general regulations for the press in India, and with your summary proceedings in my case, and to tell us whether you think you have not violated the principles of the British Constitution, of common justice, and of common sense; whether you, a mere Governor of a province, have not taken upon yourself to do that which his gracious Majesty cannot do, and that which has never been claimed by any branch of his illustrious House, *to impose previous restraints upon publications, of which the Constitution of this country does not admit.*

The murderer of his friend, whom we so justly abhor, only takes away the life of one individual, by which act, if detected, he forfeits his own. But the successful invader of the freedom of the press, deprives us all of the condition which alone renders life worth the holding, and of the means of exposing and punishing his own iniquities. Instead of my own crude thoughts, let me state the ideas of Milton on this subject, which may be considered as a genuine instance of the sublime: 'Who kills a man, kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself, kills the image of God, as it were in the eye. . . . We should be wary, therefore, what persecution we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may be thus committed, sometimes a martyrdom, and, if it extend to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at that ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself, *slays an immortality rather than a life.*'—*Areopagitica.*

An admirable idea of De Lolme on the liberty of the press, is so peculiarly applicable to the present subject, that I cannot help quote

* Sir James Mackintosh's Speech on the trial of Peltier.

ing it : ' In short, whoever considers what it is that constitutes the moving principle of what we call great affairs, and the invincible sensibility of man to the opinion of his fellow-creatures, will not hesitate to affirm, that, if it were possible for the liberty of the press to exist in a despotic Government, and (what is not less difficult) for it to exist without changing the Constitution, this liberty of the press would alone form a counterpoise to the power of the Prince. If, for example, in an Empire of the East, a sanctuary could be found, which, rendered respectable by the ancient religion of the people, might insure safety to those who should bring thither their observations of any kind; and that, from thence, printed papers should issue, which, under a certain seal, might be equally respected; and which, in their daily appearance, should examine and freely discuss the conduct of the cadis, the bashaws, the vizir, the divan, and the sultan himself; that would introduce immediately some degree of liberty.' To this ingenious idea I will just add that, if any man, of a romantic turn of mind, diametrically opposite to that which distinguishes your Lordship, had taken the fancy of introducing into India, that sanctuary mentioned by De Lolme, there is no place upon earth where he could have done it with less risk of danger.

LETTER IX.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c.—A few words on his general Government.

'Ego ita comperi, omnia regna, civitates, nationes, usque eo prosperum imperium habuisse, dum apud eos vera consilia valuerunt.'—*Sallust.*

I WILL now, my Lord, ask any man of the smallest particle of candour, what could have been expected from that arbitrary spirit, of which I have given such damning specimens, when carried, as it must have been, into the various branches of the administration of public affairs, but that it should produce, among the native powers of India, disgust, irritation, revolt, and war? Accordingly, during the whole course of your administration, India has experienced these calamities in so full a measure, as scarcely to have enjoyed a single day of repose.

Nor let our common sense be insulted by being told, that it argues great talents in a Governor-General, with a numerous and one of the best-composed armies in the world, together with the whole power and influence of the British Empire at his back, to vanquish, either in conjunction or detail, the half-disciplined rabble of a few petty princes of India. To those who are acquainted with the country, such boasts must appear ridiculous in the highest degree. If a school-boy were placed at the head of the Government of India, I maintain that he could not, but by superseding old and experienced officers, to make room for his own ignorant or inexperienced favourites, avoid conquering. But this no Governor could do while

he liberty of the press existed. He could not, but by the extinction of that liberty, prevent the affairs of British India from flourishing, almost without a battle.

There might, indeed, have been a time, as in the Government of Mr. Hastings, when to have even preserved a footing in India, required energy and wisdom. There might have been a period, as during the mild administration of Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), when, from the discontents of the army, it required the most consummate prudence to restore order and safety. But we do not find that these Governors considered themselves authorised, or thought it would contribute to promote their views, to impose restrictions upon the press, to blindfold the people. Certainly, at either of these periods, the intemperance which has characterised your government, my Lord, would infallibly have lost India. And it remains yet to be proved that the precarious advantages which, under the most favourable circumstances, you have lately gained by dethronements, bloodshed, and battles, might not have been more firmly secured by prudent negociation.

But a single moment's reflection will teach us, that the pure ignorance which prevails on these subjects in Europe, is entirely to be attributed to the extinction of the liberty of the press in India. At every step, indeed, we meet with some calamitous consequence of that extraordinary measure; and the further we travel, the more dismal will the prospect appear. 'Let it be impressed upon your minds, let it be instilled into your children,' says Junius, 'that the liberty of the press is the *palladium* of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman.'

Those who wish to know the extent to which, in your transactions with the Native powers, you have pushed what are commonly, although, perhaps, not very justly, called Machiavellian principles of policy, will be able, notwithstanding the great pains that have been taken to disguise them from the world, to collect much information from the investigations that are now afloat. I recollect, after my expulsion from India, reading some justification of your conduct in commencing hostilities with Tippoo, deduced from documents afterwards found in the capital of that unfortunate monarch. My exclamation at the time was, and it happened to be prophetic, what a valuable depot of justification will Seringapatam prove to the Marquis of Wellesley! Your general and very commodious doctrine towards the princes of India, especially since the fortunate discovery of that depot, may be summed up in a few words: 'If you keep up an intercourse of friendship with any power, which may give rise, in my breast, to suspicions of hostile intentions towards the British Government, I will immediately declare war against you, sack your capital, and employ my Persian translator to comment upon the papers purporting to be your correspondence with other powers, that may be found in your cabinet, which commentaries I will publish to the

world, to show that you were a traitor to the British power, and that I was justified in attacking you. But farther, I would have you to know, that it is my fixed determination, if any correspondence shall be found in the cabinet of any dethroned prince, *implying* even hostile *wishes* on your parts to the British power, to punish you, or if by death you should elude my grasp, your posterity, with dethronement and loss of territory, *at least*; and that I shall consider all mutual expressions of regard, in the common hyperbolical style of Asiatic compliment, as implying the crime of hostile wishes against the British power.'

Such, my Lord, without any strained inference, is a correct abstract of your doctrines of the laws of nations; and they are of so extravagant a nature, that the public will be curious to know the Grotiuses, the Puffendorfs, and the Vatteis of the East, whom you deigned to consult as your authorities. But lest I shall be suspected of exaggeration, I must particularly request the reader to peruse a pamphlet, entitled, *The Carnatic Question considered, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament, &c.* There he will find ably and perspicuously detailed, by a gentleman possessing much local as well as general knowledge of Asiatic affairs, the extraordinary transactions relating to the dethronement of the Nabob of the Carnatic, which Mr. Sheridan so repeatedly and so forcibly characterised, in the House of Commons, by the epithets unjust, inhuman, and atrocious.

Your conduct towards some other Princes of India are already in a train of discussion before Parliament. From the confusion and doubt which will purposely be attempted to be thrown on them, it will, perhaps, be difficult for the public to form a true judgment of their merits or demerits. But, I think, no man can fail to understand, that to go through the solemn mockery of treaties with Princes, whom those who sign them declare *not* to be independent of the Company, to whom, 'in all the forms of peremptory obsequiousness,' they dictate in respect to their military, administrative, and, I may almost say, down to their culinary establishments, is one of the most impudent pieces of acting with which the world has ever been insulted, or by which humanity has ever been outraged. That policy which consists in violating the essence, while professing respect for the forms of justice, is disgraceful to the last degree to a civilised nation. I should be glad to ask any Asiatic Governor or Member of Council, what rights they consider those unhappy Princes, who neither enjoy the dignity of independent sovereigns, nor the security of ordinary subjects, to possess? To answer the question satisfactorily, would, I believe, puzzle the most ingenious casuist among them. It is, however, very easy to answer it truly. They have no rights whatsoever, but are wholly dependent on the will of the Company's Governors. Their condition is even more precarious than that of an African slave, who has at least the interest of his owner as a guarantee for his personal security.

To persons wholly unacquainted with the affairs of India, the subject may be obscure and disgusting. Those, however, who dislike the labour of wading through voluminous documents, will find a tolerably correct image of the state of that country, in the actual situation of France, and its surrounding tributaries and vassals, now falsely dignified with the name of *fœderative states*; the principles pursued by you in India being precisely the same which, when *afterwards* pursued by Bonaparte in Europe, deservedly encountered the reproach and execration of the world.

To what tribunal can the miserable Natives of India, if their *kists* should be levied by military execution, if they should be oppressed by European magistrates, or dethroned by a Governor-General, resort for redress? Where can they find a press through which to utter their groans? Not one. They must be all buried in the compassionate bosom of some Secretary to the Government! Still less can the aggrieved Princes, or subjects, of India, penetrate through the clouds of misrepresentation and sophistry, by which their claims are purposely obscured, or hope to procure redress in Europe. Under the present system, it is utterly impossible. The miserable Native has nothing to do but to submit. But it is astonishing that it should be expected by any Governor, that the pitiful affectation of respect to the rights of the Natives, which consists in deposing one Nabob, and setting up another more obsequious, should pass for aught but robbery, on any person in the intellectual scale above the rank of an idiot. If the benefit of the Natives formed any part of the consideration, it would be much better consulted by allowing the deposed Nabobs and their families a provision proportionate to the revenues of which they had been deprived, taking their territories avowedly under the jurisdiction of the Company, and admitting the inhabitants to all the privileges of the English laws.

If our authority must be extended, it should be done in the manner least prejudicial, or rather most advantageous, to the Natives. But on the present most odious system, precisely the reverse is the case. The people are subjected to double burdens, since they must raise the tribute paid by the Nabobs to the Company, and bear the expence of their own Governments besides. Under such a regime there can be no justice, there can be no security, there can be no safety, there can be no peace. Every thing is essentially arbitrary, capricious, and despotic, and it would be less cruel to the feelings of the miserable Native to leave him exposed to the incursions of the irregular plunderers of his country, than to subject him to the more certain and systematic depredations of foreign tyrants. Deprived of the benefits of the English laws, as well as of the laws of nations, which we are falsely taught to believe in this country they generally enjoy, what encouragement have the Natives of India to come under the English yoke, or the Princes to remain faithful to the engagements they may have formed? The world should be informed, whether a

system so atrocious be the offspring of your own brain, or begot by the Court of Directors or Board of Control. At all events, it is necessary to the honour of this country, that the monster should be solemnly and formally disavowed by the Government of the parent State.

There are two points more on which I shall touch in this letter. The first respects the use you have thought proper to make of your Council. Their names can no more avail you in my case than the approbation of the Court of Directors of your edict against the press. It is well known, and I shall have no difficulty in proving it, that you unceremoniously dispensed with the authority of your Council as often as you thought proper or convenient. In some considerable state transactions, you even never consulted them. Their names being so regularly employed in my case, is, therefore, only an additional proof that you felt your conduct could not stand upon its own merits. It is of little importance to inquire, whether the members of your Council were equally disposed with yourself to attack the personal freedom of the subject, and the liberty of the press, and whether they held the principles of the British Constitution in equal contempt, or only granted their sanction to your measures from a culpable complaisance, as the discovery would in no respect alter the state of the facts. I, therefore, only advert to this in passing, that I may have an opportunity of remarking on the lamentable inefficiency, for good purposes, that exists in the present organisation of the Bengal Government. In the first place, the Governor-General may act contrary to the opinion of his Council, if they should be unanimous against him. In the next place, the *Commander-in-chief of the Forces* is the second member of the civil Government of a country containing a hundred millions of inhabitants. The other councillors, two in number, are generally taken from the Company's senior servants, of whom it can be no disparagement to say, that, deeply conversant as they may be with the principles and practice of commerce, they cannot be supposed to have had sufficient experience of the principles of the British Constitution, or of the laws of nations, for rightly discharging the functions of such important offices; and in proof, I need only refer the reader to the facts contained in the preceding pages. But, besides the description, the number of those who compose the Government of such a mighty Empire, even if the power were more equally divided, would seem extremely disproportionate. Their number is now four. In the time of Mr. Hastings, they consisted, I think, of seven, when the extent of territory was not near so considerable. I do not believe that the disputes which then existed in the Councils of Bengal, tended either to diminish the vigour or justice of the Government; and I hold it just as pernicious a doctrine to restore them to harmony by a reduction of their numbers, as to curtail the liberty of the press, in order to destroy its licentiousness. If we wish for precedents, the Dutch East India

Councils, when Holland was a free nation, were composed of many members, although their territories were, comparatively, of very trifling extent. In 1793, while Holland yet enjoyed some degree of freedom, three Commissioners were sent out to examine into all the abuses of their different Governments in India. The example seems worthy of imitation. These are points so obvious, that it appears to me no man of an unsophisticated mind, who has not a strong predilection for *tyranny*, will controvert them. At all events, it appears that, in the present state of Asiatic affairs, while individuals are entrusted with such inordinate power, it is essential to the interests of the parent State that a frequent sweep should be made of the Councils, as well as the Governors, of India.

I have heard it urged as an objection to your accusers, that your administration is well spoken of by some of those who have returned from India. But the premises may be very true, without the consequences attempted to be deduced from them being at all just. If, however, such testimony could possibly be divested of the suspicion of partiality, what would avail the weight of mere opinion against the evidence of facts? Those who approve of such conduct as I have depicted, must be either of the same arbitrary disposition with yourself, and speak from sympathy, or they have not attended to the subject, and speak at random, or they are your mere creatures. Many of those, indeed, who have recently returned from India with fortunes, must be persons, whom you have promoted, or served, or *might* have ruined; and, in either case, they may chance to owe you obligations, which it is quite natural that they should express. If we consider, indeed, that the affairs of a hundred millions of Asiatic inhabitants have been administered by a few thousand Europeans, under your Lordship's patronage, for seven years, it would be surprising if a considerable proportion of these Europeans did not, from those feelings of interest and dependence common to men, have some leaning of partiality towards you. To this reasoning, as derived from the most prominent principles of human nature, I would advise the people of this country, in forming their judgment of your conduct, strictly to attend. Even with these powerful sentiments, operating in your favour in the breasts of Anglo-Asiatics, I will venture to affirm, that, if polled, a great majority of them would decide against you; while, if they were unanimous in your praise, opinion, as I have said, can avail nothing against the testimony of facts. The gentlemen of the Madras and Bombay establishments, who may be supposed better, as being less biassed, judges of your conduct, than those of Bengal, do not, as far as I can learn, speak in high terms of the merits of your administration, or admire the system, which you have carried to such perfection, of deposing Nabobs, which they even seem to think may be converted into a lucrative trade.

TO FREEDOM.

'Te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythæ,
 Urbesque, gentesque, et Latium ferox,
 Regumque matres barbarorum, et
 Purpurei metuunt tyranni.'—HOR. l. 1, od. 35.

'Twas long since the Goth of the pitiless north,
 Like his storms, from the land of the tempest rush'd forth;
 The Grecian had sunk in the wide-swelling flood,
 And conquering Rome saw her sun set in blood.

And nations, more fierce than the Vandal in name,
 Had forged a fresh chain for the children of fame;
 When reluctant to flee, and unable to save,
 The spirit of freedom yet stood by the wave.

She look'd for her freemen, but freemen were none,
 The stranger was there, they had bow'd to his throne;
 Other lords, other nations, held rule in their home,
 O'er the glorious of Hellas, the mighty of Rome.

And silent in dust was the musical tongue,
 And hush'd were the strains the enchanter had sung,
 Yet the stone on their tomb seem'd untrue to its trust,
 For there breathed yet a voice from the eloquent dust.

When the splendour was dimm'd by disgrace, and each name
 That shook the wide earth was their boast and their shame,
 A new home, a new name, a new nation she sought her,
 In a land far away o'er the deep-rolling water;

Where the sun, flaming o'er the Atlantic's green breast,
 First looks on the glorious lands of the west,
 The victor to vanquish, the spoiler to spoil,
 And glory and peace are the meed of the toil.

'Twas then, Oh! bright spirit of Freedom! to thee
 The cry of Asania came over the sea;
 Yet, strangely commingling, the far echoes roll
 With the voice of Iberia, the hope of the Pole.

Shall the prayer of the sons of thy mighty be vain,
 Nor the fire of past ages once kindle again?
 In vain shall thy chosen imploringly bend,
 While in gladness the songs of the stranger ascend.

Return, ah! return, and thy golden age bring;
 More sweetly again the enchanter shall sing;
 And a Cæsar arise, like the first in renown,
 Ere the wreath on his brow was an Emperor's crown.

RECENT FRENCH WORK ON CHINA.*

THERE is no subject more tempting to the taste of certain speculative minds, than the annals of India and of China: we have known an officer, who, because he had passed three months on the banks of the Ganges, and conversed, God knows how, with the Chief Priest of a pagoda, firmly believed that the history of India could be accurately traced back eighty thousand years! But here comes a disciple of Fo, who considers the Indians as mere upstarts, known only a week or two ago, and who, upon the authority of the Chinese historians, modestly makes the annals of this people go back to 276,479 years before the Christian era!

We will not seriously take upon ourselves the trouble of examining such a chronology as this: and we have too much respect for the understanding of our readers, to undertake a task which Bossuet and Bailly have already performed. Nevertheless, from the facts furnished by other historians, we can reconcile ourselves to believe, that the annals of China go back for more than two thousand years before our own era; and we also know that the Great Wall has been built about two thousand years, and that it extends itself over five hundred leagues of distance.

According to the calculations of Sir G. Staunton, who accompanied Lord Macartney in his embassy to China, the population of that country, which, from north to south, covers a space of nine hundred leagues, is three hundred and thirty millions of individuals; Pekin and Nankin have each more than three millions of inhabitants, and the army contains more than eighteen hundred thousand men, infantry, cavalry, and marines.

A more recent notice in 'The Oriental Herald' states, however, that China contains only one hundred and forty-six millions of inhabitants, and the army only twelve hundred thousand men, from which we are led to infer, with the late Malte-Brun, that the early travellers to China have greatly magnified the population and forces of the empire.

The essays of Pere Amyot, the researches of the Pere du Halde, of the Abbé Grozier, the ingenious critiques of De Pauw, the

* Manners, Usages, Customs, Arts, Trades, Punishments, Ceremonies, Monuments, &c. &c. of China; after the original drawing of P. Castiglioni, of the Chinese painter, Pu-Qua, of N. Alexandre, Chambors, and Dudley, by M. M. Aubry-le-Comte, Déveria, Grévedon, Regnier, Phaal, Schmit, Thénot, and Videl; with explanatory notes, and an introduction, representing the actual state of the Chinese Empire, its Statistics, Government, Institutions, &c.; by M. Bua de Malpierre Paris, 1828.

evidence^{of} Lord Anson, of Bougainville, and of Sonnerat, the relations of the Swedes, Osbektoren and Ekermann, in rectifying the ideas which have been formed in Europe, concerning the arts, the pompous fêtes and magnificent spectacles, have only increased our desire of knowing them better; especially since subsequent accounts have rectified several passages in the work describing the embassy of Lord Macartney, who had probably represented the Chinese empire as so formidable, to lessen the disappointment which his countrymen must have felt at the ill-success of his first embassy.

The narrative of the pilgrimage of Lord Amherst across the Chinese provinces, teaches us nothing new; but the translation of a recent journey of M. Timpouky, makes us better acquainted with the manners and customs, and the laws of one of the most remarkable people of Asia.

It was therefore desirable to unite, in one single work, all matter of any interest, which, up to the present day, has been published respecting China, whether in France, in England, or in Germany. The execution of such a project was not easy; it required a variety of knowledge, and a considerable capital; but the names of Aubry-le-Comte, Devéria, Grévedon, Schmit, and other young artists, *collaborateurs* of M. de Malpierre, are powerful encouragements. The first fourteen numbers, which complete the first volume, have already appeared.

This magnificent collection is dedicated to the Duchess of Berri, and among the number of subscribers are already several foreign Kings and Princes; it is announced that this list will be shortly filled. The text of the work, which will form three complete volumes, is from the press of M. Firmin Didot.

THE GAMESTER.

HELL yawn'd beneath his feet—his burning brow,
 (As if a demon there had fix'd his throne,)
 The strife that rag'd within did sadly show;
 His anguish was not vented in a groan.
 Speechless he rush'd, regardless of the storm,
 Or lightning, gain'd the rock's tempestuous crest;
 The elements in vain assail'd his form,—
 A deadlier war was raging in his breast.
 Guilt in his looks, and frenzy in his mien,
 He roll'd his maniac eyes in horrid mood,
 Scornful he gaz'd on the tumultuous scene,
 Defying God, plunged headlong in the flood;
 The billows hoarser dash'd, the sea-bird howl'd,
 Muttering funeral peals the thunder louder growl'd.

ANCIENT EGYPTIANS AND ETHIOPIANS.

Substance of a Lecture, by Mr. H. C. Stafford, Professor of Languages, recently delivered at the Music Hall, Sheffield.

THE Egyptians, a portion of whose interesting history I have pledged myself to develop in a series of lectures, derived their origin, as well as their civil and religious institutions, from Ethiopia.

Considering this as one of the most important facts connected with the ancient history of the world, and sufficient of itself, if properly developed, to enable us to trace the origin, affinity, and connexion of more than two-thirds of the nations which inhabit it,—a cursory survey of the little that is known of this ancient centre of civilisation may form the best introduction to the subject on which we are entering. The old Ethiopian monarchy was situated on the banks of the Nile above Egypt. The chief seat of its power was the Nilotic island of Meroë. It was celebrated, as we shall see, in the earliest periods of history, and extended its colonies to almost every shore of the old world. It is seldom heard of after the time of Cyrus, and is never mentioned after the age of Augustus Cæsar, and that of St. Luke.

The people of this kingdom were an ancient African race, nearly related to the old Egyptians, and intimately connected with them in the early ages of their monarchy. Ethiopian princes, and whole dynasties, occupied the throne of the Pharaohs at various times, even to a late period before the Persian conquest. The Ethiopians had the same religion, the same sacerdotal order, the same hieroglyphics, the same rites of sepulture, and the same ceremonies, as the Egyptians.

The Egyptians, according to their own testimony, received their religion and learning from Ethiopia. This fact is of the greatest importance, as it is in perfect accordance with every genuine monument of Ethiopian history, establishes their claims, proves that they were a people whose civilisation preceded that of the Egyptians, and, at the same time, accounts for the identity of their religious and political systems. All the historical and sacred books of this ancient people, as well as those of the Egyptians, are lost: the only notices respecting either of these nations are to be found in Greek and Roman authors, who have preserved some scattered relics of their history, and in the accounts of a few ancient travellers; but even these are in a great measure lost, and only exist in fragments, the integrity of which is not always very certain.

The Greeks commonly used the term Ethiopian nearly as we use that of Negro, and constantly spoke of the Ethiopians as we speak of the Negroes, as if they were the blackest people in the world. 'To wash the Ethiopian white,' was a proverbial expression, applied to a hopeless attempt. This proverb has induced some to

consider the Ethiopians as genuine Negroes. It would, however, be quite as easy to prove, from the concurrent testimony of the ancients, and the monuments discovered by modern travellers, that the Egyptians are genuine Negroes, as it is to maintain, by ancient history, that the Ethiopians were such. Herodotus, in his account of the people of Colchos, says that they were a colony of Egyptians, and supports his opinion by this argument, that they were black in complexion and woolly haired. These are exactly the words used in the description of undoubted Negroes. *Æschylus* mentions the crew of the Egyptian bark, as seen from an eminence on shore; the person who spies them concludes them to be Egyptians, from their black complexion. Other ancient writers mention the Egyptians as a swarthy people, which might with equal propriety be applied to a perfect black or to a brown or dusky Nubian. In *Lucian*, there is a ludicrous description of a young Egyptian who was presented to the crew of a trading vessel at the Piræus. It is said of him, that, 'besides being black, he had projecting lips, and was very slender in his legs, and that his hair, and the curls bushed up behind, marked him to be of servile rank.' The hair of the Ethiopians near Syene is sometimes frizzled at the sides, and stiffened with grease, so as perfectly to resemble the extraordinary projection on the head of the Sphinx; but the make of the limbs corresponds with the Negro.

If the Egyptians, notwithstanding the strength of some of these passages, were indeed Negroes, we have every reason to believe that more frequent allusion would have been made to the fact. But all that this, and other circumstances connected with this part of the subject, ought to teach us, is to hesitate in explaining the expressions of the ancients in that very strong sense in which they may at first strike us, and, in many instances, to inquire what title they have to our implicit confidence in their assertions.

If we may judge of the complexion of the Egyptians from the numerous paintings found in the recesses of temples, and in the tombs of the Kings in Upper Egypt, in which the colours are preserved in a very fresh state, we shall be led to conclude that the general complexion of these people was a chocolate or a red copper colour. The coloured figures given by *Belzoni* fully establish this fact. Nor are we to suppose that this red colour is put on in want of a lighter paint or flesh colour: it is evidently intended to represent the complexion of the people; for when the limbs or bodies are represented as seen through a thin veil, the tint used resembles the complexion of Europeans. The same shade might have been generally adopted, if a darker one had not been preferred, as more truly representing the natural complexion of the Egyptian race. Female figures are sometimes distinguished by a yellow or tawny colour, and hence it is probable that the shade of complexion was lighter in those who were protected from the sun. Other

Egyptian antiquities furnish other facts which are equally favourable to this opinion.

On the sculptures and hieroglyphic paintings of Upper Egypt is often seen a plant which some have supposed to be the *banana tree*, an opinion which I cannot admit, because it was only introduced into that country under the dominion of the Arabs. I should rather think it is the *ensefe*, a plant cultivated in the marshy parts of Ethiopia, where it is an aliment of the first necessity, and concerning which the ancient Greeks and Romans had but very imperfect and confused notions. This plant was, in all probability, never cultivated in Egypt; for, admitting that in the primitive periods of this country the soil was sufficiently moist for it, we have no reason to believe that the climate was warm enough for its growth. Its appearance, therefore, on Egyptian monuments may be regarded as a proof that it was adopted as a significant hieroglyphic in another country, in which it might be a positive emblem of some season, which it brought to mind by the circumstances of its vegetation.

The ancients are unanimously agreed in saying that the castes of the priests in Egypt had a sacred language. The sacred language of the ancient Egyptian priests was once the common or vulgar idiom of Ethiopia. This fact affords an additional proof that the religious institutions of the Egyptians came from Ethiopia, as well as the language consecrated to the use of the priests, who were the sole depositaries of those institutions.

All these facts confirm the ancient civilisation of this more southern people, the Ethiopians, from whom the Egyptians derived theirs; but they do not furnish any data respecting the time when that civilisation commenced,—how long it continued,—or at what period it was extended to Egypt.

With respect to the extent of the country inhabited by this ancient civilised people, and the different places of their existence, we are in similar darkness and uncertainty.

In Africa, there are two distinct races of men: the one is that whose characteristic features are a flat nose and thick lips; the others have European features, the colour of their skin varying from light or dark brown to black. The Greeks, and after them the Romans, gave this race of men the name of *Æthiopes*.

In the South of Egypt there are tribes of this race, concentrated here and there by successive invasions of the Arabs and Negroes. Bruce, who considered them as relics of the ancient inhabitants of the country, termed them Shepherds; they gave themselves the name of Berbers, which, by some travellers, has been transformed into that of Barabras. Under this name, several Arabian authors have spoken of the founders of the monuments of Upper Egypt; and, in this sense, it is synonymous with Ethiopian, since other

authors have said the same of these southern people. The sea which stretches along the coasts of Africa, south of the straits of Babelmandel, was, by the ancient geographers, called the sea of the Berberi, or Berbers, and to these coasts they gave the name of Berbaria, or country of the Berbers; they also extended this name to those parts situated on the south of Egypt, where we have just seen that people of this name still exist.

The Ethiopians formerly extended as far as the western ocean, along the coasts of which they formed various establishments. In our day there exists a singular people in the northern parts of the chain of Mount Atlas, who call themselves Berbers, and who in all respects resemble the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile. These are tribes of hardy peasants, who live in huts, or in caverns among the hills, and support themselves chiefly by pasture and tillage.

Berbaria was, perhaps, the name given to the north of Africa, long before it occupied a place in the languages of Europe. The name given to the country of the Berbers did not come into common use, in the European languages, till after the epoch of the Arabs.

Long before this epoch, the eastern coast of Africa was the seat of very ancient colonies. The Phœnicians, who, as we shall hereafter see, were a colony or branch of the old Ethiopians, traded thither in ages beyond the reach of historical accounts. It is very probable that the Ophir of Hiram and Solomon was situated somewhere on this coast. In later times, commercial seats on the African shores were the medium of trade between India and the west, and were occasionally frequented by Greek and Roman merchants.

From these and many other considerations, it is evident that Berbers was the name of the race of men, whom the Greeks termed Ethiopians. It is evidently of very great antiquity, as tribes of this people, separated by considerable extent of territory, have preserved it ever since the unknown period when they were united and formed but one body.

Having thus followed the traces of the extension of the Berbers or Ethiopians into Africa, 'a more difficult task,' the Lecturer said, 'now devolves upon me, that of tracing the same ancient people in Europe and Asia. Pliny relates a tradition, that the Ethiopians had, at a very early period, dominion over a part of Europe; but he neither tells us where he had his information, nor enters into any detailed account respecting the recollections preserved of this event. This insulated assertion, therefore, proceeding from such a careless writer, or rather compiler, as he is known to have been, can only deserve being considered as the index of a possible fact. According to Homer, the inhabitants of Caria spoke the language of the Berbers. Ancient traditions attribute the origin of the Carians to

colonies which came from the island of Crete. This fact accounts for their speaking the language of the Berbers, since the inhabitants of Crete allow that the Ethiopians were among those who peopled their Island.' The Lecturer here mentioned the opinions of several other ancient Greek authors, and gave an interesting account of the Pelasgi, which he concluded by saying, that the learned of modern times are much divided in their opinions on this subject; and all that two-thirds of the literati of Europe have said respecting the language, origin, and affinity of these ancient adventurers, has thrown little or no light on ancient history. Some have considered them as natives of Africa; others have believed them to be Phœnicians; others again relying entirely on what the Romans have said concerning them and the antiquities of their country, and because the Pelasgi passed through some parts of Italy, on their way from Arcadia, have been induced to conclude that this part of Greece was their native country. These must, however, have forgotten that the mysteries of Samothrace were an institution of the Pelasgi; and the name of the divinities termed Cabires is evidently from the Phœnician language, which must have been nearly allied to that of Ethiopia, since the people who spoke it were natives of this ancient centre of civilisation. The Pelasgi, in all probability, emigrated from Africa, and we have nothing to prove that they endeavoured to keep up any relations with their ancient country, as no tradition of their subsequent relation with it has been preserved. This circumstance makes it probable, that their emigration was preceded by intestine commotions, in which the victorious party obliged the other to fly. Of all the tribes we have mentioned, we at present know too little to be able to say whether they have preserved any traditions of their common origin.

They have fallen from their ancient state of civilisation: still some traces of that state are found among them, and these would probably be more numerous if our knowledge of them was less superficial. Thus, while the people by whom they are surrounded make no use of inoculation, the Berbers of Mount Atlas, and those of the banks of the Nile, have practised it from the earliest times of history. The inhabitants of Houza, not far from the Niger, practise it likewise; and, as the process which they use is quite peculiar to themselves, it is evident that they have not adopted it through imitation. It has also existed from the most ancient times among the people who live east of the Black Sea, in the countries which anciently formed Colchos.

To the Ethiopians, the centre of whose government and worship was at Meroc, is to be applied whatever the ancients have said of their institutions. In this fallen city, the site and a few ruins of which have but lately been discovered, existed the same political organisation and religion as in Egypt. Nothing certain is known

as to the time when this city was built. The Abyssinians make it look back into the very infancy of antiquity; but their annals for the periods of their own history are quite as fabulous as those of most other nations, and not less so than those of the Greeks and Romans, which make the founders of their cities older than some of their gods, and their inhabitants coeval with time. The ancients, it is well known, have made mention of Ethiopian vessels, which they saw in the ports of India. The Ethiopians had an establishment at the mouth of the Indus, which the author of the 'Periplus of the Red Sea' calls *emporium barbaricum*,—the emporium of the Barbarians, Berbers, or Ethiopians. The author of this work must have derived this name from one of the nations on the Eastern coasts of Africa, to which the ancients, as we have already seen, gave that of *Barbaria*, or country of the Berbers, which is but another name for Ethiopia.

A part of the population of Madagascar bears a great resemblance to this race of men, and probably owes its origin to colonies sent out thither by the Berbers or Ethiopians. The Phœnicians sprang from a colony of this people, which had established itself on the isles of the Persian Gulf, whence it afterwards sent other secondary colonies to Phœnicia. Phœnicia, it is well known, planted colonies in almost every part of the old world. Whether these commercial colonies took place before the events to which we have just alluded, or whether they were sent out after the return of peace and good order, cannot be ascertained. If, however, we might hazard a conjecture on such obscure facts, it would allow the priority to the commercial colonies; as those of the Persian Gulf must have preceded those they sent to Phœnicia, and these had long been in a flourishing state when the Jews invaded Palestine.

It is, however, very different with regard to commercial establishments. These require time to gain firm footing, and still more in order to be able to furnish the elements of new colonies. Several reasons seem to favour the opinion that the commercial colonies were formed by the Berbers or Ethiopians before the civil commotions happened, which occasioned the emigrations of the Pelasgi. This last event probably took place about the time that theocracy was established. This system, which subdued every thing to the will of the priesthood, must necessarily have produced its opponents; these, it is possible, finding themselves too weak to resist the influence of the priests, chose rather to forsake their native place than submit to superstitious tyrants.

According to this view of the subject, the theocratic system would be preceded in Ethiopia, as well as in India and Egypt, by an anterior period, in which a flourishing and extensive commerce gave life and vigour to the nation, and enabled it to acquire great wealth and fame. The spirit of theocracies has no such tendency

to improvement in any useful art or science. When the Ethiopians were reduced to this state, and not before, the ancients began to have a superficial knowledge of them ; the little they have said of them is involved in much obscurity, uncertainty, fable, and prejudice.

'Ladies and Gentlemen,' said the Lecturer in conclusion, 'I have now taken a general, though, perhaps, a very imperfect, survey of Ethiopian antiquities, monuments, physical characters, establishments, colonies, commercial relations with India, remains of their race, and so forth ; if, however, I have advanced sufficient to prove that they were the ancestors of the Egyptians, I have done more than I expected when I embarked in this inquiry ; and, as the institutions and religion of the Egyptians were the same, if I should succeed in developing their history, the application of it to the Ethiopians will follow as a necessary consequence, and thus make us in some degree acquainted with these two ancient and venerable nations.'

ADDRESS TO THE SHADE OF MILTON.*

O THOU dread Bard ! whose soul of fire
Moved o'er the dark-string'd Epic lyre,
Till brightening where thy spirit swept
Lustre upon its dimness crept,
And, at thy word, from dull repose
The Light of heavenly Song arose !
O that this lyric shell of mine
Were like thy harp, Minstrel divine !
With thunder-chords intensely strung,
To chime with thy audacious song
That scorned all deeds to chronicle
Less than the wars of Heaven and Hell :
O that this most despised hand
Could sweep so beautifully grand
The nerves Tyrtæan !—I would then
Storm at the souls of little men,
And raise them to a nobler mood
Than that Athenian Master could ! †—
But no !—the spirit long has fled
That warmed the old tremendous dead,
Who seem in stature of their mind
The Anaks of the human kind :

* From 'The May Queen, a Lyrical Drama. By George Darley.' *

† Tyrtæus, the Attic pedagogue, before the sound of whose lyre the walls of Ithome fell.

So bright their crowns of glory burn,
 Our eyes are scared ; we feebly turn
 In terrible delight away,
 And only— ' Ye were mighty ! ' say.
 We turn to forms of milder clay,
 Who smile, indeed, but cannot frown,
 Nor bring Hell up, nor Heaven down.
 One gloomy Thing indeed, who now
 Lays in the dust his lordly brow,⁴
 Had might, a deep indignant sense,
 Proud thoughts, and moving eloquence ;
 But oh ! that high poetic strain
 Which makes the heart shriek out again
 With pleasure half mistook for pain ;
 That clayless spirit which doth soar
 To some far empyrean shore,
 Beyond the chartered flight of mind,
 Reckless, repressless, unconfined,
 Spurning from off the roofed sky
 Into unciel'd Infinity ;
 Beyond the blue crystalline sphere,
 Beyond the ken of optic seer,
 The flaming walls of this great world,
 Where Chaos keeps his flag unfurled
 And embryo shapes around it swarm,
 Waiting till some all-mighty arm
 Their different essences enrol
 Into one sympathetic whole ;
 That spirit which presumes to seize
 On new creation-seeds like these,
 And bears on its exultant wings
 Back to the earth undreamt-of things,
 Which unseek we could not conceive,
 And seen we scarcely can believe ;—
 That strain, this spirit, was not thine,
 Lost-favoured child of the fond Nine !
 Great as thou wert, thou lov'dst the clod,
 Nor, like blind MILTON, walk'd with God !
 * * * * *

To stretch that bow should I pretend,
 Which none but thou, dread Bard ! could bend.
 Well might the unchecked thunder speed,
 Full volley to avenge the deed,
 And blast me, impious : but I keep
 Dread finger still upon my lip,
 And inly to suggestion say—
 ' Lead not that high heroic way ;
 ' Where Milton trode, few mortals may ! '

ACCOUNT OF THE DYEING DRUG, CALLED KASUMBA, A PRODUCTION OF SIAM.

AMONG the articles of import into Singapore, from China and Siam, is a dyeing drug, called by the Natives, *Kasumba*. It is red in colour and made up in small lumps, rendered very hard, apparently by manipulation. It yields two colours, namely, yellow of a very imperfect description, and reds of various hues, according to the different methods employed by the dyer for imparting the colour to the cloth. For the red colour which it contains, it is held in high estimation by the Natives, and very beautiful pinks are dyed by them from it; but they are fugitive, and will by no means stand the action of soap and water. Highly valued, however, as this *Kasumba* is by the Natives of this part of the world, (Singapore,) it is simply *safflower*, and in Europe, where the dyer is in possession of so many other materials, from which similar colours may be obtained in much higher perfection, it is held in very slight estimation. Here, the price of the best descriptions of it may be reckoned at no less than a hundred Spanish dollars per picul; whilst in England the price put upon it is 7*l.* per cwt. or about forty-one dollars per picul. A small quantity of it was sent home some time ago, by way of experiment, by one of the mercantile establishments of this settlement, to the politeness of the members of which we are indebted for a very elaborate report upon its qualities and value, drawn up by a gentleman of great practical skill and experience, connected with one of the first dyeing establishments in Great Britain. This report is by no means encouraging. The yellow colour yielded by the *Kasumba* is pronounced utterly worthless, and scarcely deserving the name of yellow; and the red colour obtainable from it, is not only infinitely inferior in beauty and durability, which might easily be supposed, but also much *dearer* than the reds which are dyed from cochineal. To dye 1*lb.* of silk, 4*lbs.* of *Kasumba* are required, the price of which, at the rate we have mentioned, would be about 5*s.*; whilst to dye the same quantity of silk, four ounces of cochineal are sufficient, the price of which is about 4*s.*, and the colour yielded by it much superior to the other.

The Malays seem to apply the word *Kasumba*, without much distinction, to any pink or red colour; thus, to the dye called *Annotta*, they give the name of *Kasumba Kling*, whilst they call the safflower of which we have been speaking, *Kasumba jawa*. The tree or shrub which yields *Annotta*, the *Bixa Orellana*, grows well on this island; and as, after a certain age, it will grow without care or cultivation, it might be worth planting. The produce might be sold or the trees let out to Chinese or Natives, by whom the dye is held in con-

siderable estimation. England is supplied with this dye from South America, of a better quality and at a cheaper rate than any that could be produced here. It is not in much estimation with the dyer; but large quantities of it are used for giving a red colour to cheese, for which it is very suitable, being harmless and nearly tasteless.

The following is the report above alluded to :

‘ The following experiments were performed, with a view to ascertain the properties of *Kasumba*, as a dyeing drug; and, to determine the value of that substance, compared with other dye-stuffs which impart similar colours to silk and cotton yarns.

‘ *Kasumba* contains two colouring matters, of which one gives a yellow and the other a red colour to silk and cotton yarns. Of these two colouring matters, that which yields a yellow dye is soluble in water, while that which yields the red is insoluble in the same liquid; so that, from possessing these opposite properties, they may be easily obtained separately.

‘ *Method of abstracting the Yellow Colouring Matter from Kasumba.*

‘ Six-hundred and sixty grains of *Kasumba* were put into a glass vessel, along with as much spring water as was sufficient to cover that quantity. The *Kasumba* was steeped in the water for two hours, after which, it was poured into a mortar and pounded, till all the small lumps were broken, and the whole assumed the appearance of a soft pulp. In this state it was put back into the glass vessel, and one quart of spring water poured over it. After being well mixed with the water, it was allowed to steep for one hour longer, and was then thrown on a flannel filter, in order to separate the solution of the yellow colouring matter from the solid part of the drug.

‘ The solution of the yellow colouring matter thus obtained very much resembled London porter in colour, and when newly prepared was a little turbid, in consequence of holding in suspension a number of minute particles of *Kasumba*. The turbidity, however, subsided after the liquid had remained undisturbed for a short time.

‘ The properties of the red colouring matter, which, along with the *Kasumba*, remained on the filter, will be mentioned in the sequel.— What immediately follows is a detail of the different experiments performed, in order to impart the yellow colouring matter obtained by the method just stated to silk and cotton yarns.

‘ *Experiment 1.*—The colouring solution procured by the method detailed above, was divided into three equal portions; into one of these parts forty grains of bleached cotton, and ten grains of soft tram silk were immersed for half an hour, by which time the cotton had acquired a ‘nankeen yellow,’ and the silk a yellow inclining to a

leghorn hue. These colours were, however, very loosely fixed on both yarns; for, on washing, they became considerably lighter.

Experiment 2.—The liquid which had been used in the preceding experiment was put into a flask, and, after being boiled, the same yarns were put into it, and boiled for twenty minutes, after which the vessel and its contents were taken from the fire and allowed to cool; the yarns were then taken out, well washed in clean water, and dried.

The colour of both yarns became considerably darker after having been boiled in the liquid, and when washed they lost proportionably less of their colour than when first washed.

The yarns marked No. 1, were the subject of these experiments.

Experiment 3.—Another portion of the colouring solution was put into a flask, and heated; when boiling, about a tea-spoon full of murio-sulphate of tin was added to it—a quantity that is as nearly as possible equal to that used in dyeing yellow from quercitron bark. After having boiled for a few minutes, the liquor was poured into an earthenware basin, and the same quantity of silk and cotton, as had been used in the preceding experiments, was immersed in it, and allowed to steep, till the liquor had become nearly cold: the yarns were then taken out, washed in clean water, and dried.

The silk and cotton which had been used in this experiment, acquired a much darker yellow than the yarns that had been used in the former experiments: the silk, in particular, had acquired a considerably darker colour.

Experiment 4.—The liquor used in the foregoing experiment, appeared to contain much colouring matter after the yarns had been dyed in it. It was supposed that, although it would not impart a very deep shade of yellow to the yarns, it might perhaps continue to give the same shade to white silk and cotton. Accordingly, white pieces of silk and cotton, of the same weight with those that had been dyed in the same liquid, were submitted to the same treatment; their colour, however, was not so dark as that of the yarns that had been dyed in the same liquid.

No. 2 and 3, are the shades resulting from the last two experiments.

Experiment 5.—Forty grains of bleached cotton were wet in clean water, and being wrung out of that liquid, were put into a mixture, consisting of two measured ounces of distilled water, and the same quantity of acetate of alumina, or Messrs. Turnball and Ramsay's yellow liquid, and allowed to remain forty minutes immersed in it. The cotton was next taken out, and, after being wrung, was introduced into a half of the remaining portion of the yellow colouring liquid. In this portion of the liquid, which had been previously boiled, the yarn was turned for a few minutes, and then allowed to steep till the liquor cooled; it was then well washed and dried.

‘ *Experiment 6.*—Ten grains of silk, having been previously steeped in a solution of alum, were put into the remaining quantity of yellow colouring liquid, which had been previously boiled, and in this the silk received the same treatment as the cotton had in the same quantity of yellow colouring liquor; the silk was then washed and dried.

‘ The shade of the cotton operated on in this experiment, was rather higher than that of the cotton used in the former; the shade of the silk was nearly the same with that of the silk used in the former experiment, after having undergone the treatment just mentioned; but, having been immersed in a solution of white soap, which has the effect of brightening the yellow dyed from the dye-stuff called wauld, its colour became much brighter.

‘ No. 4, are samples of cotton dyed in this experiment.

‘ *Comparative estimate of the value of Kasumba as a Yellow Dye-stuff, and the Dye-stuffs at present employed for obtaining that colour.*

‘ As a yellow dye, *Kasumba* is much inferior to fustic, wauld, and quercitron bark, which are the substances that are commonly used in dyeing yellow; for the colours of the yarns dyed in the preceding experiments, when compared with those obtained from the dye-stuffs just mentioned, are very much inferior, so much so, indeed, that the former can scarcely be called yellow colours. The yellow obtained from quercitron bark is also much clearer, and resists much better the action of soap, than that obtained from *Kasumba*. The sample of yellow, No. 20, was obtained from quercitron bark. The quantity used was at the rate of two ounces to the pound of cotton, the cost of which would not amount to a farthing, being only one eight-hundred-and-third part of that sum. The decoction of wauld and quercitron bark that have been employed in dyeing strong yellows on silk and cotton, would, after the yarns have been dyed in them, give a much stronger yellow than *Kasumba*; yet such decoctions are thrown away, being considered of no use. The dyer, therefore, will value *Kasumba* very lightly, as a yellow dyeing drug, since he has already in his hands dye-stuff which far surpasses it both in cheapness and in quality.

‘ The following is a detail of the experiments on the red colouring matter of *Kasumba*, and of the method employed in imparting that substance to silk and cotton yarns.

‘ *Method of extracting the Red Colouring Matter of Kasumba.*

‘ The red colouring matter, which, along with the *Kasumba*, remained on the filter, was introduced into a woollen bag, the mouth of which being secured, the whole was thrown into a quantity of spring water. In this the bag, with its contents, was alternately

steeped, and taken out and pressed between the hands, till the water came off quite colourless. The object of this manipulation was to remove any of the yellow colouring matter that it might have retained.

‘ The alkalis have the property of combining with the red colouring matter of *Kasumba*, and of making it soluble in water. The following method was, therefore, adopted to obtain a solution of the red colouring matter.

‘ *Experiment 8.*—Eighty grains of soda of commerce were dissolved in as small a quantity of warm water as was necessary to dissolve that quantity. The alkaline solution was poured into one pound of distilled water; the *Kasumba* was then put into the mixture, and the whole was allowed to remain for twelve hours. At the end of this period, the mixture of *Kasumba*, soda, and water, was put into the woollen bag, in order to separate the solution of the red colouring matter from the *Kasumba*. After the *Kasumba* had been separated from the solution of colouring matter, by squeezing it well while in the bag, it was again put into a solution of soda, consisting of half a pound of water and twenty grains of that alkali. At the end of two hours, the whole was put into the bag, and the solution of colouring matter separated as formerly from the *Kasumba*, which was, by these means, entirely deprived of its colouring matter, and of course was of no more use.

‘ *Method of imparting the Red Colouring Matter to Cotton.*

‘ *Experiment 9.*—In order to effect the object of this experiment, it was necessary to separate the colouring matter from the soda; this end was attained by introducing an acid into the solution. The acid combines with the alkali, and leaves the colouring matter free, which, having affinity for cotton, precipitates on that substance, when it is introduced into the liquid.

‘ Six-hundred-and-sixty grains of bleached cotton were introduced into the alkaline combination of the colouring matter, and, after having remained an hour, were taken out. Twenty-eight grains of sulphuric acid, diluted with five times its weight of water, were then added to the liquid. The cotton was again introduced and turned for half-an-hour, and then allowed to steep for two hours; at the end of which period it was taken out a second time, and as much more sulphuric acid added as gave a distinct acid taste to the liquid. The cotton was again introduced, turned in the liquid for a few minutes, and then allowed to steep for two hours more; after which it was washed in a quantity of spring water, and put into a solution of tartar, consisting of forty-five grains of that substance and one quart of spring water. Having been turned in that liquid for a few minutes, it was taken out and dried in the open air. By this

treatment the cotton acquired a fine pink colour, of which No. 21 is a specimen.

Experiment 10.—In order to ascertain the value of *Kasumba* compared with safflower, which holds a similar red colour, the same quantity of the latter substance as what had been used of the former, in the preceding experiments, was submitted to exactly the same treatment, in order to extract its colouring matter. In the solution a similar quantity of cotton was introduced as what was used in the same experiments, and also submitted to, as nearly as possible, the same treatment. The cotton No. 22, shows the colour resulting from this experiment.

From its properties, *Kasumba* appears to be the same substance with that known in commerce by the name of safflower: the only perceptible difference between them is, that the former is finer in its fibre than the latter, and is made up into balls, while the latter is made into circular discs.

The price of the safflower, used in the preceding experiments, was 7*l.* 10*s.* per cwt.; and, since the colour produced from it and the *Kasumba* are almost similar in quality, we must consider the value of the two drugs nearly the same. There are a few practical difficulties attending the use of *Kasumba*, from which safflower is free. A quantity of the *Kasumba* would, in consequence of the minuteness of its fibres, be lost in washing; and it would, from the same cause, be very difficult to press out the colouring matter, after it had been liberated by the alkali. There is also a great difficulty in breaking the small balls.—The best way to effect this would be to steep them for twelve hours in as much water as would cover them, and afterwards to tramp them till they were all broken.

All these circumstances taken into consideration, *Kasumba* may be valued at 7*l.* per cwt.

Mr. — stated, that *Kasumba* is supposed to be capable of imparting a crimson colour to silk; but, from experiments made in order to determine the same object with respect to safflower, I have found that a much better colour may be got from cochineal, and that, too, at a much less expense and, since it would appear that *Kasumba* is the same substance as safflower, we may also conclude that it is similarly circumstanced. The following experiments were undertaken to determine whether *Kasumba* would dye a crimson colour to any better advantage than safflower.

Experiment 11.—Eight hundred grains of *Kasumba* were washed and prepared in the same manner as were the quantities used in the former experiments.

It is found that safflower imparts the best colour to silk, when it has been dyed on cotton, and then taken off that substance. Accordingly, the red colouring solution obtained from eight-hundred grains

of *Kasumba*, was dyed on five-hundred grains of bleached cotton yarn. The cotton was afterwards deprived of its colour by introducing it into a solution of soda, consisting of one quart of distilled water and thirty grains of soda, and in this it was allowed to remain for twenty minutes. The red colouring matter, being again liberated, was imparted to a small quantity of silk (No. 35) that had previously been dyed peach-blossom.

‘The peach-blossom colour was imparted to the silk, by putting it into a hot liquor, consisting of a solution of soap and red archil. After remaining in the solution of red colouring matter for a short time, the silk was taken out and washed in clean water; and into that solution it was again introduced, after as much tartaric acid had been added as was sufficient to neutralise the soda that the solution contained. After having been in the solution of the red colouring matter for an hour, during which period it had been several times dipped up and down, the silk was put into a quantity of milk-warm water, containing as much tartaric acid as gave it a sour taste. After remaining for a few minutes in this liquid, it was taken out and dried.

‘To dye as dark a colour as the silk received in this process, four pounds of *Kasumba* would require to be used to one pound of silk; the price of which quantity would be 5s., supposing that *Kasumba* might be obtained for what we have considered to be its value. A colour such as the pattern No. 50, can be dyed with four ounces of cochineal, which quantity would cost, according to the present state of the market, 4s. On comparing the two patterns, it will be found that the crimson derived from the *Kasumba* is much inferior to that obtained from the cochineal; so that the former substance is much inferior, as a crimson dye, to the latter; while the quantity of *Kasumba* necessary to impart to silk a colour even of inferior quality to that imparted from cochineal is so great, that a colour can be dyed much cheaper with the second substance than with the first.

‘No. 100 is a pattern of a crimson dyed on cotton. The quantity of *Kasumba* necessary to produce a colour equal to it, would be two pounds, of the dye-stuff to one pound of cotton.—*Singapore Chronicle*.

STANZAS FOR MUSIC.

By Robert Montgomery—Just Published.

On ' Beauty is the master-charm,
 The Syren of the soul,
 Whose magic zone encompasseth
 Creation with control!
 The love and light of human kind,
 The foster-flame of every mind
 'Twas Beauty hung the blue-robed heavens!
 She glitters in each star
 Or trippeth on the twilight breeze,
 In melody afar!
 She danceth on the dimpled stream,
 And gambols in the ripples gleam!
 She couches on the coral wave,
 And garlandeth the sea,
 And weaves a music in the wind
 That murmurs from the lea,
 She punts the clouds, and points the ray,
 And basketh in the blush of day!
 She sits among the spangled trees,
 And streaks the bud and flower,
 She duns the air, and drops the dew
 Upon the glade and bower!
 'Tis she unwreathes the wings of night,
 And cradles Nature in delight
 And woman!—Beauty was the power
 That, with angelic grace,
 Breath'd love around her glowing form,
 And magic in her face!
 She crisp'd the silky-flashing hair,
 And framed her throne, her forehead fan!
 She arm'd her liquid-rolling eye
 With fairy darts of fire
 She wreath'd the lip of luscious hue,
 And bade its breath inspire!
 She shaped her for her queenly shrine,
 And made her like herself—divine!
 Oh! Beauty is the master-charm,
 The Syren of the soul;
 Whose magic zone encompasseth
 Creation with control!
 The love and light of human kind,
 The foster-flame of every mind.

DOCTRINE OF SUMMARY COMMITMENT FOR CONSTRUCTIVE CON-
TEMPTS OF PARLIAMENT, AND OF COURTS OF JUSTICE.

No. VII.

In 1820, Mr. Clement, proprietor of 'The Observer,' was fined 500*l.*, in his absence, and without having been heard in his own defence, for having published a correct report of the trials of Thistlewood and Ings, contrary to the prohibition of the Court, holden at the Old Bailey. This was the first instance of punishment for such a contempt. Similar prohibitions had, with impunity, been violated in 1817.* On the case of Clement, 'The Edinburgh Review'† observes—

'Some remarkable circumstances attended the imposition of this fine. The Court which published the interdict, did not originate the proceeding for the notorious act of disobedience to it; nor did any of the prisoners complain of what was done; nor did any one of their numerous and able counsel bring the matter to the knowledge of the Court; but the motion was made by the counsel against those prisoners—the counsel for the prosecution—his Majesty's Attorney-General acting on behalf of the Government in a State trial. Let it be observed, as we pass, that it is only in State trials, where the feelings of existing Ministers are always on the alert, that such prohibitions appear to have been even thought of. No actual injury to either side was once insinuated. Nay, it happened that these very trials furnished a singular example of the benefit to be expected from publicity. One of the witnesses produced by the Attorney-General was one Robert Adams, an informer. When it was made known that he was a witness, several persons came forward, and facts were disclosed, to prove him wholly undeserving of credit. Now, if he had been the sole witness, or one absolutely essential to the proof of the charge, the facts so elicited respecting him might have rescued the accused from the hands of the executioner; and the concealment of those facts, by a successful prohibition, might have delivered over to judicial death, men who did not deserve it.

'But a twofold danger was apprehended—first, lest the minds of jurymen appointed to try a succeeding prisoner might be poisoned by reading the evidence given on the trial of the first. The amount of that danger may be estimated, by considering that all the jurymen destined for the subsequent trials, were bound to be there during the first. Could their minds be poisoned by reading a cer-

* State Trials, vol. xxii. p. 81; xl. 766.

† No. 79; pp. 204-207.

rect report of what they had actually heard? The other danger was, that a witness who had been once examined, if inclined to commit perjury, might do so with less hazard, from having the opportunity of seeing in print what he had himself previously sworn. This is surely to suppose him gifted with a much shorter memory than is ordinarily found to belong to persons of his description; nor has any reason been assigned, why a written copy of the shorthand writer's notes should not be equally effectual with a printed newspaper to revive his recollections.

'The imposition of this heavy fine was questioned afterwards* in the Court of King's Bench, where the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Best, who had, as Commissioners at the Old Bailey, concurred in imposing it, found in that circumstance a reason for not supporting it by *zuiy* arguments. They severally stated, however, that they had no doubt of the legality of the order. So did the other two Judges, Bayley and Holroyd. From pure respect to those learned persons, we abstain from all examination of their reasonings, more especially as both declared the proceeding not to be final, and it now appears to be undergoing a farther examination.† We may, however, remark, that their decision derived slender support from the crown lawyers, who were driven to cite, in favour of this exercise of power, the two cases in 1817, in which, though the prohibition was openly violated, no fine was imposed; and that nothing like an earlier precedent for the order could be produced.

'The legal discussion, then, being waived, the obvious practical consequence of establishing such a claim, is this—that the public can obtain no accurate knowledge of what is done in any Court of Justice which may think proper to refuse its *imprimatur* to an accurate statement of their own proceedings. The time has been, when the least reluctance to make them generally known, however veiled by supposed inconveniences, would have justly excited suspicions as to the motives for concealment. Some security may be found against abuse, in the character of the Judges, and the spirit of the age—the latter far more important than the former, but in some degree liable to be affected by it, as it re-acts upon it. If, after the trial of Thistlewood and Ings, the Court had adjourned the trial of Brunt and the others for a month, the two first condemned might have been executed without the evidence against them having been ever made public. Nay, if any one of those jointly indicted had

* 'Barnewell and Alderson's Reports, p. 218.'

† 'In the Duchy Chamber of Lancaster, where it happens singularly that the two judges who sit to assist the Chancellor, Lord Bexley, being the two last judges of assize for the County of Lancaster, are Mr. Justice Bayley and Mr. Justice Holroyd. They will therefore be required to give their own formerly declared opinion, as their venerable brethren were in the King's Bench.'

not been apprehended, the proceedings might have been kept secret to this hour. The Court, if allowed to exercise its discretion to this extent, on its own view of possible inconvenience, might have found some good reason for not making known the order imposing this very fine; and the publisher might have been ruined by paying it, or imprisoned for life for his inability, without the babbling world knowing what had become of him. We firmly believe that, if such a claim had been set up and established a few reigns back, general warrants would have been, at this moment, in full legal operation.

‘We are really encouraged, however, by the immensity of the danger, and might feel more alarmed, if the consequences were less strikingly injurious. For the honour of the law of England, we hope it will not be found to sanction a claim so inconsistent with the due administration of justice, and so destructive of all just confidence in it. But if this should turn out differently, the Legislature itself, we trust, will for once interfere, for the protection of the liberty of the subject.’

In 1822, (July 9,) Mr. W. Courtenay brought two other cases of breach of privilege, under the notice of the House of Commons, cases of more than usual complication, and from which the House extricated itself with less credit, if possible, than on any former occasion. The first was contained in a letter published in the form of a pamphlet, and entitled ‘A Letter to the Hon. Mr. Abercrombie, by John Hope,’ animadverting on the reflections which the former had made on the latter, in the speech with which he introduced his motion, for an inquiry into the conduct of Sir W. Rae, Lord Advocate, and the other law-officers of Scotland, in regard to the periodical press of Scotland, and especially respecting the prosecution of William Murray Borthwick, June 25th, 1822. From Mr. Hope’s letter, Mr. Courtenay read the following passages, which appeared to him ‘a most open and daring violation and breach of the privileges of Parliament.’ On the gross injustice of a defamer’s availing himself of the privileges of Parliament, in order to aid the private action of a political assassin, and to prejudice the minds of the public against an individual, it is needless to make any observations. ‘It is very possible that the wilful misrepresentation of others may have induced you to think yourselves (Mr. Abercrombie and Sir James Mackintosh) safe in the grounds of that attack; but, (whosoever was the author of your information,) that the circumstances in question have been anxiously, or, at least, hastily, and therefore unwarrantably, seized hold of, for the purpose of imputing any official conduct to flagitious motives, cannot be denied. Whether you truly believed the statements, which you were so forward and ready to make, is a question which I cannot permit myself to ask. The injustice, illiberality, and intemperance of the comments, with which these statements were accom-

panied, you cannot now dispute.' The second was contained in a letter from Mr. Menzies, an Advocate, of Edinburgh, to the Editor of 'The Courier,' published in that paper of the preceding evening, transmitting a correspondence between himself and Mr. Abercrombie, and commenting on the report of the latter gentleman's speech of June 25. Mr. Menzies had applied, by letter, to Mr. Abercrombie, to ascertain whether part of his speech, containing some strictures on his professional conduct, was correctly reported. To this application he received an answer from Mr. Abercrombie, stating that he was not responsible for any reports in the newspapers, but that what he had said, was fully supported by the statement in his own letter. Having given this correspondence, Mr. Menzies thus concluded his letter to the Editor of 'The Courier':—'I feel no inclination to make any comments on the above correspondence. I shall be contented with saying, that in what you put forth as a fair report of Mr. Abercrombie's speech, improper motives were, by very strong innuendo and implication, attributed to me. Such imputations I regard with the most perfect scorn; and I have shown, that, whoever was the real author of them, they were altogether unwarranted, groundless, and false.'

The sting of these productions was, that they tended to provoke Mr. Abercrombie to send a challenge, to fight a duel. It subsequently appeared, from the disavowal of any such intention by Mr. Menzies, at the bar of the House, July 17, that Mr. Hope alone was chargeable with that guilt, which, though of the deepest dye, yet, as it consisted wholly in *opinion*, and implied no act of aggression done, nor meditated, against Mr. Abercrombie, ought not to have been cognisable in a temporal Court. Mr. Abercrombie could find, in the letter of Mr. Hope, only a constructive obstruction to the work he had undertaken in the House of Commons, that is to say, an obstruction to which he was bound, by an authority that can never be eluded nor resisted, to be as insensible as if it had proceeded from the meanest member of the Committee; and the provocation contained in which, he was under as clear an obligation to disregard, as to resist any conceivable temptation to commit any other crime. If he yielded to the temptation, whether by giving or receiving a challenge, he would have been a fit subject for the severest animadversion of the House, in vindication of its internal discipline, and of the freedom of debate. Expulsion ought to be the declared penalty that awaited every such outrage, and to be invariably inflicted. The least flexibility in such cases would be palpably unjust, and rob the penalty of all its efficacy. But if it would be disgraceful in the House of Commons to connive at such a crime in a member, so high a contempt of the divine law,—how much more so, that they should suppose their members so prone to its commission, that they exceed the just bounds of their authority, for the purpose of punishing an individual who should invite,

or provoke an invitation from one of them, to concur with him in the transgression? From Mr. Abercrombie there was the less reason to apprehend such a tribute to the world's code of morality, because he had so lately reprobated the crime of duelling, in terms even stronger than the severest judgment will approve, by applying the word 'murder,' to the fatal result of such a combat; whereas the crime is the same, whatever be the result, and, though of a highly aggravated description, is essentially distinguished, in point of malignity, depravity, and atrocity, from that of murder or assassination. Mr. Abercrombie said, (June 25th, 1822,) 'He would maintain, without fear of contradiction, that the language of the writers in 'The Beacon' was calculated not only to lead to a breach of the peace, in a slight degree, *but even to the dreadful crime of murder*; and they were, if not legally, most assuredly morally, responsible for the blood that had been shed on a recent melancholy occasion.'

Suppose it had been attempted to incite a Member of Parliament to commit a crime, which even the world condemned as base and dishonourable, there would have been something offensive and insulting in the bare supposition of the possibility of success on the part of the inciter; yet it is extremely improbable, that the House would have descended to resent such an insult, and to follow therein the example of Mr. Addington, who, when First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, prosecuted a poor tinsmith of Cornwall for offering him a bribe! But, surely, a party has even less right to cast a stone at one who purposes the commission of a crime which would never be perpetrated but for the respect and honour in which he himself holds it, and the very seeds of which would be extinguished by sincere tokens of his disapprobation. In punishing Mr. Hope, therefore, for a constructive obstruction, on the avowed ground of the danger of Mr. Abercrombie sending him a challenge, and stopping short when that object had been attained, the House betrayed their own facility when assailed by, nay, their entire incapacity to resist, the very temptations which they vainly attempted to denounce as criminal, without having done any thing that tended, in the smallest degree, to prevent the recurrence of such an encroachment on the freedom of their debates.

We come now to the debate of July 9th. 'The first thing observable is, the shyness of the Members to mention the words 'challenge,' and 'duel,' and the various periphrases which are substituted. Mr. Courtenay introduced the following: 'direct personal altercation and contact;' 'language of this very peculiar description could only be intended to influence the freedom of their debates;' 'direct personal attack, and the foundation of some act of personal hostility.' 'To him it appeared, that they formed a part of that fatal system which had of late been manifesting itself

in this country, *and which it was high time, and most essential, that the House should effectually put down!* It was dangerous in the extreme, and subversive of all privilege, if matters like these, passing within those walls, were to be made the ground of public attack, and, perhaps, of personal explanation.' Mr. Tierney said, 'Time was important—in twenty-four hours they might be too late. Suppose that to-morrow his Honourable Friend, Mr. Abercrombie, should not be in that house; suppose he was not to be found in town;—what would be the feelings of the House, if any delay was imputable to themselves?' Mr. Bankes 'conceived the present case to be quite distinct from that of Mr. Hobhouse, although *that* was certainly a gross libel on the House of Commons; but it was not a case of that clear and distinct breach of privilege which these passages contained.' Yet Mr. Hobhouse was sent to Newgate, and Mr. Hope was not even reprimanded.

Mr. Brougham said: 'There was a material difference between this case and the charge against Mr. Hobhouse. *That* was general discussion; it might be a breach of privilege; it was, undoubtedly, extremely indecorous, and highly to be resented; but it did not amount to so immediate and direct an act of obstruction. *This* WAS A DIRECT, AND NOT A CONSTRUCTIVE, OBSTRUCTION, not of any number of Members, but of a single Member. He entertained a strong opinion both as to the urgency of the case, and of the necessity that something like an unanimous opinion of the House should go forth to the public, if for no other purpose than to show *its firm determination, and with a strong hand to put DOWN A SYSTEM which went to the very roots, and would destroy every vestige of privilege.*' The bondage of which Mr. Brougham complains, is self-imposed. Members of Parliament are not dragged into the field by any power which it requires a strong hand to resist. They go, however reluctantly, in voluntary obedience to what they consider the tacit, but overwhelming, desire of the House itself. So long as Members retain their present opinions on the crime of duelling, they are, indeed, without a vestige of privilege, they are in subjection to a tyrannous jurisdiction, which they are no more competent to 'put down,' than to turn the sun from his course; but, as soon as they shall think it *honourable* to fear the righteous judgments of God, more than the impious commandments of men, from that moment the system falls, and they are free. Mr. Brougham concluded with these words: 'He hoped that there was not a shadow of ground for the comparison between the worst, the grossest, the most indecent attack upon the House, in its corporate capacity, and an attack upon an individual Member, singled out by two persons, whose names had been brought under consideration. Men might go on, fairly and boldly discharging their duty in Parliament, in spite of any general hostility; but, if particular Members are to be picked out and selected, because they gave offence

to certain parties in the course of the discharge of their public avocations, he would not say that they could proceed quite fearlessly, or, at least, as steadily and fearlessly in any case, much less in one like that of his Honourable and Learned Friend.'

The letter of Mr. Hope is here said to have been incomparably more obstructive than that of Mr. Hobhouse; yet the latter was sent to Newgate, and the former was not reprimanded nor admonished. It is true, that the letter of Mr. Hobhouse was not an obstruction; and that Mr. Hope's was not equally innocuous, the House have nobody to blame but themselves.

Mr. C. Wynn concurred in all that had just fallen from the Honourable Gentleman, (Mr. Brougham.) 'Among the most sacred and important duties which the House owed, not only to itself, but to the country, was that of *preventing, by every means in its power, by every exertion of its authority, the practice of MAKING MEMBERS RESPONSIBLE for words spoken within its walls.*' But Mr. Wynn did not suggest the *only* means adapted to the end proposed. He did not confess, that Members *make themselves responsible* for what they say in the House; nor propose to prevent *that practice* by an adequate penalty. It is in the power of the House to pass a Bill, making the crime of giving or receiving a challenge punishable, in a Member of Parliament, with the loss of his seat, and, in all other persons, with the forfeiture of, and incapacity to hold, any office, civil or military: but no such Bill was ever introduced.

July 12.—Mr. Abercrombie, having attended in his place, received the injunction of the house, 'not to accept or give any challenge in any quarrel which may arise out of such paper as the House have declared to be a breach of privilege.' Lord Althorp, in accounting for the delay in Mr. Abercrombie's attendance, acknowledged that Mr. Abercrombie had, by his Lordship's advice, entered upon the course which had been apprehended, but that, finding on their arrival at Ferrybridge, from the report of the proceedings of the House on the 9th of July, that the object they had in view could not be accomplished, the intended second advised his principal to return and obey the order of the House, though it had not been formally served upon him. This statement was received with loud cheers from both sides of the House!

July 17th.—Mr. Hope appeared at the bar, and was informed by the Speaker, that the House had come to a resolution that his letter to Mr. Abercrombie was a breach of their privileges; but that, if he had any thing to offer in *explanation*, they would hear him. The specific offence imputed was, that he had given irresistible provocation to Mr. Abercrombie to send him a challenge to fight a duel; if, therefore, he wished to deprecate the severity of the house, if he regretted the intemperance of his proceeding, or could truly dis-

avow having harboured the intention of provoking Mr. Abercrombie to a breach of the peace, indications of such feelings might be sought for, and would be found in his speech. 'The absence of all expressions of regret or disavowal would, of course, leave him exposed to the highest penalty which the House could inflict on one so wilfully and impenitently regardless of their privileges. Now so far was Mr. Hope from extenuating his infringement of their privileges, that, though he regretted that they stood in the way of 'the only course which he had thought it possible to take for the vindication of his own character,' he insinuated his conviction, that his judges, in their secret hearts, *approved* of the conduct which they affected to condemn, and would, under the same circumstances, have acted substantially as he had done! 'He would only respectfully put it to the feelings of the House, *whether guardedness and reserve could be expected from any British gentleman, who felt as a British gentleman and a British counsel ought to feel, when his honour and integrity were thus attacked.* He submitted that not only his feelings as a gentleman, but his rights and privileges as a counsel, had been attacked, and *he was not much afraid of being condemned by those whom he had now the honour to address, when he ventured to say that, placed in a similar situation, their expressions would have been much the same.* Had similar imputations been cast upon them, they would have felt ashamed of not replying to them with similar warmth. With these observations he submitted his case to that Honourable House, begging to express most sincerely his regret *that the publication of his remarks, on the report of a member's speech, should have placed him in a situation which brought him into contact with their privileges; but he was anxious not to be understood as wishing to shrink from any of the personal consequences with which the House might think necessary to follow up the resolution by which they had declared that their privileges had been violated.*' (*Loud and continued cheers from the ministerial benches!!*)

Mr. W. Courtenay considered this explanation so satisfactory (the duel having been prevented) that he proposed a resolution, 'That Mr. Speaker do communicate the resolution which has just been read, (namely, that John Hope, Esq., having acknowledged himself the author of the said letter, is guilty of a breach of the privileges of this House,) to Mr. John Hope, and do further inform him that, under the circumstances of the case, and in consequence of the explanation which has been given by him at the bar, this House does not feel itself called upon to proceed in the matter any further.'

Mr. Brougham said: 'The ground for the proposed resolution was, that Mr. Hope, having given an explanation of his motives, there was no reason for any severity of censure, and that nothing more ought to be done; but the truth was, as the Hon. Member

for Exeter (Mr. Courtenay) must feel and know, that, after a vote of a breach of privilege, there was but one expression that could avail the individual at the bar, and induce the House to proceed no further—viz. an expression of contrition. Explanation, if any, ought to have preceded the vote that the letter was a breach of privilege; for, afterwards, matter of mitigation only could be heard. He appealed to those, who best knew the practice of the House, whether a single instance was to be found, when a person, found guilty of a breach of privilege, had been allowed to escape, even without censure, on the ground that he had explained.' 'Mr. Hope had left the House in utter ignorance whether he did not mean to excite the Hon. Member for Calne to fight a duel. If untrue, it would have been very easy for Mr. Hope to deny the charge, though he (Mr. Brougham) was not one, he would venture to say, of a hundred now in the House, who expected him to deny it. Had the gentleman at the bar offered a single expression of contrition? It was not pretended that he had; and, if he did not condescend to tell the House his motive, he left it in a situation, with respect to its privileges, its rights of discussion, and its security to Members, with respect to its dignity, character, and honour, which even the Hon. Member for Westminster, (Sir F. Burdett,) little as he valued the House, much as he disliked its constitution, and severely as he judged its conduct, must consider truly pitiable. Never since privilege had been talked of—never since privilege had been outraged—never since a man had been called to the bar, and the House had been called upon to defend its rights, would it have been reduced to so low, so miserable, so contemptible, so pitiable, so despicable a predicament. He denied the possibility of a majority supporting the resolution of the Hon. Member for Exeter, for he felt satisfied that the House would not, for the sake of preserving the character of Mr. Hope, utterly abandon and sacrifice its own.'

Lord Binning said: 'The Hon. Member (Mr. Brougham) had said, that he had looked in vain for any word of explanation; but he (Lord Binning) appealed to the whole House, whether it had ever heard a more firm—he would repeat it—a more firm, or a more respectful explanation. He should not have held his learned relation so highly, if it had not been firm.' 'Mr. Hope possessed as pure, as unimpeachable, as unsullied a character, as any Hon. Gentleman present; and he possessed a degree of ability, for which the House, which had heard him, would give him credit. The charge of the Hon. Member for Calne was perfectly regular and proper, had it been founded in fact; but there was not a word of truth in it, from the beginning to the end. Would not the House, then, consisting of *spirited high-minded English gentlemen*, make allowances for the distressing situation in which Mr. Hope was placed?'

Mr. Abercrombie said: 'If any person had stated to me that I

had been guilty of an error, a misconception, or of a mis-statement, that I had been led to assert that which was mistaken, in a manner in which I could, with propriety, have attended to it, I should have been the first person to bow my head to correction. I trust I may assert here, where I am known, that there is nothing in my feelings, understanding, or character, which would have prevented me from admitting my error, and from doing as justice, good faith, and truth required. I hope the House will do me the justice to believe that, in whatever I have done, I have been anxious, as far as depended upon myself, to reconcile the obligations I owed to the House, as one of its members, with the obligations I owed to my own character and honour.' The applause with which this declaration was received, showed that there was no real discrepancy between the notions which the House, collectively and individually, entertained as to those sentiments and actions which add respectability and lustre to honour.

Mr. Tierney said: 'If they suffered a proceeding of this nature to pass uncensored, there would be an end to all public inquiry; there would be no possibility of entering into an investigation of public abuses.' 'If the House merely read the Resolution that had been proposed, and which mentioned no sufficient cause for dropping further proceedings, it would be a complete triumph to Mr. Hope,—such a triumph as he ought not to be suffered to enjoy.' 'Mr. Hope was not amenable to their jurisdiction; and yet he had been dragged to their bar, from his house in Edinburgh, at some expense and inconvenience, to answer for a letter, which, however inexcusable as indicating most criminal intentions, if met by the same reckless spirit on the part of Mr. Abercrombie, ought only to have been injurious to the fame and feelings of Mr. Hope himself, while they permitted the acts, to which two of their own members were instigated by that letter, to pass, not only without censure, but with applause. If, after that, the House had sent Mr. Hope to Newgate, or even reprimanded him, what sort of "triumph" would they have enjoyed?'

Mr. W. Wynn said: 'If this were allowed, what must be the consequence? Why, the Members of that House would be compelled to descend to the same arena before the public, with those who pleased to attack them.' O horrible! that Hon. Gentlemen should be compelled to descend into the same arena of public discussion, where they could only hope to enjoy 'a clear stage and no favour,'—that is, should be 'compelled' to choose whether they will refute criticisms directly by their pens, or indirectly by their conduct, besides being exposed to the stings of irrefutable criticisms. Can we wonder that the House should resound with shouts of indignation at the mention of such pretensions to freedom of debate 'out of doors,'—such severe methods of scanning the merits of individual Members of Parliament?

Mr. W. Wynn continued : ‘ Had he animadverted on the statement contained in the newspapers, not assuming that statement to be correct, *it would have been no breach of privilege.* But he assumed the statement to be correct ; and then he imputed motives to the Hon. Gentleman who brought the question forward, and censured him for those alleged motives. This was a breach of one of the most valuable privileges of the Members of the House of Commons ; for what they uttered within those walls they were not accountable in any other place, nor to any other authority but that of the House itself.’ Is *that* the law ? Then how easy would it be to comment on all the debates and proceedings of the House, by assuming every statement to be incorrectly reported ! But probably such fictitious assumptions would not have prevented individual Members from understanding invitations to be accountable in another place for what they had uttered in the House.

Lord A. Hamilton said : ‘ The vote now proposed did not meet the case of his Hon. Friend, and, what was most important, it was NOT CALCULATED TO PREVENT ABUSES OF A SIMILAR DESCRIPTION IN FUTURE.’

The Speaker then addressed Mr. Hope in the words of Mr. Courtenay’s Resolution, amended by the insertion of ‘ an expression of regret,’ which had been used by Mr. Hope in quite a different sense from that implied in the Resolution. Mr. Menzies, having declared that he had understood Mr. Abercrombie to admit that the statement of his speech in the newspapers was not correct, and that, if he had understood it otherwise, he would not have applied the term ‘ false’ to the statement of the Hon. Gentleman,—was discharged.

THE VOICE OF NATURE.

THERE is in all things to be found
 A warning voice of sacred truth,
 Directing its instructive sound
 To feeble age and florid youth :
 To those whom life’s hybernal storm
 Hath beaten with its tempests bleak,
 Reduced the once-majestic form,
 And blanch’d the once-vermillion cheek,—
 The stars—that still their courses hold,
 And still emit as radiant light,
 As when at first their lamps of gold
 Disclos’d the desert of the night,—
 Present Experience’ fairest page,
 And daily show, by many a sign,
 That Virtue to remotest age
 Should with primeval lustre shine.

And when the jealous king of day
 O'erwhelms them in his bright abyss,
 Their yielding splendour seems to say,
 'Unseen there is a world of bliss,
 'Where virtue, oft imperfect here,
 'And oft in private walks conceal'd,
 'Shall faultless fill a wider sphere,
 'Before assembled worlds reveal'd.'

But chiefly to the young, the gay,
 Who fondly build their hopes too high,
 And think to pass through life's short day
 Beneath a clear, unclouded sky;
 Creation, with a mother's care,
 The circle of her symbols shows,
 For fate's appointments to prepare,
 And save from self-inflicted woes.

For life's as the joyous sun,
 E'er noon by gathering clouds oppos'd;
 In peace and promise oft begun,
 In cruel disappointment clos'd:
 And men are like the summer flower,
 The morning cloud, the early dew,
 The ephemeron that lives an hour,
 As futile and as fleeting too.

For youth is like the forest leaves;
 Few live to wear the tints of age,
 And most the quiet earth receives,
 When equinoctial tempests rage:
 And friends are like the birds of spring,
 When winter comes, which take their flight;
 And joy like swallows on the wing,
 Which hover long, but ne'er alight.

And hope is like the fickle shade;
 At morn it spreads, at noon it shrinks,
 And re-expanding o'er the glade,
 As Day beyond the ocean sinks,
 Outstretched at utmost length it lies;
 We strive—but, ah! the vain endeavour!
 To seize the phantom—when it flies:
 And light and hope are gone for ever.

Thus, though the warning voice proceed
 From earth's variety of change,
 The soul's immortal hopes to feed
 Is far beyond its amplest range;
 And only to the changeless sky
 Has Nature this distinction given,
 To spread before the good man's eye
 A picture of the peace of Heaven.

MEMOIR ON THE TIN OF THE ISLAND OF BANKA.

By the late Sir Stamford Raffles.

THE following Memoir having been originally communicated to the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, by its President, Davies Gilbert, Esq., who now holds the honourable office of President of the Royal Society, we have received the permission of this distinguished Friend of Science to give it a place in the pages of 'The Oriental Herald.'

Extract from a Communication from Mr. Gilbert, to the Geological Society of Cornwall.

'The late Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles having had the goodness to give me much important information respecting the Banka Tin, at a time when the protecting duties were under consideration by the Government, previously to their being submitted to Parliament, I beg leave to submit the following Memoir, in full confidence that the Geological Society will be anxious to preserve a document highly interesting to Cornwall, from its intrinsic matter; and to the whole scientific world, on account of its lamented author, by whose premature death the nation has been deprived of one most eminent among the highly enlightened, active, and intelligent officers, who have enriched their country by importing into it the natural productions of remote and comparatively uncivilized regions; and who, at the same time, have amply repaid them, by exhibiting to millions of people the glorious examples of equal laws, impartial justice, and disinterested integrity in the administration of their respective governments:—examples more powerful than arms, in extending the influence and the authority of Great Britain over nations thus practically made sensible to the blessings of Liberty, before a term expressive of freedom had been engrafted on the idiom of their native tongues.

' DAVIES GILBERT.

MEMOIR.

'Tin would appear to have been first discovered in Banka about a century ago, from which period the mines were worked, and the metal sold under the exclusive monopoly of the Sultan of Palembang, to whom the island belonged, until the year 1811, when it was ceded to the British Government. The Dutch, however, had a commercial contract with the Sultan, by which he delivered to them the principal part of the tin produced, at six and eight dollars the pecul.

'In the most prosperous times of the mines, the delivery is said to have amounted to 60,000 peculs annually; but the pro-

duce in later years cannot be taken at higher than 30,000 peculs, or half that quantity. A pecul weighs 133½ lbs. Avoirdupois, which, in round numbers, makes the highest produce about 3,500 tons, and that of later years 1,750, or nearly half what I have understood the average produce of Cornwall to have been.

‘ The highest annual produce during the period the island was in our possession, was 25,000 peculs, and I have no reason to believe it has since exceeded that amount.

‘ The mines are almost exclusively worked by Chinese, under the authority of the Government, who deliver the metal in slabs, at a fixed rate per pecul. This was, on our first establishment, at the rate of six dollars, and afterwards at eight; but I should consider ten dollars the pecul, of 133 lbs., as a fair remuneration for their labour; and, if the tin were paid for at this rate, I think a regular supply of from 20,000 to 50,000 peculs might always be calculated upon. The price for which we sold the tin at Batavia, seldom exceeded fifteen dollars the pecul, but of late years the price in China has exceeded twenty dollars the pecul, and this last rate may, I think, be taken at present as the fair average selling price in the Archipelago. It is not unusual to calculate the freight of the tin from the Malay Islands to China at one dollar the pecul, and, in considering at what cost it could be transported to Europe, I think sufficient allowance will be made by considering the pecul of 133½ lbs., in the Malay Islands, as equal to a cwt. of 112 lbs. in Europe. Dollars being worth about 4s. each, or five to the pound sterling, will make the cwt. 4*l.*, or 80*s.*; and, at this rate, it may generally be brought into the European market as a remittance.

‘ The ore is always found in alluvial deposits, and is of that description usually called in England *stream tin*, and is seldom followed below thirty or forty feet deep: the beds are frequently found within three and four feet from the surface, and the process of mining, and preparing the metal, is extremely simple. The mines might, perhaps, be more correctly called pits, varying in size, but seldom, in the first instance, exceeding in length 100 feet. A stream of water, when practicable, is brought to the vicinity, into which, as into a kind of trough, the ore, with the sand, &c. with which it is associated, is thrown, and stirred about so as to cleanse the ore: this effected, it is carried to the smelting house, where the operation is equally simple: in short, the whole process consists of digging, washing, and smelting, and each of these is performed in the simplest possible manner. A wooden wheel, of a peculiar construction, is used for carrying off the water from the pits; and this machine, with the Chinese bellows at the smelting-house, may be considered as the only auxiliary apparatus necessary.

‘ The washed ore is said to yield, on smelting, from fifty to seventy parts of pure metal in 100 of ore, and when it is found to

afford less than thirty parts, it is not considered worth smelting at all. The smelters find abundance of fuel from the adjacent forests, and are in consequence abundantly supplied with charcoal.

' A large portion of Banka yet remains unexamined ; and there seems no reason to apprehend any deficiency in the ore for centuries, if the quantity of metal abstracted does not exceed 30,000 peculs in the year ; but, to a certain extent, we must of course calculate on their gradual exhaustion, and I should presume that we do not go too far in supposing that it is *now* as difficult to procure the ore for 30,000 peculs, as it was, fifty years ago, to procure a sufficient quantity for 60,000 peculs, the former annual produce ; the price was then estimated at six dollars, or 24*s.*, and it cannot now be estimated at less than double that amount, or say ten dollars the pecul.

' It is to be considered that the sole object of the island of Banka to the Dutch is the monopoly of its produce of tin, and that the whole of their establishment employed is, either directly or indirectly, for the security of this monopoly. Under the present system, if the expenses of this establishment are superadded to the price paid to the miners, it will raise the actual cost of the metal 50 per cent., or say to fifteen dollars the pecul, so that the difference between this *last* and the general selling price, say twenty dollars, is *all* the profit to the proprietors of the concern : thus 30,000 peculs, giving a clear profit of five dollars per pecul, affords a clear gain to the Dutch of 30,000*l.* only.

' Our plan, had we retained the island, would have been very different ; and, as far as our experience went, we were enabled to estimate a profit of about 50,000*l.* per annum, as clear surplus.

' The above information is very general, but I take the liberty of sending you, at the same time, a more particular account of the mines, as published by Major Court, who was President of Banka for several years, under my administration, together with a mineralogical map of the island, by Dr. Horsfield : to these I can at any time add any further details that you may desire, on your furnishing me with queries on the particular points on which you wish for more definite information. Samples of the tin, and every other particular, can be furnished on your application.

' Besides the produce of Banka, tin from numerous other parts of the Malayan peninsula and islands, enters largely into the market, and to an extent not much short of the quantity furnished from Banka. A considerable quantity also comes from Siam ; and I think we cannot estimate the gross amount, including that from Banka, at less than 50,000 peculs per annum ; and this quantity is likely to increase with the increase of our general trade. On the Malay peninsula, and the islands in its immediate vicinity, the ore

is procured principally by Malays, who are by no means such industrious and cheap miners as the Chinese; but, as the Malay states become more settled, and capital is introduced, it is most probable that the Chinese will supersede the Malays, even in these parts; and, if European, or rather English, spirit and capital have fair play, I think it is not too much to say that the produce might soon be doubled, and improved processes make up for any additional labour in excavating more deeply, or extending the mines more in the interior.

'Tin is found in more or less abundance, and in alluvial deposits, from about eight degrees north, to five south latitude; and what we have yet found on the peninsula and islands, including Banka, would appear to have been originally washed down from the great central mountains of the continent, which terminate the eastern peninsula, &c. The higher mountains of Banka are granite, and the lower ranges red iron-stone; and these appear to be the last of the great range. The constitution of Java, which lies to the southward of this island, is altogether different, and almost entirely volcanic, possessing no metals whatever.

'The principal demand for Banka and Malay tin is in China, where I should not suppose it to be less than 20,000 peculs in the year. Bengal takes off from 6,000 to 10,000 peculs, and the remainder goes to America and Europe. The quality is, in China, considered superior to the British tin, and it sells accordingly for about one dollar the pecul more.

'In estimating the demand in China at 20,000 peculs, I think I am much within the mark: it may, perhaps, be considered equal to two thirds of the usual produce; and now that an extensive *junk* or native trade is carried on between Singapore and the northern parts of China, it will no doubt increase. Japan also has a considerable demand, which is only very imperfectly supplied by the Dutch.

'Some allowance must be made in these calculations for the value of the Spanish dollar: if scarce, and worth 5s., the selling price of tin may be estimated at sixteen dollars; if 4s. only, as at present, then say twenty dollars the pecul.'

MY HOME.*

'Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
 Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home;
 A charm from the skies seems to hallow us there,
 Which, seek through the world, is ne'er met with elsewhere!

Opera of 'Clari.'

AGAIN, again, my heart awake!
 And I will touch thy trembling strings,
 And a sweet subject we will take,
 One that a thousand feelings brings:—
 The haven of my wanderings,
 The beacon o'er the ocean's foam,
 The spot where each affection clings,
 The place of happiest love—my home!

In those few words of bliss and love,
 'My own dear home!' there is a spell
 In which the deepest feelings move,
 In which the best affections dwell;
 Not Paradise, ere man first fell,
 Had more of bliss and less of gloom.
 Oh! my best lays were faint, to tell
 The happiness, the joy of home!

There may I wake at will my harp,
 And to my untaught song give birth,
 Unheeding how the critics carp,
 Careless what strains I may draw forth.
 They please the loved ones of my hearth;
 Warm from the heart their plaudits come;
 And 'tis the sweetest praise on earth,
 Received from those who share my home!

Each flower, each leaf, is dear to me;
 There is a soft, though hidden link,
 That binds me to each well-known tree—
 A something sweet, on which to think.

* From 'Ada; and other Poems,' by Mary Ann Browne.
Oriental Herald, Vol. 17.

I wander by the river's brink,—
 I see its bubbles rise and foam,
 Sparkle awhile, then quickly sink,
 And think, how diff'rent is my home !

I would not change my quiet life,
 Though others may more gay appear ;
 I would not mingle in the strife,
 For rainbow pleasures, never near.
 The fickle smile, the hollow tear,
 To my retreat can never come ;
 All, all is tranquil and sincere
 In the blest precincts of my home !

There are fond looks, and precious hearts,
 To light and bless my humble cot ;
 My pleasures do not come by starts,
 They shine through all my happy lot.
 My home ! my home ! I leave thee not,
 Unless some angel spirit come,
 And to his heaven prefer this spot—
 Then for the world I'll quit my home !

Yet though, perchance, I may awhile
 Leave my dear home, my pleasant bower ;
 When I return, full many a smile
 Shall pay me for the parting hour.
 Though, like the bee, from flower to flower,
 A little time I chance to roam,
 Like him I will return, to shower
 Sweets on the sweet I leave at home !

My precious home ! from thy bright hearth,
 Oh ! may I never once be driven !
 Still may the forms most loved on earth
 Circle around that spot at even !
 And if from me they should be riven,
 Not long will last my lonely doom ;
 Then may I find, with them, in heaven,
 A glorious and eternal home !

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TO EGYPT.

CHAPTER XII.

Departure from Jeddah—Arrival at Kosseir—Description of that Town—Wandering Arabs—Preparations made by the Army for crossing the Desert.

WE quitted Jeddah on the 26th of May; and, after a tedious passage, the winds being constantly contrary, our squadron cast anchor at Kosseir on the 15th of June, without having met with any accident of consequence. The winds in the Red Sea blow for six months from the north, and six months from the south. We had crossed it in the bad season; the time we ought to have chosen being during the months of November, December, January, February, March, or April. Admiral Popham had crossed it during one of these months with extraordinary quickness, having accomplished the passage from Calcutta to Suez in less than twenty-two days.

We anchored in a creek, which forms the port of Kosseir. On the day preceding our arrival, we had met with a vessel, by which the news of the victory of Alexandria was confirmed, and from which we also learnt the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby. The General had fallen a victim to the wounds he had received on that memorable day.

I shall never forget the intense feeling of sadness with which the first sight of this desolate coast overpowered me;—what barrenness, what solitude, what a melancholy absence of every kind of verdure, with the exception of a few miserable-looking date-trees.

We disembarked, on the 16th of June, and encamped with the remainder of the army, which had already arrived at the distance of half a league from the town, in the desert.

Kosseir is nothing more than a miserable assemblage of huts, constructed with mud and stones; it is, nevertheless, a port in which a considerable commerce is carried on. It serves, in fact, as a point of communication between Arabia and Egypt, for the exchange of corn, and other productions of the latter country, for the coffees of Mocha, and the manufactures of India. The town of Keneh, on the Nile, situated at some days' distance, is the general mart for all this commerce. All the necessaries of life are brought from here for the consumption of the inhabitants of Kosseir.

The water at Kosseir is extremely bad, and so very bitter, that the ebullition even does not destroy it. At the time of our landing, the sources from which it was procured had been recently disco-

vered by the French, about four leagues from the town. The honour of this discovery was due to the soldiers of the twenty-first half brigade, under the command of General Belliard. All the water required for consumption had formerly been brought from the coasts of Arabia. The place is well defended by a fort, constructed by Generals Belliard and Douzelot, and which is so admirably concealed that it is not visible until you are within its fire. The troops which were landed here in 1800, from the English frigate the *For*, were so ill treated as to be compelled immediately to re-embark.

The deserts of Egypt are inhabited, or, to speak more accurately, are successively traversed, by wandering Arabs, known by the name of Bedouins, and divided into numerous tribes. These Arabs are robbers by profession, who are, nevertheless, scrupulously honourable in defending, at the expense of life, those who have solicited their protection, or who have, by chance, been thrown into their company, and partaken of their hospitality. They levy a tribute on all the caravans which pass through their territory; woe to those who refuse to pay it. These Arabs are rich in cattle, horses, and camels. Their only dress is a linen robe, with large sleeves, which descends to the heels, and over that a tunic, either of black or white woollen. They sometimes throw a shawl over their shoulders, and wear a turban on their heads, the back of which is ornamented with a small crimson tassel. They are always mounted, either on horses or dromedaries, the velocity of which is quite remarkable; and are always armed, either with guns, pistols, or sabres, and sometimes even with spears. These tribes establish themselves proprietors of all the wells, around which they generally encamp, which renders it impossible for the caravans to escape from their exactions.

The most numerous of these fierce and warlike tribes is that of the Ababdehs, which differs from all the others in costume, as well as in colour. The Ababdehs have, in fact, no other covering than a simple piece of cloth, which is bound round their loins, and descends to the middle of the thigh. Their skin, instead of being copper colour, is black, and their hair naturally curly, without being at all woolly. The idiom of which they make use is also peculiar to their tribe. We were very little annoyed either by this tribe or that which occupies the boundary between Suez and Kosseir, and which is at mortal enmity with the Ababdehs, owing, no doubt, to our numbers; and, during the whole time of our stay in the desert, they never attempted any thing more than the pillage of a few stragglers. The tribe of the Ababdehs arrogates to itself the exclusive right of protecting the caravans which travel to Mecca and Medina, which is the real cause of the jealousy felt towards them by their neighbours.

Several of our detachments had been at Kosseir for six weeks,

and were employed in making the necessary preparations for crossing the desert. The troops were not yet united, and we were still awaiting the arrival of the divisions which had followed us. Those who were encamped, availed themselves of this delay to repair the leather bottles, which were in a very bad condition; we plastered them over with a composition which had been invented by an officer belonging to one of the transports, and by that means again put them in a condition to hold the water with security.

These same detachments hazarded an excursion into the desert, for the purpose of discovering sources, and digging for wells, on the route we were to pursue, and to endeavour to open a communication with the Nile. The Bombay sepoy were employed in this service, in which they acquitted themselves with the greatest credit, and showed a degree of zeal and intelligence worthy of the highest commendation. Lieutenant Warder, of the Bombay Artillery Corps, and Colonel Murray, of the eighty-fourth regiment, and Quarter-master General of the Army, proceeded to Keneh before us, in order to prepare for our arrival, and to have supplies of provisions and water conveyed to the different stations in the desert.

These preparations being concluded, and the army being at length collected together, General Baird divided the troops into detachments of from fifteen to sixteen hundred men, and gave the order for our departure.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Army commences its march across the Desert—Particulars relative to the march—Cisterns sixteen miles from Kosseir—Wells at Moilah—Sources three leagues from Moilah—Wells of La Gylah—Arrival at Bin Aubar and at Keneh on the Nile—Description of Keneh.

THE army divided into four brigades, the first commanded by Colonel (afterwards Marshal) Beresford, of the eighty-eighth regiment; the second by Colonel Ramsay, of the eighteenth; the third by Colonel Barrow, of the sixty-first; and the fourth by Colonel Harness, commenced its march towards Keneh, on the 18th of June. Colonel Beresford, with the eighty-eighth and a detachment of Bengal sepoy, opened the march. The tenth, followed by two companies of sepoy, did not move until the afternoon of the 21st, and, after a tedious march, reached the sources which are situated at the distance of sixteen miles from the sea. We met with nothing but sands and rocks during our march; not a single trace of vegetation presented itself to our view, throughout the whole extent of the country we were traversing. It was not until we reached our station that we found a few isolated branches of a plant, the leaves of which are round and aromatic, and have very much the appearance of gray velvet. The water, although not absolutely good, is,

nevertheless, very much better here than at Kosseir. We established ourselves in the valley, and halted to take breath under a very steep rock, at the foot of which were situated the sources.

A part of our rear had lost their way, and being obliged to force their march in order to regain our traces, they had, during the extreme heat of the day, to endure the torments of the most intense thirst; they at length, however, joined us, but not until they were completely exhausted with fatigue. One of the soldiers, from a *coup de soleil*, died in my tent; we buried him at the foot of the rock. We here made a very melancholy discovery; one of our officers having determined on climbing the back of this rock, was not a little surprised to find there, the dead bodies of five or six soldiers of the English Marines, perfectly dried by the sun. They, no doubt, belonged to the crew of the *Fox* frigate, who landed at Kosseir, and who were so cordially received by the French.

General Baird, from whom we received a visit, informed us that Colonel Beresford was in want of water and provisions. We lost no time in sending him all we could spare, and forwarded them to Mochah, at the distance of forty-two miles from our camp. We were, however, ourselves but very poorly provided; the sources afforded but very little water, and the heat so excessive, that each man received only two bottles and a half of water per day. But our comrades were suffering from absolute want, and we did not stop to enquire if our generosity might not be fatal to ourselves.

I had recourse to an expedient, by means of which I succeeded in beguiling, if not, in entirely quenching, my thirst. I constantly held a small pebble in my mouth; this kept it fresh and moist, and rendered the march much less tedious. All my companions soon followed this example. We had then only to struggle against the sand, which, at every step, gave way under our feet, and dreadfully affected our sight, from the strong reflection of the light.* We had besides, a resource, in tea, of which we made frequent use.

It has been remarked that its spirit corrects the bad qualities of water, and that its tonic properties, support the general system against the deleterious effects of heat; it restored our strength, refreshed us after our fatigues, and is, in fact, the best beverage that can be used in a journey through the desert. At our first halt, we were careful to collect all the water, afforded by the springs near us, and provided ourselves with a sufficient quantity for two days. On the 26th, at six in the evening, we re-commenced our march.

* During the whole of my march through the desert, I wore a green gauze veil, which I believe to have been of great service to me, never having suffered from any disease of the eyes during my stay in Egypt, whilst my companions, with very few exceptions, were all attacked by ophthalmia.

We had not been many hours in motion, when we met Lieutenant Warden, escorted by two Bedouins. He informed us that Colonel Murray had fortunately reached Keneh, and that he was there zealously employed in preparing succours for the army. We also learnt from him, that we were near Moilah, that the eighty-eighth regiment had quitted that post, and proceeded on their route; that the water there was excellent; and lastly, that the country, on the banks of the Nile, was magnificent, and abounded in every kind of fruit. This cheering news inspired us with fresh vigour, and we continued our route with redoubled ardour.

We soon reached an open plain, in which we encamped. To the west we discovered high mountains, which formed a delightful object for the eye to repose on, after the monotony of the desert. No one, in fact, who has not been placed in a similar situation, can picture the sensations excited by the appearance of a mountain in the desert; it seems to promise a termination to every evil; and, from the moment the eye first meets it, all fatigue appears to vanish, every pain seems to be lessened. Owing to the extreme heat, our leather bottles had peeled, split, and a portion of the water they contained, had consequently escaped; fortunately, however, we had a reserve, which served for the moment to quench the dreadful thirst by which we were oppressed.

At five in the evening we were again in motion. The desert became unequal and mountainous; we crossed ravines, and very shortly, the appearance of clumps of trees, and a little verdure, announced our vicinity to Moilah. We filed off quietly and in good order, when suddenly, the donkeys on which we were mounted, began to bray, and afterwards to run. We resisted with all our efforts, beat them violently, but, spite of all our efforts, they undauntedly continued their course, and did not stop until we reached some cisterns, which these animals had scented before we could even suspect the cause of so much noise and speed.

It was in a narrow pass, that these reservoirs, full of limpid and excellent water, were situated. The effect produced by this sight, on men almost expiring with heat and thirst, may be better imagined than described. The sources being some feet below the surface of the sand, our pioneers hastened to open basins. I myself dug one, which I surrounded with stones, and over which the water filtered, and by this means purified itself.

I also discovered a niche in the rock, in which I established myself; and, delightfully reposing on the skin of a tiger, I had only to extend my arm, to obtain water from this delightful fountain. My retreat also afforded the additional advantage of a delicious freshness in the midst of the scorching heat of the desert.

After a halt of some days, the artillery not having joined us, the brigade recommenced its route. We passed new ravines, climbed steep rocks, always getting deeper into these solitudes; but heat,

thirst, and the fatigues of the march, would very soon have exhausted the strength and courage of the greatest number of our soldiers. We found it necessary to go in search of springs, and to send the weakest on camels to Gytah, to regain their exhausted strength. The journey was tedious; nevertheless, they supported it, with the exception of one man, who fell a victim to a *coup de soleil*. As for ourselves, sometimes walking, sometimes halting, as our strength and the temperature permitted, we at length regained the plain, overcome with heat, and delivered up to all the illusions of that singular phenomenon, called the *mirage*, which is only felt in the open sea, or in the sands of the desert. One of the most distinguished *savans*, the illustrious Monge, has given, in a scientific point of view, a most satisfactory solution of this curious optical problem. This is not a place in which to introduce these learned explanations, but I may, perhaps, be excused for devoting a few words to the phenomenon itself.

The desert, forming an almost perfectly level surface, which, like that of the sea, confounds itself at the horizon with the sky, its uniformity is interrupted only by eminences, which appear like dark spots on an extremely light soil, but which are of very rare occurrence. In the morning and evening, the appearance of the ground is perfectly natural, and between you and the eminences above mentioned, nothing presents itself to your view but earth; but, as soon as the surface of the sand becomes sufficiently heated by the action of the sun, and until towards evening it begins to cool, such a dilation and contraction is alternately effected, by the different states of the atmosphere, that the angles under which you embrace objects, undergo a complete change. From that moment, the surrounding ground no longer appears to be of the same extent; it seems to be terminated at about the distance of a league from you, by a general inundation. Those eminences, which are situated beyond that distance, then have the appearance of islands in the midst of a large lake, and from which you are separated by an extent of water, more or less considerable. In each of these culminating points you see your image reversed, in precisely the same manner as it would be in the surface of a reflecting fluid, only that as this image is at a greater distance, the minute details escape your observation, and large masses only are distinctly visible. The appearance of these reversed images is even a little changeable and uncertain, and such as it would be in the case of a real sheet of reflecting water, the surface of which is under the influence of a slight agitation. As you approach the eminence, which appears to be situated in the midst of this inundation, the water seems gradually to retire; the arm of sea, by which it was at first apparently separated from you, at last disappears entirely, and the phenomenon, which ceases for the time, again produces the same effect after you have passed this point.

Every thing, therefore, concurs to complete an illusion, which in any other spot would have the greatest charms, but which, in the desert, is perfectly desolating, since it constantly offers the delusive image of a fluid, so ardently wished for, but never to be obtained. Our soldiers were often enraged at this whimsical trick of nature, and certainly the torments of thirst which they endured, might be a sufficient excuse for their strange humours. The heat was constantly becoming more intolerable, and our slender provision of water hourly diminishing, when, one afternoon, having retired to my tent, overcome with fatigue and sleep, I suddenly heard my name loudly called on; I immediately rose, and saw approaching towards me one of our sepoy, mounted on a dromedary, and just arrived from Gytah. This man was the bearer of a basket directed to me. He presented it to me, and on opening it, judge of my surprise and delight, when I found it full of the most delicious and superb bunches of grapes, sent by one of my friends. I called my companions around me, showed them the precious basket, which a few moments sufficed to empty. Happily we were drawing near to Gytah, where abundance reigned; this delightful prospect gave us fresh ardour, and we lost not a moment in endeavouring to reach this station. It consists of two small isolated buildings, surrounded by wells constructed after the European method, and filled with the most delicious water. We found there a camp of Bedouin Arabs, placed at some distance from that of our troops, which were commanded by Captain O'Mahony, a brave man, full of activity and intelligence; who, during the whole time of our journey across the desert, had rendered the greatest services to the army, by the zeal with which he had employed himself, in sending supplies of water and provisions, wherever they were required. This worthy officer had formerly served in France, in the Irish brigade.

The Bedouins furnished us with horses, camels, and asses. For the first, we paid from eighteen to thirty piastres; for the second, from twenty-eight to thirty; the asses did not cost us more than six.*

We halted the whole of the 6th of July; and on the 7th, at four in the afternoon, the artillery having joined us, we continued our route towards Byr-Aubar, where we arrived at break of day, after a march of twelve hours.

This last portion of our journey was dreadfully fatiguing, but we were drawing near its termination; and, after having traversed the whole extent of the desert, we at last found ourselves in the plain.

* The race of asses is magnificent in Egypt. These animals possess astonishing strength, and are of a large size. Their pace is most agreeable, being almost always a gentle gallop. Their skin is sleek like that of a horse. But, when transported from its natural soil, this vigorous race very soon degenerates.

What a change ! It was no longer that vast and interminable tract of sand, destitute of every trace of vegetation ; we were surrounded by villages, hamlets, verdant trees ; in a word, it was a picture of rich and variegated cultivation.

To men just escaped from a desert, Byr-Aubar is a delightful spot. We eagerly took possession of its gardens, and hastened to avail ourselves of the delicious shade they afforded. The dates, the grapes, the water of the Nile, the fresh verdure of the sycamores,—every thing was new to us, and had a voluptuous effect on our senses. We no longer remembered the privations we had undergone. The inhabitants received us with great kindness. We observed the manner in which they thrashed their corn, milked their she-asses, and cut the straw with which they fed their horses ; and, in fact, watched all their labours with the greatest curiosity, which seemed, however, by no means disagreeable to them.

I particularly noticed a kind of car, which, with them, supplies the place of the flail used in Europe. This car was mounted on about twenty small iron wheels, and drawn by oxen. The sheaves of corn, placed in a circle, were thrashed by this machine ; and a very short time sufficed to separate the grain from the husk, by means of this operation.

After a halt of some hours, we continued our march in the midst of a swarm of flies, which tormented us in the most cruel manner, and followed us as far as Kench. This town is the ancient Coptos ; its extent is considerable, and its environs a succession of delightful gardens, in which the vine, and other fruit trees of the finest description, are cultivated in great abundance.

As we passed along the walls of Kench, the whole population ran, with the greatest curiosity, to meet us. At the moment in which we filed off, the women set up a kind of cooing, which is with them a demonstration of pleasure, the modulations of which are certainly, however, not regulated by harmony. We left them and their whimsical acclamations, and rejoined those of our detachments which had preceded, and were encamped at a quarter of a league from thence.

We afterwards retraced our steps, in order to examine the town, which is built of brick, and the remains of ancient edifices, which time, and the outrages of man, have united to lay waste. Like all the other villages of Egypt, this is surrounded by walls, with gates. The houses are built in terraces, and are only one story in height. Kench is a commercial town ; it constantly exchanges its grains and oils for the productions of India and Arabia. Here there are also manufactories of earthenware, which is much sought after throughout the whole of Egypt, for the peculiar quality which it possesses of preserving the freshness and purity of water. With these earthen vases themselves, attached together with cords, and

covered over with planks, they form rafts, on which they descend the Nile as far as Rosetta, where they find a certain market for them. A great commerce is also carried on at Kench, in butter and charcoal.

The gardens here are charming and delightfully fresh. The vines are trained, and afford a delicious shade. Water, distributed with as much elegance as economy, runs through these gardens in every direction, by means of small channels. These channels are supplied by wheels on the banks of the Nile, or over wells, and which are moved by horses or oxen. It cost us very little to enjoy all the luxuries of this delightful spot. The expense of living did not amount to more than sixpence per day; and, for this trifling sum, we might obtain more fruit than we could possibly make use of. The country is, in fact, covered with lemon-trees, orange-trees, date-trees, and sycamores. Water-melons are also to be had in abundance, as well as the prickly pear, the fruit of which is very agreeable to the palate, if it were not covered with almost imperceptible thorns, which wound at every touch. The sugar-cane is also very common here. These productions serve to refresh the pilgrims and merchants, who come from Cairo to exchange the cloths of Europe, the grains of Egypt, the carpets and vases of the Levant, for the coffees of Mocha, the shawls and muslins of India, &c.

The inhabitants of Kench are of a deeper colour than those of Lower Egypt, but are very similar to them in countenance. Their position, and commercial relation with the whole country, have given them habits of great industry. The women here, as in all other Mohammedan countries, never appear unveiled. They blacken their eye-lashes with a peculiar preparation, and dye their nails of a dark red, with a juice extracted from berries.

During our stay at Kench, we were continually annoyed by whirlwinds of sand, which succeeded each other with great rapidity. Woe to the tent that intercepted its course; it was instantaneously torn up and overthrown. Nothing could resist the force and violence of these whirlwinds, driven by an impetuous wind. This phenomenon explains the removal of small mountains of sand in the desert. When the wind ceases, the clouds of sands fall, and form a small mountain.

General Baird had caused a fort, for the defence of the place, to be built to the south of Kench. We found the inhabitants busily occupied in demolishing it, and disputing with each other the possession of the materials, which they destined to domestic purposes. It is thus that the carelessness of the Mussulmans everywhere leads them to destroy public edifices. They have neither regard for the recollections of the past, or the illusions of the future; the present only has for them any charms. Wherever Islamism has reigned, the arts have had to lament the monuments which once covered

their soil. The people interrupted their work of destruction, in order to bring us provisions ; and we were not a little astonished at the moderate price they demanded for them. A sheep only cost one piastre, six hundred eggs the same sum ; and we also obtained for this price, three dozen of chickens, and one dozen of geese.

The beasts of burden did not sell at a much higher rate. For a horse, we gave from twenty to thirty piastres ; for an ass, four ; and for a camel, from twenty-five to thirty. The wages of our Arab servants did not amount to more than half a piastre per month, their maintenance being at their own expense. Two paras would procure sufficient bread for the consumption of a whole day. The number of pigeons here is really incredible ; they cover the whole country, and overstock the markets. The breadth of the Nile at Keneb, at this season of the year (July), is equal to that of the Seine, at Paris ; but, at the time of the flooding, it swells and overflows the whole of the flat country ; the towns and villages, therefore, are all built on eminences, which places them beyond the reach of this inundation.

A great deal is said of the numerous crocodiles which infest the waters of the Nile. There are some, no doubt, but a much smaller number than is generally pretended ; the proof of this is, that our soldiers were continually in the water, and yet we did not lose a single man ; and I myself vainly watched for these animals, without ever seeing one, either by night or day.

The General being arrived, the Kachef, or Governor of the town, paid him a visit at the camp. He hoisted the standard of Mohammed, which was received with a salute of twenty-one guns ; it was then planted before his feet, in order to rally the Mamelukes, who were to follow us with him to Cairo.

The General sent on a detachment of two hundred men towards the Cataracts, to procure the boats requisite for our descending the Nil.

We were still, however, without any news from Alexandria. We knew the strength of the French army ; we were convinced that if it concentrated all its force, and pursued the same course that had been adopted at Aboukir, the British Indian expedition was entirely lost. This gave our officers great anxiety. Their fears, however, were groundless ; the plans of the French General were of such a nature, as to dissipate all our fears. Abercromby could not have done more for the interest of Great Britain. Hutchinson frequently repeated his belief, particularly at the house of the Austrian Consul, that Menou was the sole cause of the loss of Egypt to the French.

- General Belliard commanded at Cairo. Menaced at the same time both by the English and the Turks, he marched to meet the latter. The Vizier was by no means inclined to come to an en-

gement; he knew, from experience, what the valour of the French could effect; and did not therefore attempt to compete with them, but made a hasty retreat. An English division from Alexandria, however, was advancing on one side, whilst we arrived on the other. The garrison was no longer tenable, and General Belliard was compelled to enter into a treaty. He consented to evacuate the place, and thus save that portion of the eastern army which had been placed under his command.

The campaign was decided; our presence in Egypt, therefore, was no longer necessary; still, as our orders enjoined us to proceed to Cairo, we again resumed our march.

Not having a sufficient number of boats for the conveyance of the whole army, the Tenth received orders to pursue their route along the shores of the Nile, as far as Girgeh, there to await the arrival of boats from Syout.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Army leaves Keneh, a portion of it embarks on the Nile, the remainder continues its march to Girgeh—I view of Farshout and its environs—Arrival at Girgeh—Description of that town—The detachment embarks for Cairo—Arrival at the Island of Roudah, near Cairo.

• That portion of the army which had received orders to march to Girgeh, crossed the Nile on the evening of the 24th, and encamped on the shore, to the left of Denderah, the ancient Tentyris, under the walls of the famous temple, dedicated to Isis. This temple is still in very good condition, but very much hidden underneath the sand which ages have accumulated around it. Its architecture is perfectly Egyptian. It is not the fault of the Arabs, that this edifice still continues to exist, for they have not been wanting in efforts to destroy it. They have mutilated the columns, the capitals of which represented the head of Isis, fractured almost all the statues, and committed several other outrages, which have not, however, deprived these *chefs d'œuvre* of the merit of great antiquity, and the still greater one, of showing the state of the arts at so remote a period.

We found, above this temple, the ruins of an Arab village. • We also saw, under its arches, the famous planisphere, discovered by Denon. The name of this learned traveller was engraved on the pediment of the temple; I inscribed my own beneath it, not doubting at the moment, that I should, at some future period, become acquainted with this man, and that feelings of attachment and esteem would give an additional interest to this recollection.

On the following day we re-commenced our route. The country we passed through, was beautiful, rich, and cultivated; it was covered with innumerable flocks, harvest and sugar-cane fields, and

numerous villages, surrounded with vineyards and gardens. We fancied we were journeying through a terrestrial paradise ; but the melancholy state of Egypt, subjected to foreign dominion, and peopled by ungovernable tribes, torn by all the horrors of a civil war, excited in my mind the most painful reflections.

We continued to descend the river, always welcomed and entertained by the inhabitants of the two shores. Curiosity impelled every one, not even excepting the women, who are generally reserved, to quit their abodes and pursue us, enveloped in their long blue tunics, and covered with their black veils.

We had with us a detachment of Mamelukes, under the command of the Kachef of Kench, whose foresight, not wholly disinterested, provided us with every thing we could possibly want, taking care, however, at the same time, not to forget himself.

During our night marches, we were apprised of the proximity of villages, by the barking and roaring of wild dogs, which take shelter in the holes they dig for themselves without the walls, and where, far from being disturbed, they are fed and encouraged by the inhabitants.

On our arrival at Farshout, the Sheik el-belad, or chief of the village, came out to meet us, surrounded by a numerous retinue. Generally speaking, we met with the same ceremonious and complimentary reception, at all the towns or villages through which we passed ; the Sheiks were those to whom we addressed ourselves for every thing we stood in need of, and, in almost every instance, we were highly indebted for their kindness and civility.

Our camp presented a curious scene, being filled with shops of every description. The Arabs who had established them, in their anxiety to make themselves understood, mixed French and English words with their own idiom ; these words were generally oaths, of the meaning of which they were, no doubt, perfectly ignorant. But it mattered not ; purchases were made, by which they gained considerably, and we had the good nature to think that we had concluded excellent bargains ; every thing was really remarkably cheap. We were much surprised at the facility with which these men had learned French ; some Coptes, especially, spoke it with an excellent accent.

We encamped without the town, and received a visit from father Antonio, an Italian by birth, but who had resided in Egypt for sixteen years. He was at the head of the convent of the place, and had a congregation of nearly a hundred Roman Catholics, of both sexes. This good father invited us to dine with him, and pressed us so much, that we at last consented. He received us at the head of his flock, showed us the chapel, related to us his anxieties and troubles during the six months of war, and did the honours of the frugal repast of which we partook. We were anxious that our

host should come to the camp, but, although we gave him the most pressing invitations, we could not prevail on him to accede to our wishes. He told us that he was fearful of exciting the jealousy of the Arabs against himself and his congregation, and this apprehension gave us an idea of the continual state of alarm and misery in which he lived. Desiring, at least, to do something which might be agreeable to father Antonio, we sent him, before our departure, some ~~tea~~ some bougies, and several other things, the privation from which he had so much regretted. Another acquaintance which I made here was that of a German doctor, who had resided in Egypt some years. He had attached himself to the service of a Sheikh, after having been, as he assured me, physician to Mourâd Bey. This man spoke French very badly, and, as far as I could judge, he did not express himself much better in his native tongue. I had, at first, hoped to have gathered from him some interesting particulars relating to the country in which he had taken up his abode, but I found him so exceedingly ignorant, that any attempt to obtain information from him was perfectly useless. He did not, however, fail to make me acquainted with the high opinion he entertained of his talents in the healing art, (Heaven knows where he had buried them!) Among other wonderful cures which he pretended to have effected, he told me that he had several times had the plague, but that, thanks to the efficacy of his remedies, he had always recovered from it. I enquired why he had not cured Mourâd Bey; he replied, that he should certainly have succeeded in doing so, had not the mental state of that chief, from the agitation caused by the idea of the unhappy condition of his country, placed an insurmountable barrier in his way. The exterior of this poor wretch by no means indicated that he had made a fortune by his profession, nor that he had applied to his own person the resources of his art, for his toilette was scarcely in a better condition than his health. He called himself an Austrian, but dressed himself according to the Turkish fashion, and on seeing him take his way to the mosque, I no longer doubted that he was a renegade. The science of this Esculapius must indeed have been very mediocre, for him not to have succeeded better in a country in which his profession is, in general, so lucrative. The very name of a physician, *el hakim*, inspires the Orientals with a degree of respect, which always turns to the advantage of those who bear it. The impenetrable assurance with which these learned personages deliver their opinions and their drugs, makes them easily pass for supernatural beings, gifted with the mysterious faculty of discovering and curing every kind of disease. I do not know how those European adventurers who, at the time of our stay in Egypt, came to seek their fortune in this country, under the venerable name of *el hakim*, contrived to agree with the native physicians, but they gave us a very poor idea of their knowledge. Italians and Germans, for the most part, they concealed their ignorance of their art under the jargon of their profession;

and we should have considered ourselves most unfortunate, had necessity compelled us to have recourse to their advice. I do not include many worthy physicians whom we found established at Alexandria and at Cairo; I am only speaking of those we met with in Upper Egypt, or attached to the service of the Beys. These chiefs of the Mamelukes themselves did not appear to entertain a very high opinion of their skill, for whenever an occasion offered for consulting our surgeons, they availed themselves of it with the greatest avidity. Selim Bey, for instance, who at the battle of the Pyramids had received a shot in his shoulder, from which he had not up to that time been cured, profited, during our stay at Gyzeh, to place himself under the care of the Surgeon-Major of the garrison, whose skilful treatment speedily effected a complete cure; but it cost the Bey a formal transgression of the laws of the prophet, who, as it is well known, has forbidden the use of wine. This tonic having been prescribed to the patient, Selim did not oppose many difficulties to its use; and, as it was to me, in quality of a friend, that he applied to obtain this *medicine*, I soon found that my stock of Madeira became very considerably diminished. I saw no other means of putting a stop to the progress of this evil, than to entreat the Surgeon-Major to persuade the Bey that as his cure was completed, it was now necessary that he should abstain from wine, if he did not desire to see his wound open afresh. This scheme partially succeeded; but it did not prevent Selim from returning from time to time to the charge, and entreating me to send him a *draught*, feeling, as he said, that his strength required it; and, unhappily, he did not find himself perfectly convalescent, until all my bottles had disappeared.

The surrounding country of Farshout is distinguished by its luxuriant vegetation, the most beautiful we had seen since our arrival in Egypt. It would be difficult to give a just idea of the richness and beauty of the environs of this town. Excellent roads, which are kept in the highest order, cut through the vast fields of corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, and *okera* (a kind of vegetable, extremely good, and wholesome), which were at that time covered with the freshest verdure. Clumps of date and orange-trees decorated this charming landscape with their thick foliage; numerous flocks were grazing in the plain; a crowd of people were occupied in their different labours; and the purest and most exquisite sky crowned this smiling scene, to which every thing contributed to give an interest and a charm, which I shall never cease to remember with delight. Here one would certainly never imagine, that the desert, the parched and barren desert, was so little distant from this favoured spot. The surrounding villages are numerous, and are easily distinguished by the thick tufts of trees which encircle them, and the artificial eminences on which they are always situated, to secure them from inundation. Thus elevated above the rest of the

country, they overlook the rich harvest with which it is covered; and, judging from the general air of tranquillity and happiness, their inhabitants are sensible of the abundance which reigns around them. One only circumstance seems to throw a shade over the picture; which is, the unfortunate necessity which compels the *fellahs*, or peasants, every evening to gather their flocks together, and shut themselves up in the interior of their villages, to secure themselves from the nocturnal attacks of the Bedouins, who are always ready to commit depredations whenever the opportunity presents itself. This perpetual state of alarm in which the *fellahs* live, is the melancholy result of the total absence of any protecting authority; the gifts of the earth are thus constantly wrested from the hands of those who cultivate them, and the daring thief gathers the fruits of that which is sown by the industrious peasant.

Many of the Arabs of Farshout expressed a great desire to enter into our service, and we took with us a great number, in quality of grooms. The number of boats which we expected to find at Girgeh not admitting of our embarking our horses and camels, we confided them to these people, to be conducted to Cairo by land; and not one of them deceived us: all arrived at their destination with the animals under their charge. It is true, that they made the journey under the escort of a squadron of sepoy; but, in so long a march, they would have found very little difficulty in making their escape, and their fidelity does them great honour. These Arabs, in general, appear to be very much attached to the service of their masters; and, for my own part, I had never a single complaint to make against those who served me.

The Kacheef of Keneh quitted us at Farshout, and returned to his Government, but left us his Mamelukes and one of his officers, to conduct us as far as Girgeh, and furnish us on the route with every thing we might require. This was done by order of the Grand Vizier.

We passed through the province of Bardis, which belongs to Osman Bey, who had adopted the name of *Bardisy*. The country, like that we had just quitted, was rich and beautiful.

On the 29th, we arrived at Girgeh, the capital of Upper Egypt, situated on the left bank of the Nile, ninety leagues south from Cairo, and twenty-five from Keneh. We encamped in the neighbourhood of the town, on the banks of the river.

The left bank of the river is cultivated; the right, on the contrary, is perfectly wild, and bounded by a chain of mountains, which extends as far as Mokattam, and the fortress of Cairo.

Girgeh is a very commercial town. It contains an extensive bazaar, as well as several mosques, the minarets of which are discernible at a great distance. The streets are narrow and dirty, like those of all the towns of Egypt. The principal article of mer-

chandise here is morocco, and articles of sadlery. This town is washed by the waters of the Nile, on the shores of which there are here seen a great number of pelicans, and, it is said, of crocodiles also. These latter rarely descend lower.

At Girgeh, we found the *djermes*, which had been brought from Lower Egypt, for the conveyance of our troops, and in which we embarked on the 2d of August. These *djermes* are very large boats, which contain, in the stern, a spacious and commodious cabin. They have one, or sometimes two, masts, on which, when they ascend the river, they hoist enormous sails. These, however, afford no assistance in descending it.

We thus reached Abouteje, where the tomb of Mourâd Bey is seen, who displayed so much courage and firmness in the long resistance he made to the French. This valiant Emir had at last entered into a treaty with conquerors, and was proceeding to join them, when he was taken off by the plague. The fortitude with which he had supported his misfortunes, had acquired for him the esteem even of those against whom he fought; and the Mamelukes had conceived so high an opinion of his valour, that they broke the arms he had borne over his tomb, thus acknowledging that no one was worthy to inherit them.

We next passed through Syout, Manfalout, and Minieh, and arrived at Beny Souef. Here we visited the fort which had been built by the French; but the inhabitants had already begun to demolish it, and were disputing with each other the possession of the materials. Without the town, we also saw a great many ancient columns, some of which were still standing isolated, and others employed in different buildings. A few leagues further on, we perceived the large pyramid of El Lahoun, as Bruce calls it, and afterwards passed those of Dashour, Saccarah, and, lastly, Gyzeh.

At break of day on the following morning, we arrived in sight of the citadel of Cairo. The landscape which opened before us, presented a picture of exquisite beauty. On the one side, pyramids, smiling villages, forests of date trees, fields carpeted with verdure, in which innumerable flocks were grazing; on the other, the Mokattam and citadel of Cairo; and before us, the Nile, in all its majesty, covered with vessels, the ports of Old Cairo, the *Mekids*, and Gyzeh, and Boulac, with their minarets. The ensemble of this scene was truly enchanting, and worthy the pencil of the greatest artist.

We descended the channel, passing close by the houses of Old Cairo, the windows of which were filled with Turks and Mamelukes, who continued to smoke their pipes, whilst attentively watching all our movements. We moored in the little island of Roudah, opposite Fort Ibrahim: it was already occupied by the troops sent from England, whom we joined, and then sent a detachment to Gyzeh, and other stations on the left bank of the river.

We at first encamped under the shade of a long and magnificent avenue of trees, of the kind called *Pharaoh's fig-tree*. These trees were very tall, and covered with a thick foliage; but their fruit, although ripe, appeared to us very insipid. It was not without the most lively sensations of pleasure, that we thus took possession of the rich gardens of Mourâd Bey. We had not yet forgotten the fatigues of the desert, and the remembrance of those scorching and barren wastes, gave an additional charm to the lovely spot, of which we were now enjoying the delight.

From our tents, which faced the south point of the island, we could perceive the *Mehids*, or Nilometer, which is used for measuring the height of the Nile. It is a column, which rises from the centre of a square basin, and on which are marked the different degrees of height which it attains.

The island of Roudah communicated with Gyzeh, by means of a bridge of boats, which had been thrown across the river by the French. It was defended on one side, by a *tele-de-pont*, and on the other, by the house of Ibrahim, which had been entrenched and made into a fort. It was in this fort that the remains of the brave Kleber reposed, who fell under the blow of a fanatic assassin. The death of this hero had given Egypt to us; never, but for this melancholy event, should we have obtained possession of it.*

We were not a little surprised, on entering Gyzeh, to see this place armed with pieces, from one of the ships which had left England with us in 1798. They were those which had belonged to the *Cormorant*, an eighteen-gun ship, which had run aground near Rosetta, at the entrance of the Nile, and of which the French had taken possession.

THE LAND OF LOVE.†

‘Oh, Love! no habitant of earth thou art.’—BYRON.

AND dost thou ask where Love is found
 Unchangeable and pure,
 And free from Passion's rankling wound,
 From human ills secure?—
 If there's a land where Love's sweet lot
 For ever smiles and changeth not?

* When the French troops descended from Upper Egypt, some grenadiers of the 21st Regiment of Light Infantry passed near the country-house of Ibrahim Bey, where the remains of General Kleber reposed, cried, with an accent of the most intense grief and regret, ‘*Voilà celui, qu'il nous faudroit.*’

† From ‘*Ada, and other Poems,*’ by Mary Ann Browne.

Oh ! do not ask ; but look and see
 If thou can'st find a place,
 Where Love lives on in purity,
 Without a darkening trace
 Of selfish feeling on its name,
 Of sorrow's mists, to dim its flame.

Turn, turn thee to the southern lands :
 Say, hast thou found it there ?
 Boast they Love's smiling rosy bands,
 Without a thorn of care ?
 No !—Passion's steps have o'er them been,
 To mar the beauty of the scene.

As flow the lava's burning waves—
 As bursts the earthquake's shock,—
 So come the passions o'er their slaves,
 E'en like their own siroc,
 Blasting each flower its breath goes o'er,
 Breathing destruction to the core.

And search through the luxurious East,—
 Hast thou yet found the gem ?
 Smiles it amidst yon costly feast ?
 Decks it that diadem ?
 No !—here the tyrant man looks down
 On woman, who should share his throne.

Gaze on the regions of the north ;
 And, in that chilly clime,
 Mark if the seraph shineth forth
 Untinged by woe or crime,—
 Ah ! here, too, sorrow often flings
 Her gloomy fetters o'er his wings.

Not even in our own sweet isles
 Can we the spirit claim ;
 Sometimes o'er us he gently smiles,
 With pure and holy flame :
 'Tis but the glory of his eye,
 That looks on us in passing by.

Pure Love is not of mortal birth,
 Nor oft to mortals given ;
 Sometimes it waves its wings o'er earth,
 But oh ! its home is heaven !
 There—human cares and crimes above—
 There is the land of deathless Love !

STATE OF THE TURKISH PRESS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

WE have no doubt that the title of this paper will startle many of our readers, who perhaps never dreamt that there could be such a thing as a press at Constantinople, among the indolent Turks—the inveterate enemies to every species of improvement, especially when originating among the Giaours. Nevertheless, we can assure them, that there is a press at Constantinople, which was established in the 1139th year of the Hedjira, (1726—1727,) and has now actually sent forth, for the instruction of the reading Moslems, no less than sixty-eight works, in the space of nearly a century.

The last of these works is on anatomy and medicine, the first of the kind ever yet published in the Turkish dominions in the Turkish language. ‘This species of revolution in the opinions of Musulmans,’ says M. Bianchi, * (to whom we are indebted for the information contained in this article,) ‘must particularly surprise Orientalists, and persons who, by a long residence in the East, have become acquainted with the aversion this people entertain even for the most useful things, if they are not in the spirit of the Koran, and come from infidels. Their passive and blind obedience towards their Ulemahs, whose political interest ever tended to fetter and paralyse the spirit of the nation,—their prejudices and religious scruples against any representation of the human body,—their religion, which forbids them the touching of blood as a source of impurity,—the law, which opposes the opening of corpses under every circumstance;—in short, the idea of predestination, which changes insensibility and improvidence into religious virtues, had hitherto formed insurmountable barriers to the progress of anatomy and surgery.’

But emulation, that main-spring of human action, and without which man would never have emerged from his first state of barbarism, has at last manifested its power over the indolent Turks; at least upon one of them,† who, feeling ashamed of the inferiority of his countrymen in matters of this kind, compiled this work on anatomy, chiefly from French authors, and obtained the Sultan’s sanction for its publication through the imperial press.

It forms one stout folio volume, of about 300 pages. But the most remarkable circumstance attending the publication of this book

* Notice sur le premier ouvrage d’Anatomie et de Médecine, imprimé en Turc à Constantinople, en 1820, intitulé ‘Miroir des Corps dans l’Anatomie de l’Homme, &c. Par T. H. Bianchi. Paris, 1824.’

† Châni-Zadeh Mehemed-Ata-Oullah, an Ulemah, and son of a Hekim-bashi, or chief physician of the empire, who had been sent by his father to study in Italy.

is, that, in spite of Turkish prejudice, it is accompanied by fifty-six copper-plate engravings, in which, although badly executed, the whole man, in all his anatomical parts, is faithfully represented.

Whether this sudden infraction upon ancient prejudice and habit may prove the harbinger of civilisation among the Turks, we will not venture to predict; but, situated as they are, with respect to their revolted *rayas* (Christian subjects) on one hand, ~~and the~~ Russians and Persians on the other, we may hazard the opinion, that either they must very speedily become zealous proselytes of European civilisation, or, within a few years, they will be blotted out from the map of nations.

As our notice is not intended for a medical publication, we abstain from giving any extracts from the body of the work; but its first preface is such a choice *morceau*, that we cannot resist the temptation of giving our readers a faithful translation of it, such as has been furnished by M. Bianchi:

‘Medicine and anatomy are elementary sciences, and the object of study in general. These sciences are those of the *learned*, of *corporations* and religions. Not only have they been acknowledged by sages and people of sound judgment, to be nothing but the seeking after truth, but, even in the most ancient times, they have been considered as precious and honourable sciences. The advantages resulting from them are not merely confined to the human species; but, by the testimony of the learned, their influence likewise embraces the whole of the worshippers of God, and all created beings. But it is especially modern medicine, the benefits of which are incontestible, and anatomy, founded on attention and exactness, which, by the true assertion of physicians, have arrived to such a degree of perfection, that all which (now-a-days) concerns the treatment of internal diseases, the dressing of wounds and ulcers, and the healing of infirmities, is, by an incomparable and admirable arrangement (of the rules of the art,) safe against every doubt, and exempt from danger for those who are called to the practice of these sciences.

‘It is under these considerations, that *Khamscichani-Zadeh* has laid at the foot of the supreme throne, the three following books, bound up in one volume.

‘The Judge, by excellency, he who is the regulator of the laws of the state, the Plato of the empire and the Califate, the sovereign to whom destiny hath revealed science and wisdom, the Sultan of Sultans, endowed with the virtue of Solomon, the monarch whose glory calls to mind the time of *Khosroes*, the king of kings, clothed with the power of the age of *Jemshid*, the Sultan, or Sultan’s son, the valiant Sultan, Mahnud-Khan, son of the glorious Sultan, Abdul-Hamid-Khan, (May the sun of his power never cease to enlighten the course of his victories and his glorious enterprises!)

his Majesty, our lord, in short, having deigned, for several days, to examine and weigh, with exactness and discernment, all the truths contained in the above-mentioned book, found that, independent of the great utility it might yield to the Ottoman Empire, (whose duration is eternal,) and the Musulmans, it had not yet been preceded by any kind of work, the advantage of which could be compared to it; and that, as such, it was worthy of being numbered among the precious and innumerable productions which have distinguished his fortunate reign. His Majesty, moved by all these motives of general good, considered it from that moment, of the greatest importance, that the work should be printed and published under his supreme protection. This determination tended to prove the precept: *Kings are inspired.*

'The figures necessary for the work having been put in order and corrected by the author, he issued a *hatti-humayoun* (*hatti-scherif*;) marked with the signs of wisdom and happiness, by order of which, the work was to be printed at the imperial library. From that moment, the ancient and well-beloved servant of the Sultan, he who was nourished in purity and sincerity, under the shadow of the protecting phoenix of his Highness, one of the keepers of the archives, and head of the direction of the imperial printing-office, *Essëid Abdul Rahim*, after having pronounced the *Bismillah*,* set immediately to work. But what was purely the result of the miraculous power of his Majesty was, that, without being under the necessity of having recourse to foreign means, we succeeded, with the assistance of God, and by uniting the numerous artists which this metropolis of Constantinople contains, in having the requisite drawings engraved upon fifty-six copper plates. On the other hand, the daily corrections of the author caused the printing of the work to be soon accomplished. At last, (thanks be to God, who knows every thing,) this book was entirely finished, and given over to the binder, in the month of *Redjeb*, 1235, (April, May, 1820.) This justice is due to it, that, for the useful things which it contains, no other productions which have distinguished the reign of his Majesty can be compared to it. It is, without doubt, that which has procured to his slave, (the author,) under the shadow of his power, the numerous rewards with which he has deigned to honour him.

'May God, whose power is infinite, be, to the day of judgment, the support of our lord and master, the Emperor, and may He, for the good of Musulmans, perpetuate his power, and prolong his precious days! Such are the vows which I form, in honour of the prince of prophets.'

* The Turks never begin a work of any importance without saying or writing: '*Bismillah errahman errahim.*'—'In the name of the all-merciful God.'

We cannot better conclude our article, than by adding a list of the sixty-eight works that have been published in the Turkish language, which, we hope, will be of advantage to the Oriental scholar.

1. *Tohfet-Ulkibar ji Asfar-ul-Bahar*.—History of the Maritime Wars of the Ottomans, by Hadji Khalfa; 1 vol. 4to., published 1141 of the Hedjira (1728.)

2. *Vancouli's Arabic and Turkish Dictionary*; 2 vols. fol., 1141 (1728.)

3. *Tarikhi Sciah*.—Journal of the Traveller, or History of the War of the Afghans, translated from the Latin work of the Missionary, Kruinski; 1 vol. sm. 4to., 1142 (1729.)

4. *Tarikhi Hindi Garbi*.—History of the West Indies, and the Discovery of the New World, (plates,) supposed to be translated from the French; 1 vol. sm. 4to., 1142 (1729.)

5. *Tarikhi Timur Carguian*.—History of Timur, the Georgian, translated from the Arabic of Ibn Arabelbah, by Nazim Zadeh; 1 vol. sm. 4to., 1142 (1729.)

6. *Tarikhi Misri Cadim ve Djedid*.—History of Ancient and Modern Egypt, by Soheli Effendi; 2 vols. sm. 4to., 1142 (1729.)

7. *Gulcheni Khulefa*.—History of the Kalifs, translated from the Arabic, by Nazim Zadeh Effendi; 1 vol. sm. fol., 1143 (1730.)

8. *Turkish French Grammar*, by Holdermann; 1 vol. sm. 4to., 1143 (1730.)*

9. *Nizamul Umem*.—Rule of Conduct in the Government of Nations, by Ibrahim Effendi; sm. 4to., 1141 (1731.)

10. *Finzati Mikuatisie*.—Of the Power and Use of the Mariner's Compass, compiled from Latin books, by Ibrahim Effendi; sm. 4to. (plates), 1144 (1731.)

11. *Kitabi Djihannuma*.—Mirror of the World; a geographical work, with 39 maps and charts, by Kiatibtshalebi, or Hadji Khalfa; 1 vol. fol., 1115 (1732.)

12. *Takvimet-Tararikh*.—Chronological Tables, by the same author; 1 vol. fol., 1116 (1733.)

13. *Tarikhi Naima*.—Naima's Annals of the Ottoman Empire, from 1001 (1592) to 1070 (1659); 2 vols. fol., 1147 (1734.)

14. *Tarikhi Rashid*.—Rashid's Annals of the Ottoman Empire, from 1171 (1660) to 1134 (1721); 2 vols. fol., 1147 (1734.)

15. *Tarikhi Tshalebi Zadeh*.—Tshalebi Zadeh's Annals of the Ottoman Empire; a continuation of the former till 1141 (1728); 1 vol. fol., 1153 (1740.) These three authors were imperial historians.

16. *Guzerat Bosnia*.—Account of the Campaign in Bosnia against the Austrians, from 1736 to 1739, by Oman Effendi; 1 vol. sm. 4to., 1154 (1741.)

* This work is only mentioned here, as having been printed by the Imperial press of Constantinople.

17. *Firengui Churi*.—Persian and Turkish Dictionary, much esteemed, (author unknown); 2 vols. fol., 1155 (1742.)

18. *Logate Vancouli*.—Second edition of Vancouli's Dictionary; 2 vols. fol., 1169 (1755-56.) At this period printing was interrupted for forty-three years; not, as was asserted at the period, in consequence of the rebellion of the copyists, but of the death of the director, Ibrahim, of his successor and disciple, Cazi Ibrahim, and the events of the war, which threw the establishment into oblivion. It was, however, revived by the Sultan Abdul-hamid; and the first work published, we find, is a continuation of the *Annals of the Empire*, from 1141 (1728) to 1159 (1743), by three authors, under the title:

19. *Tarikhi Sami ve Chagur ve Subhi*.—In one folio volume, printed in 1199 (1781.)

20. *Tarikhi Izzi*.—A continuation of the former, by Izzi, till the year 1166 (1751); 1 vol. fol. 1199 (1781.)

21. *Irabil Kiafi*.—Commentary on the celebrated Grammatical Treatise, *Kiafi*, of Ibnul Hadjib, by Zeni Zadeh; 1 vol. 4to., 1200 (1785.)

22. A Translation of Vauban on Mines; plates, 1 vol. fol., 1202 (1787.)

23. A Treatise on the same subject.

24. A Translation of Laffitte's Art of War; 1 vol. fol., 1202 (1787.)

25. A ditto of Truquet's Treatise on Practical Manœuvre, 1 vol. 8vo., same year.

26, 27. Two other Translations from French Military works, of the same period.

28. *Lchedjet Ellogat*.—An Arabic, Persian, and Turkish Dictionary, by Mohammed Essad Effendi; 1 vol. fol., 1210 (1795.)

29. *Sou-risalesi*.—A Treatise on Hydraulics, in the vicinity of Constantinople, by the Dervish Halid; 1212 (1797.)

30. *Subhai Soubian*, (Children's Rosary).—Arabic and Turkish Vocabulary; 1 vol. 8vo., 1212 (1797.)

31. *Tohfei Vebhi*.—Persian and Turkish Vocabulary; 8vo., 1213 (1798.)

32. Table of the New Regulation for the Ottoman Empire, by Mahmud Effendi; printed by Abdurrahman Effendi, new Director of the Printing Establishment, and Professor of Geometry and Algebra; fol., 1213 (1799.)

34. *Cherhi Tohfei Vebhi*.—Commentary on the Work of Vebhi, by Ahmed Haiti Effendi; 1215 (1800.)

35. *Telkhis ul ech Rial*.—A Treatise on Mining, by Hussein Rifki Tamani; 8vo., 1215 (1800.)

36. *Ebrisalci Filhindese*.—Treatise on Practical Geometry; 4to., (plates,) 1217 (1802.)

37. Tables of Logarithms; 8vo., (no date.)

38. Calculation concerning the Projection of Bombs, reduced into a tabular form; 8vo., (no date.)

39. A Translation of Bonnycastle's Principles of Geometry ; (no date.)
40. A ditto of his Elements of Practical Geometry ; (no date.)
41. *Im'ihan Elmuhendesin*.—Examination of Geometrists, by Hussein Rifki ; 4to., 1217 (1802.)
42. *Izharul Esrar*, (Manifestation of the Secrets.)—A Grammatical work, by Beregli.
43. *Mirat Izhar*.—Commentaries on Beregli's Grammar, by Zeni Zadeh ; 1218 (1803.)
44. Custom-house Tariff, by Anthony Fontone, in the Russian service ; 1217 (1802.)
45. A Diatribe of the Engineer, Mustapha, on the present state of the Sciences at Constantinople ; 1218 (1803.)
46. A Geographical Atlas, of twenty-four Maps, with Explanations, translated from the English ; 1 vol. large fol., 1219 (1804.)
47. *Risalei Bergueri*.—An Abridgment of the Precepts of the Mohammedan Religion ; sm. 4to., 1218 (1803.)
48. *Churoot Essalat*, (Conditions of Prayer.)—An Elementary Book on Religion ; 8vo., 1219 (1804.)
49. *Djerherei Mohammedie*.—A Commentary on Religion, by Beregli, (much esteemed) ; 1219 (1804.)
50. *Tarikhi Vasif*.—Vasif's Annals of the Empire, from 1166 (1752) to 1187 (1773) ; 1219 (1804.)
51. *Feraid ul Feraid*.—A work on Religion, by Ahmed Moham-med Emin ; 4to., 1220 (1805.)
52. *Chehri Avamil Djedid el Bergueri*.—A work on Grammar and Logic, by Mustapha, son of Ibrahim ; 1220 (1805.)
53. A work on the same subject, and with the same title, by Hussein ben Ahmed Zeni Zadeh ; 1220 (1805.)
54. *Elburhan*.—On Arabic Logic, by Ismael Effendi ; 1221 (1806.)
55. *Eldoorrer Elmuntekhabet*.—A very useful work on Philology, by the Dervish Hafid ; 4to., 1221 (1806.)
56. *Cerhi Izihar ul Israr*.—A second edition of Zeni Zadeh's Commentaries on Beregli's Grammar ; 1224 (1809.)
57. *Cerhul Feraid Diale*.—Grammatical Commentaries, by Ibnî Malek ; (no date.)
58. *Kitab el Harem*.—A Commentary on the preceding work ; 1226 (1811.)
59. *Sarf Djumlesi*.—A complete Course of Grammar ; 1233 (1818.)
60. *Kitabi Menasik Elhadj*.—Book of Ceremonies for the Pilgrims who resort to Mecca, by Elhadji Mohammed Edib ben Mohammed, a Dervish ; 1232 (1818.)
61. *Cerhul Akaid'ul Azedire*.—Commentaries on the Dogmas of the Azedites, by the celebrated Sheikh Djelal Eddine Eddevani ; 1233 (1818.)
62. *Eloothanios Elbasit fiter-djemet el Kamooş*.—A translation of

the Arabic Dictionary, known to Oriental scholars by the title of 'Kamous' (the sea), by Abul Kemal Esseid Ahmed Assim, translator of the 'Burhani Kathi,' (No. 33.) This dictionary, the largest in existence, consisting of three immense folio volumes, was published in 1233 (1818.)

63. Three Treatises on the Arabic Grammar; author unknown; 1234 (1819.)

64. Glossary of Diḥānī's Commentary on the Dogmas, by Molla Calenbevi; 4to., 1233 (1818.)

65. Appendix, or Supplement to the Glossary, entitled *Teshib*, by Mir Abul Feth Essaidi; 950 (1543-44), 4to., 1234 (1818-19.)

66. Appendix to the Glossary Mir Teshib, of the Commentary of Devani, containing the work of Abdul-Adhadi, by Abdul Calenbevi; 4to., 1234 (1818-19.)

67. Silenti's Appendix, or Supplement, to the Glossary of Chiali, on the Commentary of Teftasani, relative to the Dogmas of Nessefi; 4to., 1234 (1818-19.)

68. *Mirat el abd fi techrit azail insane*.—The medical work mentioned above; printed at the press of Scutari, and presented to the Sultan in 1235 (1820.)

SONNET.

Now Spring again appears, in green array,
 Prank'd in her daisy-starred robe of pride,
 Crown'd with fair lily-bells a maiden bride,
 All blooming for the arms of merry May.
 Now tuneth every throstle up his lay
 Along the hawthorns of the hedgerow-side;
 And the morn-soaring lark may be descried,
 Upcalling shepherds to the task of day.
 Why do I look upon the dancing throng
 With vacant eye, as one who seeks, nor finds
 Mirth in the laugh, nor music in the song?
 Is it that I alone, amongst the hinds,
 Do seek that sympathy which doth belong
 To pensive evening, and congenial minds?

THE PRESENT STATE OF HAYTI.*

A race of blacks, stigmatised by Europeans with the reproach of inferiority, have been elevated, by their courage, to the rank of a free people. Their flag flies in the sea of the Antilles, and their ancient metropolis itself has been compelled to acknowledge their independence. This is the race which now occupies the island of Hayti, and from which we are called upon to decide, whether it be actually true, that the Maker intended to imprint, on the front of the African, the symbols of slavery and degradation. But, does the volume before us contain the documents which are necessary to direct our judgment? Has the author been uninfluenced by hatred and prejudice? Does he hold the balance even, between the planters who are now the victims of those whom they oppressed, and the slaves who hold their former tyrants in abeyance? We think not. Mr. Franklin is not the impartial historian we could wish, for the people of Hayti, who, having scarcely entered on the career of civilisation, cannot, without manifest injustice, be compared with those of England or of France.

The historical account of St. Domingo, which occupies the first two hundred and seventy pages of Mr. Franklin's work, reaches no further back than the year 1789, the date of the first insurrectional movements of the planters of St. Domingo against the authority of France. We must, therefore, have recourse to other writings, to become acquainted with the previous condition of the colony.

The Ygneres were the first known inhabitants of Hayti. The Caraihs subsequently made a conquest of the island, and established themselves in it, by alliance with the daughters of the vanquished. They formed a numerous and quiet nation, when the Spaniards landed in their midst, massacred them without mercy, and repaired the ruined population by the importation of negro slaves from the coasts of Africa. At length some pirates, for the most part French, and known in American story by the name of *Buccaneers*, having escaped from the ravages of war, established themselves on the western side of the island: they had recourse to their mother-country for laws and for wives, while their numbers were swollen by prostitutes and convicts, whom the law would have condemned to punishment and ignominy. Under these immoral, cruel, and avaricious men, the colony was covered with slaves, and the negro trade assumed an activity proportioned to the general eagerness for wealth.

* The Present state of Hayti, with Remarks on its Agriculture, Commerce, Laws, Religion, Finances, and Population. By James Franklin. 8vo. pp. 420. Murray. London, 1828.

The first planters, established as they were, in small numbers, on a country which, according to the calculations of Mr. Franklin, is at least four hundred miles long, and one hundred and sixty broad, could easily acquire extensive estates: they divided the whole soil among themselves, in such a manner that few middling or small houses were to be seen. The concentration of their property, and the identity of their interests, placed riches in their very hands; pride ensued, followed by the distinction of ranks; and the population of St. Domingo were subdivided into *high whites*, or rich land-owners, *low whites*, composed of lawyers, trades-men, clerks, people of business, &c. *men of colour*, and *slaves*, all detesting one another, and imposing every thing which was vexatious and disagreeable on the class immediately beneath them.

Now broke out the French Revolution; the *high whites* adopted the principles of it with enthusiasm. Oppressed by the metropolis, they seized the opportunity of recovering their rights; and, being thwarted by the refusals of the mother-country, they rebelled. Independence was the object of their wishes, but only for their own enjoyment; for they excluded the *low whites* from the advantages to which they themselves aspired. The *low whites*, also, were desirous of liberty; but were, likewise, imprudent enough to separate themselves from the men of colour, who, in their turn, no less greedy of political rights, would have thought it derogatory to share them with the free blacks. And these, as selfish as the mulattoes and the whites, had no thought for some time of admitting to an equal enjoyment of the blessings of freedom, their former companions in sorrow,—the slave population, formed in 1789, and consisting of about four hundred and eighty thousand souls, a number nearly double that of the free inhabitants.

It was impossible to prevent disturbance from speedily arising in the bosom of a people, composed of elements so heterogeneous, and excited at once by pride and interest, by jealousy and malice. For a considerable time, the slaves remained tranquil spectators of the bloody scenes to which the free population were abandoned: 'So great,' says a French writer, 'is the weight with which slavery overwhelms the soul; so powerful the spell which the submission of many generations attaches to the name of master.' But, instigated by the emissaries of Spain, they also aspired to be free; they flew to arms; fire and sword spread, like a torrent, from one end of the colony to the other; and the white men first, and afterwards the men of colour, fell beneath the weapons of the blacks.

The beginning of the Haytian Revolution makes one shudder: it forms one uninterrupted series of dreadful crimes, massacres, conflagrations, and reprisals, on which it were odious to dwell. It was not till after the accession of Toussaint L'Ouverture to power, that the insurrection was organised; and it is not till we come to this period, that the work of Mr. Franklin, confused and encumbered in

its early chapters, affords any thing like order, clearness, and interest; combined, by the by, with too much partiality in favour of the whites, and some severity against the blacks.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, whose glory Mr. Franklin vainly endeavours to depreciate, put an end to the destruction and bloodshed which laid waste his country. The whites were recalled, and order was re-established; and he was governing the people in peace, and preparing them for liberty, when Napoleon accomplished the conquest of St. Domingo, the ruin of Toussaint, and the absolute triumph of the white skin. The blacks bravely withstood the European soldiers that were sent against them; and General Leclerc, not being able to effect their subjugation, entered into a treaty with them: when, to his shame, to the eternal shame of Napoleon, in violation of his sworn faith, he took possession of the person of Toussaint, and sent him to France, where he ended his days in the cells of a prison.

The arrest of Toussaint became the signal for a new war. The blacks again flew to arms; the men of colour united themselves with them; the war-like Dessalines assumed the command; and the French army was utterly cut down.

Dessalines was assassinated by his own men. Hayti was divided; the southern part resolving itself into a republic, under the authority of President Petion, while the north, adopting the monarchical form, elected Christophe for its king. Christophe, whose coercive system Mr. Franklin warmly eulogises, at the same time endeavouring to justify his odious tyranny, died by assassination, and his short-lived kingdom was united to the republic under the successor of Petion, M. Boyer, of whom our author draws no very flattering portrait:

'Jean Pierre Boyer, who succeeded the late president, Petion, and who consequently became chief of the countries of his predecessor and of Christophe united, is a native of Port au Prince, and is about forty-eight or fifty years of age. He is a mulatto, but somewhat darker than the people of that class. His father, a man of good repute, and possessed of some wealth, was a store-keeper and a tailor in that city. His mother was a negress of the Congo country in Africa, and had been a slave in the neighbourhood. He joined the cause of the Commissioners Santhonax and Polverel, with whom he retired, after the arrival of the English, to Jacmel, when he joined General Rigaud, whom he accompanied to France, after the submission of the south to the authority of Toussaint. On his voyage thither he was captured by the Americans, during the short dispute between France and the United States, and, after the adjustment of the differences between those two powers, he was released. Having resided in France some time, he, with many other persons of colour, attached himself to the expedition of Le Clerc, and accompanied that armament for the subjugation of the colony: but, on the death of that general, he joined Petion, who successively

appointed him to be his aid-de-camp, private secretary, chief of his staff, general of the arrondissement of Port au Prince, and finally named him for his successor in the presidential chair.

‘Boyer is below the middle size, and very slender; his visage is far from being pleasing, but he has a quick eye, and makes a good use of it, for it is incessantly in motion. His constitution is weak, and he is afflicted with a local disease, which compels him to be exceedingly abstemious. He is fond of parade and exterior ornaments, as is the custom of the country; but he does not display his propensities for them, except in compelling those of his staff and household to appear in all their embellishments. He is but little seen among his people, except on a Sunday, when he appears at the head of his troops, and, after reviewing them, he rides through the city, attended by a cortége of officers and guards. He is exceedingly vain of his person, and imagines that it is attractive and captivating, and that his manners are irresistible.’

In the second part of his work, Mr. Franklin gives a picture of the moral, intellectual, and political condition of the population of Hayti. In the one hundred and forty pages which he has devoted to this subject, his partiality and injustice, in relation to the citizens of the infant republic, are more particularly manifest. He paints, in the most revolting colours, the ignorance and laziness, debauchery and corruption, which, if we must believe him, prevail generally throughout St. Domingo, and declares that no amelioration has taken place among the people since their emancipation:

‘It is indisputable, that the declaration of freedom to the slave population in Hayti was the ruin of the country, and that it has not been attended with those benefits which the sanguine philanthropists of Europe anticipated. The inhabitants have neither advanced in moral improvement, nor are their civil rights more respected; their condition is not changed for the better. They are not slaves, it is true, but they are suffering under greater deprivations than can well be imagined, whilst slaves have nothing to apprehend, for they are clothed, fed, and receive every medical aid in the time of sickness. The free labourer in Hayti, from innate indolence, and from his state of ignorance, obtains barely enough for his subsistence. He cares not for clothing, and, as to aid under sickness, he cannot obtain it; thus he is left to pursue a course that sinks him to a level with the brute creation, and the reasoning faculties of the one are almost inferior to the instinct of the other, and will be so until moral instruction effect a change. Had the Haytians been prepared for freedom by moral and religious education, emancipation might have done them some good; but, even then, they would not have made much progress, unless agriculture had been legally imposed as a duty, and the Government enforced all the laws enacted for punishing negligence and disobedience. I have never yet been able to discover in Hayti, that the blacks, since

their emancipation, have improved in the extraordinary degree which they are sometimes represented to have done. It is probable, that those blacks who live in the towns may have improved a little. Their intercourse with the strangers who visit the country, and their avocations, afford them opportunities of improving, which are denied to their brethren in the interior parts. But to calculate the increase of improvement from the progress of those in the towns, is wrong. The whole mass of the people must be taken, and then, if the measure of moral improvement be ascertained, it will not be found to exceed one in fifteen. The state of ignorance prevailing among the people in the mountains and the interior parts, is almost inconceivable. It appears as if the work of civilisation had not commenced, and that the people had not taken one voluntary step towards improving themselves in any one thing. Neither is there one step taken by the Government to force some degree of attention to those duties that may eventually improve them, unless, since the conviction of their own impolitic system of governing, the Code Rural should effect that change which ought to have been accomplished before.

We are far from wishing to insinuate that, with liberty, the people of Hayti have come into possession of every virtue. We do not deny that they may have their vices; that they may be superstitious, ignorant, idle, and even corrupt. But these are faults which Mr. Franklin has exaggerated, and are, besides, the legacies of their former masters, from which they have not yet had time to purge themselves. For, though to regain his freedom nothing is required in the slave but a few acts of courage or desperation, he cannot recover the dignity of man without reason and reflection, those moral qualities, the developement of which, in a mind that has been laid prostrate by slavery, is uniformly very gradual. 'The moral state of the people,' says Mr. Franklin, 'is at the lowest possible ebb.' Why! would not their deepest corruption be the fruit of the example which they received from the whites? And where is Mr. Franklin's consistency in condemning so bitterly, towards the close of his volume, the very thing which he attempts to excuse in one of his first chapters, when he says:

'The proprietors and planters of all denominations had arrived at a very high state of affluence, their plantations were extensive, in a high state of cultivation; thus possessing a soil rich and productive, in a climate particularly favourable for cultivation, their wealth scarcely knew any limits. But, unfortunately, their manners and habits became relaxed and depraved, in proportion as they advanced in affluence and prosperity. Proud, austere, and voluptuous, they often committed acts which humanity must condemn; and, in the season of agitation and disappointment, when the contending factions at home and abroad were endeavouring to undermine them, they, perhaps, were led to the infliction of excessive

punishments, and to practise an unusual degree of severity in exacting labour from their slaves. Sensual pleasures had also, at this time, become so prevalent as to excite very general disgust.

‘The mass of society had become so depraved, that vice in every shape was gloried in, whilst virtue was scarcely known; it cannot, therefore, be a matter of much surprise, that the rude, untaught, and unlettered slave, just emerging from his savage customs, should be led by example to imbibe the vicious habits, and indulge the loose and ungovernable propensities, which characterised his master.

‘The ignorant cultivators give themselves no concern about procuring moral education for their children; and on the score of religion they seldom feel the least anxiety, for three-fourths of them are at this moment as rank idolaters as their forefathers were in Africa.

‘In the towns also, it should be understood, the people are mostly engaged in some mercantile avocations, or else they are handicraftsmen, or persons holding some civil or military appointments. They, therefore, have not only an opportunity of educating their children, being contiguous to the schools, but they have the pecuniary means for doing so. The cultivators in the country have neither; money, in particular, they never have, except just as much as the sale of their vegetables, on a Sunday, brings them, but which is generally disposed of in payment for the salt provisions, and the supply of taffia, required for their weekly consumption. They have no reserve for purposes of improvement, nor are they taught to improve; but the Government seems to consider, that to keep them in ignorance is the most secure way to insure tranquillity and repose to the country. That such is the feeling of the Government, I think, is quite evident from the one hundred and seventy-eighth article of the Code Rural, which I have given before, and which orders that children shall be sent to their fathers, “to follow their condition of life.” As long, therefore, as their parents continue in ignorance and immorality, it is clear that the children have no means of profiting by a good example. It is the prevailing sentiment of the people of colour, that the blacks should be kept in their present state of ignorance, and so long as the Government is composed of people of the former class, the latter will remain in their present abject condition. As the negro is now situated, he is in a worse state of degradation than the slave; for, although he is free, he is almost excluded from the general mass of the population; he is marked with the name of freedom, whilst he actually groans under despotism and oppression. In this state he is likely to remain until some general change be effected in Hayti which shall place him in a state of unresisted intercourse with the more enlightened portion of the people, by which he may be taught properly to estimate the value of liberty, and made to participate in those blessings which it is wont to diffuse.

‘ I do not know a circumstance that shows more clearly the backward state of knowledge and education in Hayti, than the little progress made by the representatives of the people in the Senate and in the Chamber of Communes, for there are many of them who can neither read nor write. In the senate, out of twenty-four members, I could mention four or five who, at the time I left the island, could not write their names, nay, not even their initials. It may appear strange, that the President, who has the selection of the members who occupy seats in the senate, should appoint men thus incapable and uneducated to become his council and advisers. However strange this may seem to others, it excites no surprise in my mind, because I am convinced, and it is a matter of general notoriety, that Boyer wants only mere passive instruments to obey, and not canvass or oppose any measures emanating from the Government. Out of about seventy-two members composing the Chamber of Communes, there are twenty-six equally ignorant, and their only qualification seems to be a sufficient degree of pliancy to yield a ready assent to any proposition which has been submitted by the Government for their consideration.

‘ All that Government wants of the members of either house, is to keep up the appearance of legislative deliberation, to give a colour to their own proceedings, and form a cloak to cover their plans of oppression and rapacity. The persons selected in the different Communes as representatives, are those who have been recommended by the Government; for the people have no voice, or, what is nearly the same, they dare not raise it against those whom the President has recommended to their choice. These abject representatives are mere tools in the hands of Government; and, as they are well paid, they care little or nothing for the duties of the station to which they are elevated.’

Ignorant of the benefits of education, the planters gave themselves but little uneasiness about the instruction of their slaves. The troubles which followed the revolution have hindered the progress of knowledge; but it is not true that the Government wish to keep the people in ignorance. Hayti contains some public schools, and printing houses, and possesses native writers of some reputation in more than one branch of literature. The blacks are accused of idleness; but they owe this vice to their former masters. The man who emerges from slavery, has a natural horror of labour, because task-work was the source of his most grievous sufferings, and also, because, by seeing his masters immersed in indolence, he must have imbibed the notion, that supreme happiness and felicity consisted in a state of inactivity. But we do not agree with Mr. Franklin in thinking, that the Haytian agriculturist cannot succeed without the employment of coercive means. Does it not appear, even from the calculations of our author himself, that the produce of the island has already increased, by one third, between the

years 1821 and 1823? Theft, and corruption, are, moreover, vices with which Mr. Franklin reproaches the Haytians; but, do they not equally exist among the nations of Europe? Admitting, however, that they are more prevalent among the inhabitants of St. Domingo, is it at all unreasonable to believe, that they are the temporary effect of previous events, and independent of the national character?

In this rapid analysis, we have endeavoured to point out the spirit and design of Mr. Franklin's work. It certainly contains some useful information, but it is evidently hostile to the black race of St. Domingo. It exaggerates their faults, while it passes by all the good qualities, even their valour and their love of independence, which other writers have consented to attribute to them. For our part, even after the perusal of this volume, we continue fixed in the persuasion that, before half a century shall have gone by, education and freedom will place the black people of Hayti on a level with the white inhabitants of Europe.

WAR SONG FOR GREECE.

Up! rouse ye, Grecians, freedom smiles,
Resound the song through all your isles;
Up! rouse ye, Grecians,—prove ye men,
And freedom will return again.

Unsheath the sword in freedom's cause;
Defend yourselves from despot laws;
Bestir ye all—be firm—be bold,
As were your ancestors of old.

Your sires, who sleep within their graves,
Have left their curse for abject slaves;
Come, arm yourselves! nor longer be
Shackled by Turkish slavery.

Take every man his spear in hand,—
Spread quick example through the land:
And let your murd'rous foemen feel
The vengeance of vindictive steel.

Freedom alone can make your isles
A land of joy—a land of smiles;
Her peaceful banners, waving round,
Will soon dry up your gory ground.

Up! rouse ye, Grecians! freedom smiles,
Resound the song through all your isles:
Up! rouse ye, Grecians! prove ye men,
And freedom will return again.

THE BABOON OF CHANDERNAGORE.

CHANDERNAGORE is a town of Hindoostan, situated on the western bank of the Ganges, and somewhat more than ten miles distant from Calcutta. It possesses some good buildings, amongst which is the Sudder Adaulut, or Court-house.

It was firmly credited by the superstitious Natives, that this edifice was haunted by an evil spirit, and, in consequence of that, nobody had the courage to dwell in it. The house was very spacious, surrounded by a large balcony, and a handsome portico formed the entrance. An English gentleman arrived at the place, and, disregarding the vulgar credulity, engaged it at the cheap rent of thirty rupees a month. A countryman of his, in a short time after, arrived at the same place, and was invited to take up his quarters at the Court-house, his host at the same time informing him of the current story, which served rather to amuse than terrify the unbelieving auditor. A suite of rooms, comprising bed-room, baths, and other conveniences, was allotted to each, which were only separated by a capacious hall occupying the intermediate space. They both retired to bed, placing but little confidence in the rumour, and entertaining no expectation of a nocturnal visitor.

In the middle of the night, however, the gentleman who had engaged the house, was awaked by a cry of 'Thieves! Thieves!' proceeding from the chamber of his friend, and, instantly springing out of bed, he ran to his assistance, and was told by him, that some thieves had opened the Venetian blinds, and stared in upon him as he lay in bed. The servants were immediately summoned up, and arming themselves with firewood, and what other weapons chance threw in their way, and led on by the Englishman, went in search of the marauders, who were supposed to be on the balcony. When they arrived there, they were greatly surprised to behold a huge baboon, standing erect, with his fore feet placed against the Venetian blinds, and looking in at the window with a most malicious aspect. One of the men, more bold than the rest, who was equipped with a spit, endeavoured to wound the animal, but was afraid to advance near enough for that purpose. The beast, upon viewing his assailants, turned round, and, clothing his hideous face in a contemptuous grin, advanced a few paces towards them, as if to signify his disregard of their appearance, and, with one bound, vaulted from the verandah to the ground, and, in a few moments, baffled the speed of his pursuers.

It was not long after this adventure, that they had retired to bed, when they heard shrieks, which, as they seemed to proceed from some distance, did not induce the inmates of the Sudder Adaulut to arise a second time. In the morning, they sent to inquire whence

the shrieks overnight proceeded; and the messenger returned with the intelligence, that the baboon, in his flight from the Court-house, had fallen upon a Portuguese family outside the town, who were sleeping on mats in the open air for the sake of coolness, and that he had attacked one of the females, and torn her clothes to tatters, but that, upon the rest of the family being awaked by her screams, and starting up to her assistance, the baboon had disappeared. In the course of the following day, they made some inquiries, and discovered it was the property of a half-caste woman, who kept a female school for the Natives; and, sending their compliments, they informed her, that, if they were again annoyed by the baboon, they should be under the necessity of shooting him.

In a few nights after this occurrence, the animal contrived to gain admittance into the Court-house, by jumping over the door of a stable, the top of which was open, and which communicated with the house. A ghorawalla, or hostler, was unfortunately lying asleep there, whom he seized by the hind part of the leg near the ankle, and nearly bit it through. After this, he proceeded through the chambers of the house, and, with instinctive mischief, overturned every article of furniture, and whatever else he could see. Upon the domestics collecting to attack him, the baboon ran out of the house, and took refuge in a stable, the door of which one of the party immediately closed, and secured the object of their pursuit. One of the gentlemen then loaded his pistol with slugs, which had been previously cut up for the purpose, and fired through the bars over the door of the stable, which volley, however, much to his wonder, appeared to have no effect. The monster, seemingly unhurt and unwounded, then bounded up to the iron bars, and, opening his mouth, displayed a formidable row of tusks. The gentleman then fired his other pistol, and, apparently, with the same effect. He then introduced a bull-terrier; who, upon viewing the baboon stalking round him on his hind feet, and scowling in derision, roughened his back, and erected his tail, and, though labouring under the effects of fear, was prevented, by his innate courage, from showing it. Two more dogs of the same breed were then introduced; and, the moment they entered, the animal cried and screamed, and clung to the bars, from which situation he was soon dislodged, by an Indian goading him with his spear. The dogs then attacked him, and inflicted several severe wounds, which he did not fail amply to repay. In the midst of this scene, a man who had before caught and chained him up, happened to arrive, and was requested to enter the stable. At the sight of him, the baboon made the eastern salaam, and laid his head upon the man's feet; then, groaning piteously, put his paws upon his wounds: for every slug, though not very deep, had entered his skin in all quarters, and his forehead especially, which was streaming with blood. The animal, with a face which, though it conveyed the image of fiend-like passions, yet bore a near resemblance to the human counte-

nance, afforded a piteous, and, at the same time, a most disgusting spectacle. The man, taking one of his paws, proceeded to lead him home, while, with the other, the animal wiped his face, and seemed now as passive and obedient, as he was before contemptuous and regardless of his assailants. The school-mistress, immediately upon his arrival, bathed his forehead with water, staunched the blood with linen, and bestowed lavishly upon this frightful object of her solicitude, caresses and kisses, as if in mockery of human nature. Whether the baboon survived his wounds, was not ascertained. However, from that time, the evil genius was never known to haunt the Sudder Adaulut.

L'INDE FRANÇAISE.*

DESCRIPTIONS of distant countries possess charms for most readers; whether an unsettled state of mind has induced them to quit, or the love of home has retarded them in, their native country, there is no one who does not relish descriptions of foreign scenes, if they are well painted. The first class love to retrace the dangers they have experienced; the others take a deeper pleasure in the peace they enjoy from the recital of perils which enable them the better to appreciate the value of safety and tranquillity. It is to this well-known disposition that we must attribute the publication of so many important events, descriptive of distant parts of the globe.

Since the fall of the powerful empire of Tippoo Saïb, and since the complete dominion of the East India Company, that country has ceased to attract the attention of France. Whilst, among our neighbours, its beauties have been described, and its literature explained, in works of various kinds, India is almost forgotten by us, and few of the French recollect, that the white flag still floats over many small settlements, and that a numerous Hindoo population is still subject to the crown of France. Established on the coasts of Coromandel and of Malabar, that population forms a part of those who occupy almost all the south of India; thus, a description of their religion, of their manners, and of their customs, offers, at the same time, a faithful picture of the social state of a very important portion of that Peninsula. '*L'Inde Française*' is distinguished by some analogous publications executed in England, such as the beautiful collection of Daniel. These authors, having proposed to make known the Hindoos in general, have contented themselves with reproducing the most striking traits which characterise them; many of these details, which, in the eyes of philosophers and of histo-

* *L'Inde Française*; or, a Collection of Lithographic Drawings, representing the Divinities, Temples, Pagodas, Costumes, Physiognomy, Furniture, Arms, and Utensils of the Hindoo People, who inhabit the French possessions in India, and, in particular, the Coasts of Coromandel and of Malabar. Published by M. Geringer; with an Explanatory Text, by M. Eugène Bournouf. Paris, 1828.—*From Le Constitutionnel.*

rians, are of great importance, could not possibly enter into their collection. The country which we call Hindoostan is, moreover, inhabited by very different classes of people, quite distinct the one from the other. A superficial observer only recognises Hindoos, Musulmans, and, besides these, some Europeans, their masters; but the vague denomination of Hindoos embraces an infinite variety of races, established in this country since the most ancient epochs, and in the bosom of which the division into castes, having become perpetual, has separated them into different people. We must then avoid generalities, and confine ourselves to local descriptions; if we desire to know this celebrated country, we must consider only a small part at a time of its vast territory, in order that its state of civilisation may be better understood.

These ideas have directed M. Géringer in the choice and the union of the subjects which compose 'L'Inde Française'; a long residence on the Coromandel coast has given him the facility of designing, with the most scrupulous fidelity, a great number of representations of places, of religious ceremonies, and scenes of private life, borrowed from the different races which inhabit that coast. Our Orientalists will compare the images and legends of the gods in this part of India with those of which the English have proved the existence in other parts. They will thus be able to determine in what degree the religion of the Brahmins, brought from the north, and established in India at a very ancient period, has preserved its purity.

'L'Inde Française' gives, in short, every detail on a country which, in the time of Duplex and of Suffren, was the centre of a great power, and which still, at the present day, includes that, of all the French colonies, the possession of which is most important to the country.

The drawings of 'L'Inde Française' were executed on the spot. Each lithograph is accompanied with an explanatory text, the editorship of which is confided to M. Eugène Bournouf, who, for many years, has made India the object of his studies. This text contains not only a clear and precise explanation of the drawing to which it is affixed, but is managed in such a manner, that the separate documents, when joined, form a complete description of that part of the peninsula of India, and of the manners and customs of its inhabitants. The drawings, lithographed with care, offer by turns the representation of Brahma, painted by a Hindoo of the Coromandel coast, and the portrait of Canabady, the superior of the Brahmins of Pondicherry. Canabady raised many difficulties before he would allow himself to be approached by a *Kapoukara*, the name which they give to strangers; he assured them, that he was obliged, after each sitting, to take a bath to purify himself from the stains which he could not fail to contract. He acquiesced, however, after a formal assurance, that M. Géringer would refrain from touching him, and that he would keep at the distance of from four to five feet.

We have also remarked the celebrated idol of Vishnou, or the preserving god, and a beautiful portrait of a Brahmin female. They cannot, with any justice, accuse our European ladies of coquetry; for none of them would consent to have their nostrils pierced to bear so many jewels as are to be seen in the nose of this brown yet attractive beauty. The plate which represents the marriage of a Brahmin pair is not less curious, since it describes the most important ceremonies in the nuptials of Indians of that caste. We must not forget the portrait of a Raja, or Hindoo prince, and those of the Brahmins, authors, interpreters, and physicians.

Congratulating M. Geringer on his entire fulfilment of the promises held out in his prospectus, we can only persuade him to persevere. The prompt execution of this large and beautiful work ought to insure its success.

THE DYING SOLDIER.

‘ Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori !’

’TIS OVER!—that look to the fast-setting sun
Shows too plainly thy race of existence is run!
That flush on thy cheek, and thy dim, closing eye,
Tell too truly thy glorious career is gone by!
And the breast in the morning so haughty and bold,
With the shades of the evening is wither’d and cold!
How proud! when the death-fires in volleys were flashing,
When the sabres around thee thy comrades were clashing;
How scornful thy glance at the foe’s array,
Yet subdued by a thought of the friends far away!
Oh! vain was the hope when the battle was o’er,
That thou soon should’st revisit thy own native shore,
And that plenty and peace would unsparingly shed
All their blessings and smiles on the conqueror’s head:
That hope and thy life-blood are ebbing away,
And soon will but leave thee inanimate clay;
Yet *her* name on thy lips lingers tenderly yet,
Whom in joy or in peril thou ne’er could’st forget;
And the sighs and the tears you exchanged when you parted,
Are as fresh in thy heart as they were when they started.
’Tis over!—that pang was the last thou wilt feel
From fond recollections or enemy’s steel;
And, though amidst heaps of the dead thou may’st lie,
The fame of thy victories never shall die!
For Albion will honour the brave who are slain
In defence of her rights on the blood-deluged plain;
And the warm tear of beauty he shed o’er his grave,
Who perish’d so nobly his country to save!
While bards in their hymnings shall consecrate those,
Who could barter their own for their kingdom’s repose.

P. G. J.

HINTS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE COURTS OF JUSTICE AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

[The following 'Hints' were drawn up at the request of some inhabitants of Cape Town, by a gentleman who has long held a very high judicial appointment in one of our most important colonial possessions, and who had become, by a residence of nearly two years in South Africa, well acquainted with the defects of the Courts of Justice in that settlement. Though written without any view to publicity—addressed in the form of a letter to a friend, this hasty sketch may probably furnish useful suggestions, at a time when most important reforms of the institutions of the Cape Colony are in progress.]

MY DEAR SIR,

Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 23, 1823.

WHILST interchanging our thoughts and opinions on the state of this colony, the conversation has frequently been directed to the Administration of Justice: and we have deplored the situation of the Judge, and the little confidence which appears to prevail in the decisions of the Courts, as now established. Several improvements have been suggested; and you have requested me to draw up some sketch of a new and improved system of Colonial Jurisprudence.

IN consequence of your request, I have frequently and seriously reflected on the matter, and now commit to writing the result of my consideration.

After all the attention which I have given to the subject, I am aware that my knowledge and local experience are not sufficiently extensive and profound to enable me to do complete justice to so vast an undertaking. But such information as I have obtained, shall, with pleasure, be imparted. I will therefore endeavour to suggest a few hints, which appear to me to be useful, and likely to assist those who may be engaged in newly modelling the legal polity of this Colony.

Whatever improvement is attempted, must be introduced by a charter from the Crown. No instrument possesses equal weight and authority; and none will be received with the same respect: none is so well calculated to bear down the opposition, and to repel the attacks of those who may wish to perpetuate the abuses of the present Constitution.

I shall now proceed to consider, 1. The construction of the Court, the number and qualifications of the Judges, and other officers, together with their salaries; 2. The extent of their jurisdiction, and manner of raising the salaries of Judges; 3. The modes of proceeding in civil suits; 4. The mode of proceeding in criminal pro-

secutions ; 5. The slave code, and the laws adapted to the native, black, and coloured population.

The Court must be a Supreme Court, similar to that of Ceylon, and the settlement of the East India Company. No appeal must exist, except to the King in council ; and the decisions of the Judges must not be liable to control, or reversal, by any Colonial authority.

The reason for this is obvious : for, if the Court be controlled by any set of persons resident within the Colony, dissensions are likely to arise. Persons not so competent to the investigation of legal matters as the Judges, will be employed to interfere in their decisions ; and those in authority may indirectly gain an improper influence in the decisions and proceedings of the proper tribunals.

I think that I speak from my own experience, when I say that one of my decisions was reversed in the West Indies, by the Colonial Council, very much through the malignant feelings of an individual member. And so uninformed were the members of the Court of Error of the papers before them, that the principal ground of their decision was stated to arise from a fact, brought to their knowledge by the evidence, which fact, upon inquiry, was not found to exist ; but the direct contrary appeared, on the perusal of the documents upon which they professed to form their opinion.

Upon carrying the papers for the advice of counsel in England, the decision of the Court of Error was found to be wholly untenable ; and, upon a second trial, the jury were made to see the falsehood of the pretence under which the Court of Error attempted to shelter themselves :—an exposure, highly derogatory to the dignity and respectability of a British tribunal. When an appeal is made to England, no such disgraceful influence can be exercised.

The Judges must be three at least in number. Many inconveniences arise from two Judges only sitting : as in doubtful and difficult cases, where a diversity of opinions exists, the decision must be made by *one* against the opinion of *one*, or no decision can be given. Besides this, the business of this Colony requires, at least, three Judges.

The Salaries of the Judges ought to be as follows : The Chief Justice's salary, three thousand pounds a year, or two thousand five hundred pounds, at least ; that of the Puisne Justices, two thousand pounds each ;—all to be paid according to some invariable standard, and not left to fluctuate with the depreciation of the circulating medium of the Colonies, often depressed by the fraudulent practices of the Colonial Government, and the unwise and unwarrantable variations which they are pleased to introduce into the money, or other supposed measure of value.

The Judges must be Barristers of England, or Ireland, of five years' standing at the Bar at least. This condition, namely, that

the Judges must be selected from Barristers who have been called to the Bar so long before their appointment, is a matter of great importance; otherwise, the situation of a Judge may be made a job, and any nobleman, or other man of influence, may consider the office as well worth the acceptance of one of his children, or other dependant, and procure his call to the Bar, when he is not qualified to sit in a Court of Justice; and when he is not competent, from his experience and knowledge of his profession, to do credit to the office, and to afford satisfaction to the suitors.

The salaries of the Judges will scarcely exceed the sum of money arising from situations which must be abolished, as will be shown in the sequel.

Judges must be Justices and Conservators of the Peace.

All sentences, rules, orders, decrees, &c., of the Court, to be made with the concurrence of the three Judges; or, in the absence of one or more, the opinion of Judge, or Judges, sitting. In case of a disagreement of opinion, the case must be decided by a majority. If only two are sitting, no judgment must be given, in the event of the Judges not being able to come to an unanimous determination; but the cause must be postponed, until three can be brought together, or a determination agreed upon. Or, perhaps, in the event of only two Judges sitting, and the third Judge not being within the Colony, the opinion of the Chief Justice, or elder Justice, to prevail, and be conclusive. The Court to have a seal.

—All processes to issue in the name of the King, and under the seal of the Court.

The rank and precedence of the Judges must be stated in the charter.

Present office of Fiscal must be abolished, and an Advocate-Fiscal, or Attorney-General, with a salary of five hundred pounds per annum, must be appointed. That sum, with permission to practise in all cases, will be a sufficient inducement to a man of talent.

A Marshall, or Sheriff, must be appointed, with a salary, and fees upon warrants and executions, &c. A Secretary, or Registrar, must be appointed also.

In the event of the Fiscal, or the Secretary, being interested in any suit, Court must appoint some other person to act *pro hinc vice*.

Judges, and Advocate-Fiscal, to be appointed by the King; the Judges to hold under the Great Seal.

Court must admit advocates and proctors from persons properly qualified.

The abolition of the present office of Fiscal will afford several advantages: 1. He is prosecutor, and receives part of the penalties. What a temptation does this afford to prosecute! He pays no costs;—what a temptation to oppress! And when we consider that

he may prosecute any person, with even the remotest prospect of obtaining a judgment; and that, in case of success, he is amply remunerated; and that no injury arises to him from failure, and no redress is afforded to the innocent person accused, how great may be the oppression and injustice produced!

His salary, likewise, and the emolument of his office, will assist materially in defraying the expenses of the Court.

The jurisdiction of the Court must be over *all* the inhabitants of the Colony, except the Governor. The Court must have first a civil jurisdiction, in trial and decision of all suits arising from contracts, injuries, duties, interests, invested rights, titles in lands, houses, or other property, wherein individuals or the King are or is entitled to a claim to be so. But no action for any debt or duty, wherein less than one hundred rix dollars is sued for, must be tried in the Supreme Court.

The jurisdiction must extend over *testamentary* and *matrimonial* causes, over *Admiralty* causes, also over *criminal* matters, and prosecutions arising therein, and over the *proceedings* of all *inferior Magistrates* and *Judges*.

By uniting all the separate jurisdictions in one Supreme Court, we shall have the following sums to go towards defraying the expenses of the establishment:—

Salary of Chief Justice	rix ds. 9,000
Salaries of eight Puisne Judges, at 4250 rds. each	34,000
Salary of Fiscal	10,000
Salary of Judge of Admiralty	£600
Salary of Registrar of Admiralty	500
Salary of Secretary of Court of Appeals	480
Salaries of two Assessors, at 300 <i>l.</i> each	600

Making, altogether, a sum of nearly five thousand pounds sterling per annum, besides the emolument arising from forfeitures, &c. and fees of Court, all of which must be reserved to the Crown, and the prosecuting officer.

These sums collected together will nearly suffice to pay the expenses of the Court.

In civil cases, the suits of the natives, and the coloured and native population, may be tried in the same manner as those of other persons; but the oaths of slaves and natives must be admitted, except where their masters, or those interested in the property of the slave, shall be questioned.

Mode of proceeding in Civil Suits.

1. The Dutch law may remain in force in civil matters, in all parts of the Colony, except Albany; with some alteration, how-

ever, in the *matrimonial* code, and in *testamentary* cases, and the distribution of the estates of intestates; in which latter cases, the law ought to be assimilated to the laws of England, whenever it operates upon British-born subjects and their successors.

2. The forms of proceeding by libel, or summary petition, as the commencement of the suit, may be adopted; and the power to arrest, under a Judge's warrant, or upon an affidavit of debt, to a certain amount, should be introduced, instead of the very exceptionable mode of proceeding by arrest, which now prevails. An *affidavit* must be made in all cases. And in the case of violent injury to the person, and the prospect of the defendant departing from the jurisdiction, and debts so proved, when the circumstances are verified upon oath, an arrest should be permitted, and in no other civil suits, until after judgment, or upon disobedience of a rule of Court, or contempt of Court.

3. Witnesses must be examined, *viva voce*, in open Court. And the law of evidence which prevails in the English Courts, should be adopted without any exception or modification whatever.

4. In some cases, commissions for examination of witnesses, may be allowed, but those cases must be strictly guarded; and commissions only granted upon affidavit, and strong reasons for admitting them.

5. The expenses of witnesses must be allowed, and the *subpœna* and *subpœna duces tecum* must be adopted.

6. An equitable jurisdiction, similar to that granted to the Court in Ceylon, must be included.

7. New trials must be allowed, as they are in Calcutta, and under the same restrictions.

Mode of proceeding in Criminal Suits.

1. Trial by jury must be adopted in all criminal prosecutions within certain districts, and provision for this mode of trial should be extended as far as possible, except in the cases of slaves, and the natives, or coloured or black population; in which instances juries must not be introduced, because they are not impartial, and experience proves their inefficacy.

I have been present myself at several trials in the West Indies, wherein masters of slaves, and others, have been sued or prosecuted; and I never knew one instance in which the person injuring the slave was found guilty, however flagrant and clear his guilt.

2. The law of England, with respect to evidence, must be adopted in all criminal prosecutions.

3. Grand juries must be summoned, and bills presented to them, exactly as in England.

Slave Code.

1. The late proclamation, in regard to slaves, should be fully adopted and enforced.*

2. And in each district, two or more persons should be appointed as guardians to the slaves, and the Hottentots, and other natives. These guardians should be bound by oath to hear the complaints of the slaves, and of the Hottentots, and other black and coloured population. The guardians should have power to summon witnesses, and prepare every necessary document, for bringing to justice those who oppress the natives, &c.; and when cases occur, which demand prosecution, the Judges, or the Judge, upon circuit, should have authority to inquire and determine the cases, without the intervention of a jury, in all instances in which a slave, Hottentot, black, or coloured inhabitant, or person, is either plaintiff or defendant; except in those cases in which both parties agree to have the cause tried by a jury. But both parties must consent, and such consent, signed and written, and filed in Court, must be produced before the cause can be removed from the cognizance of the Court to that of the jury. (This is necessary, to protect the slave from the influence of his master.) Guardians must be appointed by the Court.—This is indispensable.

General Rules.

1. Certain periods, or terms, must be fixed for the sitting of the Court, in criminal and in civil matters.

2. A clause must be introduced, strictly prohibiting the Colonial Government from interfering with the provisions of the charter, and rendering null and void all Colonial enactments and regulations repugnant to the charter.

3. The persons of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and each of the Judges, must be protected from arrest, and from criminal prosecutions, during the time they are in office, and for twelve months succeeding.

4. Judges must be protected from all suits, for any thing done in virtue of their office.

5. One Judge sufficient to proceed on circuit, and never more than two on the same circuit. And power must be reserved to the suitors, &c. to move for new trials, and for revision of all proceedings on the circuit, to the full Court.

6. In all civil cases, judgment must be suspended for some definite period after trial, to allow motions for new trial, or other revision or correction.

* A much more complete Slave Code has been since introduced, being upon the same general principles as the Trinidad order in Council.

OUTRAGE RECENTLY COMMITTED ON AN ENGLISHMAN IN JAVA.

AN outrage, alleged to have been committed on a Mr. Whittle, an Englishman, has excited a considerable sensation among our countrymen in Java. Mr. Whittle, it appears, is owner and commander of a schooner called the *Helen*, but whether sailing under Dutch or English colours, does not clearly appear. Some five or six weeks ago, he cleared out at Batavia, bound for Anjir, and, as is usual, went on board the guard-ship, to show his papers, and get them countersigned. The officer, however, on board the guard-ship, thought proper to detain him, alleging that the passport given to a Mr. S., an English gentleman, a passenger on board the *Helen*, was irregular, as it did not state the *object* of his visit to Anjir. The schooner was, in consequence, stopped; but, on application to the Police Magistrate next day, the passport was declared to be in perfect form. The Commodore, on being informed of what had passed, sent the officer in command of the guard-ship a reprimand, and an order to allow the schooner to sail. When, however, the *Helen* again got under weigh, several shots were fired at her, which Mr. Whittle supposed was on account of his colours not being hoisted, and, as his peak was down, he sent a man aloft to tie them to the mast. The firing, however, was continued, and the schooner brought to, and the guard-ship's boat came along side; the Lieutenant in command of her immediately sprung on board, seized Mr. Whittle by the collar, dragged him to the waste, and ordered him into the boat, at the same time directing four native soldiers, he had in the boat, to load their muskets and shoot him, if he made the least resistance. On reaching the guard-ship, Mr. Whittle was dragged below and confined in a small cabin, and at night a truss of dried grass was thrown in for him to sleep upon. After being several days confined in this manner, his vessel, in the mean time, being in the charge of a boatswain and some men from the guard-ship, he was brought on shore to be examined by the Fiscal, on the charge of not hoisting his colours on leaving the port. It was found, however, that the port regulations did not require that colours should be hoisted by vessels leaving the harbour. Upon this, Mr. Whittle's accusers are stated to have shifted their ground, and brought in various charges, all of which were utterly groundless; but Mr. Whittle and his vessel, at the date of our correspondent's letter, still remained in custody, and it was uncertain when they might be released. The writer remarks, that this is a pretty specimen of the protection which the trade of Java receives from the Dutch Navy, and adds something touching the backslidings of 'Dutchified Englishmen;' but, concludes our pious

correspondent, 'God forgive them, for they know not what they do!' What the epithet of 'Dutchified' is meant to express, we cannot precisely determine; but, judging from the context, it cannot be intended to convey any thing in the way of compliment, as our correspondent proceeds to say, that, in his own private opinion, with some honourable exceptions, the Dutch are, no doubt, 'the *Mihitur** caste of Europe!' There is much severity in this, and we only publish it to show the odour in which the Dutch Colonial Government stands with the British residents in Java.

We have given the circumstances of Mr. Whittle's case as they have been communicated to us; and, if they are correctly stated, an outrage has been committed, the infamy of which will not be confined to the mere perpetrators of it, but will attach to the Government itself, unless it grants the inquiry which is so loudly called for, and visits the offenders with such a punishment as shall deter its officers in future from indulging in acts more worthy of the maritime savages of Tunis and Algiers, than of a people boasting to hold a distinguished place among the civilised nations of Europe. We mean no national reflection, for there are ruffianly spirits of all nations; but, when they show themselves by overt acts of violence and brutality, it becomes the office of rulers to inquire and punish; and, when they neglect this sacred duty, they place themselves in the same hateful relation to the community as if they had been accomplices in the crime.' Our information states Mr. Whittle to be an Englishman; but at present we say nothing on that score, for, supposing him to have been a Dutch citizen, sailing under the Dutch flag, we will not wrong the paternal feelings of the Government of Java by believing, for a moment, that *that* circumstance will render it less willing to do him the justice which should be impartially rendered unto all. *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*, his Excellency the Commissioner knows to be an old remark, and we hope his conduct on the present occasion may prove that he feels it to be a just one.—*Singapore Chronicle*.

* *Mihitur*—a prince, or a sweeper, but always applied by Europeans in a degrading sense.

**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE LIVERPOOL EAST INDIA
ASSOCIATION, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE TRADE WITH INDIA.**

Presented to the Association at a General Meeting, 21st March, 1828.

[We intended, at first, to have given an analysis and extracts of this ~~the~~ and valuable document; but, on perusing it attentively, we find nothing that can be spared, and, accordingly, prefer giving up sufficient of our space to include it as a whole.]

SINCE their Report, presented to you in the year 1822, your Committee have not been unmindful of the various questions connected with this most important and increasing branch of the commerce of this country. On the contrary, they have never ceased to reflect with deep regret, increasing from year to year with their increasing experience, upon the prejudicial effects produced by the fetters which have been, so unwisely, imposed thereon. Under these impressions, they would not have remained inactive, if any circumstance had occurred which appeared to call for particular attention on their part, as affording a hope that any efforts of yours could be availingly called forth. Looking forward, however, to the period which is fast approaching—the Session of Parliament in the year 1831—when the whole question of the East India Company's Charter will be again discussed, your Committee are of the opinion, that it is high time for you to be upon the alert. They are satisfied, that you have no time to lose in concerting measures to secure, not only a full and free intercourse with the continent of India, whereby the resources of that country may be laid open to the unrestricted employment of the skill, enterprise, and capital of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, but also those whereby they may procure a like participation in a traffic from which they are now wholly excluded; viz. that to China, and in tea.

Your Committee can scarcely suppose it possible, that any proposition will be entertained by the Government, still less by Parliament, for continuing to the Company, for a further term, their exclusive right to the China trade; yet they fear that, unless vigorous measures be adopted, an attempt will be made, to place it under such restrictions, as will materially interfere with its full and beneficial enjoyment. It is on this account important, at this early period, to do all that is practicable towards awakening the attention of the public to all questions connected therewith. With this view, your Committee beg leave to offer to you the following statement of facts and observations upon the subject of the trade with that country.

That the East India Company, in the conduct of its tea trade, has not only taken a shameful advantage of its supposed privileges, but

in law, long ago, forfeited its monopoly, is a point of which those who will take the trouble to inquire, can scarcely fail to be convinced. The object, therefore, of your Committee, in the following Report, in which the subject will be discussed, in detail, is rather to rouse public attention, than to advance new arguments, which, indeed, in the present advanced state of public opinion on the great question of Indian commerce, would be superfluous.

The 10th section of the 18th Geo. II, cap. 26, provides, in the clearest manner, that the East India Company, and their successors, shall, with the view 'to keep the price of tea in this kingdom upon an equality with the price thereof in other neighbouring countries of Europe,' import such quantities of tea, 'from any parts of Europe,' as may be necessary for this purpose. The 10th section of the same statute provides, that, if the Company 'shall, at any time, neglect to keep this market supplied with a sufficient quantity of tea, at reasonable prices, to answer the consumption thereof in Great Britain,' it shall be the duty of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to grant licenses, to any other persons whatsoever, to import teas on the same conditions and for the same purpose. This statute has never been repealed, and ought, therefore, at the present moment, to have the full force of law. It has not only not been abrogated, but repeatedly confirmed. The 3d section of the 14th of Geo. III, cap. 31, repeats, word for word, the provision to license private traders to import teas, in case the East India Company should neglect to import a sufficient quantity to keep the prices on an equality with those of the continent of Europe. The same provision is again repeated in the 3d section of the 16th of the same reign, cap. 51.

Your Committee quote from a collection of charters and statutes prepared, shortly after they received their last charter, 'for the use of the East India Company,' and distributed by them to their officers and public departments, for their guidance. Of the last two statutes which have been noticed, the only sections contained in this collection are those which your Committee have quoted; and, with respect to the latest of them, the Company's officer who framed it, expressly states, that the whole Act, *except the provision in question*, is expired.

The celebrated Commutation Act of 1784, by no means annuls any of the provisions to which your Committee have referred. On the contrary, it makes further provisions (as far as regards the Company's modes of sale) for securing to the public cheap teas. It tells them expressly, that 'it is just and reasonable' that they should 'contribute their utmost endeavours for securing to the public the full benefit which will arise from an immediate and permanent reduction of prices.' Since the year 1784, tea is the subject of no less than fourteen statutes, in not one of which is there a

syllable tending to repeal the provisions previously enacted for the security of the public.

The principal Acts regulating the affairs of the East India Company are the two last charters; that is, the statutes of 1793 and of 1813. The first of these makes no specific mention of the tea trade, except in so far as it confirms, with trifling and valueless exceptions, the whole monopoly as it stood before the passing of the Act; which, in law and reason, is surely a confirmation of what was enacted for the advantage of the public, as much as of what was enacted against it; that is, in favour of the East India Company.

In the last charter, the monopoly of the tea trade, and the exclusive privilege of trading to the dominions of the Emperor of China, are left untouched to the East India Company. The open intercourse with other countries of the east, and in all commodities, tea excepted, which were conceded to the nation in this case, called for express provisions in favour of the East India Company: they accordingly provided by the 2nd and 8th sections of the Act. In the first of these it is provided, that the monopoly shall be exercised conformably to former Acts, not repealed in the present; and, among such repealed Acts, those securing cheap teas to the public are most unquestionably not included: nor could they be so, without a most flagrant neglect of its duty on the part of the Legislature, or, what is worse, without supposing a collusion between it and the East India Company to defraud the public.

The 8th section has reference only to the present charter; and as it provides, that the monopoly of tea *shall belong to the East India Company, both in India and Europe, 'any thing in this Act contained to the contrary notwithstanding,'* it, of course, neither contemplates nor provides for a violation, such as has taken place, of repealed Acts of Parliament expressly enacted for the security of the nation at large.

Down to the year 1772, the East India Company appears to have felt the necessity of complying with the statutes which we have quoted. In that year, they ostentatiously put forth a statement to show, that they sold tea by 46 2-3ds. per cent. cheaper than the Swedes, by 34 1/2 per cent. cheaper than the Dutch, and by 15 1/2 per cent. cheaper than the French.

At the period in question, the East India Company had to compete only with monopoly corporations like themselves; and, with a better market and a larger capital, it was no very difficult matter for them, if they thought proper, to undersell such competitors. This state of things, however, was not of long continuance. The East India Company insisted upon extravagant monopoly prices, and, upon these extravagant monopoly prices, the state charged excessive duties. The Dutch, Danes, Swedes, French and others, took advantage of this state of things, and illicitly poured such a quantity of tea into this country that, at the passing of the

Commutation Act in 1784, it was computed, that they furnished two thirds of the whole consumption of the kingdom. At this period, the nations in question exported, from Canton to Europe, no less than 13,469,890 lbs. of tea yearly; whereas the East India Company exported only 5,450,614 lbs. After the passing of the celebrated Commutation Act, which may safely be described as a measure of the minister of the day to support the East India Company at the expense of the nation, the duties were reduced from 119 to 12½ per cent, and a window tax was imposed to make up the expectation of a loss to the yearly amount of 600,000*l.* to the revenue. The tea trade of the East India Company was improved; for, in the second year, when the Commutation Act came fairly into operation, the Company's sales arose from 5,857,883 lbs. to 15,081,737 lbs.; but the nation was evidently worse off than during the smuggling system. The sum total of the advantage which the public derived from this measure, as far as the East India Company was concerned, was a reduction in the price, to the amount of 6*d.* a pound on the average of all teas!

The King's duty on tea was not raised until the commencement of the French revolutionary war; and the Company preserved, from the period of the Commutation Act until then, its monopoly entire. The East India Company had now no competitors, either in the shape of monopoly companies or free traders. No means existed for determining whether they sold their teas cheap or dear. They forgot the conditions on which they held their charter. The nation supinely submitted, and the Legislature made no effort to protect the people from this gross oppression.

In the Commutation Act, the Legislature, in order that the Company might take no advantage of the monopoly, then so completely established in its favour, specified the prices at which the first sales of tea should be put up; thus pointing out the rates at which it expected the nation should in future be supplied. It is remarkable, that the Company's prices, down to the present hour, exceed this by full 15 per cent.; while, in their turn, they exceed the last quotations of the New York Market by no less than 43 per cent.

The following table, exhibiting the comparative prices of English and Dutch teas, in 1772 and 1827, will afford a very curious and a very instructive exposure of the Company's evasions of the statutes made for the protection of the public.

	London prices. 1772.		Dutch prices. 1772.		London prices. 1827.		Dutch prices. 1827.	
	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Bohea.....	1	10.25	2	0.5	1	7	0	5.4
Congou....	3	0.25	3	7.875	2	5.8	1	0.9
Hyson.....	7	4	6	8.68½	4	11	2	7.125
Average....	4	-0.75	4	1.68½	2	11.9	1	4.47

From this statement it appears, that the Company's teas, since

1772, have fallen in price about 25 per cent only, whilst those of the Dutch have fallen above 66 per cent.

The prime cost of the Company's tea, in China, on an average of several years, according to their own showing, is 1s. 4½*d.* per lb. They are sold, at their sales in London, at an advance of 92 per cent. The advance on Dutch and American teas, beyond the price in China, is only 48 per cent., estimated by a comparison of the Canton with New York and Antwerp's statements.

For the annual average consumption of tea in the United Kingdom, or at least for the average sales of the East India Company, your Committee will take the amount in 1824, the latest which happens to be in their possession, and which exceeds the average of the four preceding years' sales by 1,000,000 lbs. per year. This is 28,300,000 lbs. The sale amount of this, calculated by recent London Prices Current, is 3,686,682*l.* At the American or Continental prices, this tea would cost 2,950,178*l.* : the difference is the yearly gain of the Company, by its evasion of the law, viz.—736,504*l.*

By the 24th Geo. III, cap. 38, the Company are directed to sell their teas to the highest bidder, if an advance of one penny per pound is offered; the putting-up price not to exceed, upon the whole tea sold in each sale, the prime cost, freight, charges, lawful interest from the arrival of such tea in Great Britain, and the common premium of insurance for sea risk. The advance upon the Company's putting-up price is usually above 30 per cent., which is, of course, the profit derived by them from their monopoly. They make their charges, therefore, as prescribed by Statute, no less than 62 per cent.

The prime cost of 28,300,000 lbs. of tea in China being 1,945,624*l.*, it follows that their charges amount to 1,206,286*l.* It will be instructive to know how the Company makes out these exorbitant charges. The following are specimens taken from their accounts for the year 1822-23, when the quantity of tea sold was, 27,700,000 lbs.

Charges in China	£50,649
Ditto in England	176,841
Commission and allowance to supercargoes, &c,	79,516
	<u>£307,006</u>

The Company had, in the above two years, 59,465 tons of shipping engaged in the China trade, the only profitable employment for which is the tea monopoly. The average freight of these was 2*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.* per ton* per voyage, which is of two years' duration, instead of one, as in the American trade to China, or as in that to Bengal, which is of the same length. One half of this, charged to

the yearly investment, makes the enormous sum of 640,859*l.*, without reckoning demurrage. Interest of money and insurance make up the remainder of the charges.

The Company has lately sent teas direct from China to Canada. The results of this speculation afford matter of curious illustration. Your Committee have before them the account of one of these sales, which took place at Quebec in the month of September last, and it enables them to exhibit the following comparison with the Company's sale prices, in London, of a corresponding period.

	September, 1827.		Quebec.		September, 1827.		London.
	s.	d.			s.	d.	
Hyson Skin	2	2.4	per lb.		3	3.1	
Young Hyson	3	7.6	.....		4	7.25	
Hyson	4	2.4	.....		4	11	
Best Souchong	2	6.4	.....		4	8	
Inferior ditto	2	0.8	.....		3	8	
Congou	2	2.4	.....		2	5.8	
Bohea	1	5.6	.....		1	7	
Pekoe	3	6.4	.....		3	8	
Gunpowder	4	10.4	.....		5	0.5	

This statement exhibits an average difference of 9.8 per pound in favour of the Quebec sales : or, in other words, the London prices exceed those of Quebec by $27\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It clearly follows from this, that, if the statute be complied with in both cases, the East India Company exacts 30 per cent. profit from the British, and only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. from the Colonial customer. If this be not the true explanation, then the Company have one way of complying with the statute in Canada and another in London. They have, according to circumstances, two prices, which is not considered respectable in any trader whatever, and is altogether unpardonable in merchants who are sovereigns, enjoying a monopoly, which puts the whole of their countrymen at their mercy for a necessary of life ! Your Committee really fear the true fact is, that, in the United Kingdom, where the Company have a complete monopoly, they fleece their countrymen of the last penny they can give, while in Canada, where they have to compete with the American smugglers, they must be content with what they can get.

A few explanations respecting this Canadian tea trade will be necessary. Your Committee have before them a statement of the imports of tea into Canada for eighteen years. In the sixteen years previous to the year 1825, the average importation of the Company's teas into Canada was only 2,713 chests. These had been purchased at the Company's sales in London, and the King's duties were withdrawn upon them. Notwithstanding this, the principal supply of our North American Colonies in tea was furnished by the contraband trade of the Americans, burthened with the charges of a distant land and water-carriage, with the American duties, equal to an *ad valorem* duty of 39 per cent., as well as with the charge necessary

to cover the risk of smuggling. The Colonial Legislature complained, and the Government at home gave the East India Company the option, either of supplying the Canadian market, or allowing the Canadians a free trade with China. The Company preferred the first alternative; and, on the average of the years 1825 and 1826, they imported into Quebec 15,033 chests and boxes of tea.

This is the commodity which the Company has sold at $21\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. cheaper than the teas sold at the same time in London. But this is not all; the American teas, burthened as has been described, would still have driven the Company's teas out of the market, had they not been protected by the extraordinary lightness of the Colonial duties, which, on the prices we have given, are but 72 per cent.; that is, 27 per cent. less than the American duties, and full 88 per cent. less than the English.

When the East India Company have been charged with a violation of the laws, made for the protection of the people of this country, through the extortion of the tea monopoly, the only plausible attempt at explanation made by their advocates has been, that *their* teas, though called by the same names with those used in America and on the Continent, are, in reality, of a superior quality. This is, at best, a mere assertion; but it is also an assertion which will not bear the slightest touch of examination. Those who receive the cheapest teas will, of necessity, consume the best, if there be any thing at all like equality in their respective circumstances. A pound of hyson tea costs, in America, duty included, 1s. 7d. per pound. In London it would cost full 10s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., or 131 per cent. more. No wealth, no tea-drinking propensity can stand against such a fact as this. The Americans, in reality, consume infinitely better teas than we do. The proof of this is complete. In one hundred parts of the American consumption, there are seventy-nine parts of green tea to twenty-one of black. In the English consumption the proportions are exactly reversed. Now, as all green teas are more valuable than all black teas by full 48 per cent., it is clear that the Americans are consumers of teas of a superior quality to ours. Further, in the whole American consumption, bohea tea, the lowest description, forms but one forty-fourth part; in ours it forms, at least, one-sixteenth part!

All English travellers of intelligence will readily acknowledge, that they have been struck with the superiority of the American over the English teas. This must, of necessity, be the case, even had they been originally of the same quality, for this obvious reason, that the American teas are fresher; because the East India Company is compelled, by law, to keep a whole year's consumption in store, and sell no teas, therefore, except such as have been for twelve months in their warehouse. It is curious enough, that the East India Company, (when, in 1772, they exhibited a comparative statement of their own prices and those of the Continent, in order

to show that they complied with the statutes,) took no notice whatever of the different qualities of their own and the foreign teas, although they dwelt, at the same time, on particulars sufficiently minute and trifling; such, for example, as that the discount and all allowances made by them were six per cent. more than those made by their competitors. Neither did the Legislature, when it provided for the importation of Continental teas, take any notice whatever of any difference in quality. The assertion, in short, is a recent one, brought forward by the Company's advocates in their extremity. As far as regards both American and Continental teas, it has no foundation whatever; a fact to which a thousand disinterested, intelligent, and travelled witnesses can bear testimony.

The East India Company is bound, by the 24th Geo. III, cap. 38, or the Commutation Act, to furnish the country with a supply of tea adequate to the demand. Your Committee have now to inquire, whether they have fulfilled the conditions of their charter in this respect. It will be easy to show that they have not. In the year 1800, when the population of the United Kingdom was 15,149,258, the whole quantity of tea on which duty was paid was 26,398,805 lbs., which gives an average of $27\frac{3}{4}$ ounces per head per annum for each individual. In 1810, when the population may be estimated at 18,534,659, the quantity on which duty was paid was 28,469,736 lbs., giving only $24\frac{1}{2}$ ounces per head. In 1820 the quantity, duty paid, was 26,100,000 lbs., and the population being estimated at 21,193,458, the average per head falls to $19\frac{1}{2}$ ounces; or, in 20 years, the supply had diminished, as compared with the population, by $29\frac{3}{4}$ per cent!!

At present the consumption may be taken, as has been already stated, at 28,300,000 lbs., and the population being estimated at 22,700,000, the average per head is near 20 ounces.* The consumption of tea, therefore, in reference to the numerical population only, and

* Tea is exported direct from China to New South Wales, and the yearly consumption of that colony was reckoned, three years ago, at about 3000 chests per annum, or 210,000 lbs. The population in 1821 was 40,000. It may perhaps be estimated three years ago at 50,000; this gives a rate of consumption of 65 ounces. Our present consumption being about 20 ounces per head; it appears the poor convict population of New South Wales consumes tea in more than a three-fold proportion to the free and wealthy people of the United Kingdom. How prodigiously would the trade of this country be increased, if our trade with China was left equally unfettered—what great accession to the revenue would it bring! Your Committee forbear to go into any calculation, founded upon these data; for they must be so obvious as to strike the most cursory reader. It is true, that the high duties paid to the Crown restrict our consumption; but still our superior wealth, as compared with that of the population of New South Wales, would go far to compensate for this.

without any relation at all to the augmented wealth and comfort of the people, instead of increasing, as it would have done in a free trade, has fallen off in 26 years by 28 per cent. Instead of being, as it is at present, 28,300,000 lbs., it ought in fact to have been, even under the monopoly system, no less than 39,556,582 lbs.;—so much for the services of the East India Company to the nation.

It is the high monopoly prices of the East India Company which have arrested the increase of the consumption of tea. In peace and in war they have never failed to exact from the consumer the highest possible price, without the least regard to his convenience or accommodation. Smuggling, or a sacrifice of the King's duties, has alone promoted the consumption of tea in this country, which a very short statement will show.

From the year 1711 to 1720, the average price of the Company's teas was 13s. 5d. In 1721, great quantities of tea were smuggled from France, and in the next year the Company was compelled to reduce its prices to 7s. 7d. The King's duties at this time were 200 per cent. on the cost. They were reduced to 84 per cent. From 1734 to 1744, the Danes and the Swedes smuggled great quantities of tea into England, and the Company's sales were occasionally as low as 3s. 8½d. per lb. The Company as usual called upon the Legislature for assistance. The duties were reduced from 128 to 69 per cent., and the very next year the Company's teas rose to 4s. 6½d. per lb.

In 1747, under protection of the reduced duty, the Company raised their prices to 7s. 3d. per lb.; but the quantity of tea sold was not more than one-ninth part of that of the preceding year. In 1760, the duty being still lower, the Company's price was 6s. 4d. per lb. In 1767, smuggling was again carried to a great extent, and a further reduction of duty was made by the complacent Legislature, who never, all this time, thought of charging the monopoly with any share in the encouragement giving to smuggling. In 1783, the duty was estimated as high as 114 per cent, and the quantity of tea, imported by the East India Company, was little more than one-half of what it had been 14 years before.

The Company had enhanced their price 28 per cent. The Commutation Act reduced the duties to 12½ per cent. This increased the Company's sales nearly three-fold, but reduced their prices only about 14 per cent. Peace and war, as your Committee have already asserted, have made little difference in the conduct of the East India Company. From 1784 to 1794 their pound of tea cost 3s. 0½d. On the average of the whole period of the first war of the French Revolution, the price was ½d. per lb. more; and during the peace of Amiens it was ¾d. per lb. higher than in the war which had just ceased. In the seven following years of war the price was 3s. 2½d. per lb. At present, in a period of profound peace, the Company sell their teas 23½ per cent. higher than in the peace which

followed the American war: in other words their tea is, by so much, dearer than it was 40 years ago. Further, although freight and insurance be nearly one-half less, the Company's teas are at present $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. dearer than their average prices during the whole of the late war!

It is a vulgar error, and one of pernicious tendency, to imagine that the consumption of tea in this country is general. One-third of an ounce a day is considered a moderate allowance for the consumption of an individual. At this rate the consumers of tea, supposing, as we have already done, the consumption of tea to be 28,300,000 lbs., amount only to 1,240,548, or a little less than one-sixth part of our computed population.

Any person of common intelligence must be convinced, from the facts which have now been adduced, that the supply of tea furnished by the East India Company, is wholly inadequate to the consumption of the Kingdom; that their exorbitant monopoly prices are the great obstacle which has hitherto impeded its extensive, and even general, consumption; and that they have neither performed their contract with the Government, nor their duty to the nation.

Your Committee have next to inquire, to what extent the revenue and the commerce of the nation have suffered by the Company's possession of the monopoly, and what prospect there is of improving both, by pursuing an opposite system.

They take the annual consumption of tea in this country, as stated more than once, at 28,300,000 lbs. The sale amount of this has been given at 3,686,682*l*. The difference between this and the Dutch and American prices, or, which is the same thing, what the price would be in a free trade, under the supposition that the English are incapable of bringing teas from China cheaper than the Dutch or Americans, is, as before stated, 736,504*l*.

As to the risk of smuggling in a free trade, it is quite enough to state, that the reduction of the heavy and exorbitant tax, imposed on the commodity by the Company's monopoly, will afford the best security against it; as diminished taxation has been found to do in every other case. The present tax on tea, or the bounty on smuggling, amounts to 169 per cent., according to the statements already given. This bounty would be reduced by near 70 per cent. in a free trade.

The East India Company and their advocates have been in the habit, rather inconsiderately, of charging all encouragement to smuggling to the King's duties only; carefully keeping in the background the temptation to this practice, arising out of their own exorbitant monopoly profits. It may be easily shown, that the public tax on tea is by no means so high as on several other articles which contribute materially to the public revenue. Let tobacco be selected. The average price of all the tobacco in this kingdom is

much over-rated at 6d. per pound ; but, to avoid all charge of exaggeration, let it be taken at this price. The duty is 3s. per lb. or 600 per cent. Were the crown, therefore, to take a duty on tea equal even to 169 per cent., (that is, a duty equal to the present tax paid by the nation to the state, and to the monopoly,) the risk of smuggling in the tea trade would be less than that in the tobacco trade, by just 431 per cent. The consequence of this to the revenue would be to raise it, on the quantity already given, from 3,686,682*l.* to 6,230,493*l.*; that is, to improve it at once by more than half a million, beyond the sum expected to be saved by the important labours of the present Finance Committee ! What effect, your Committee will ask, would this have on the tea trade, in reference to the nation and to the merchants ? Would it not be to throw it open to fair competition ; to place it at least on an equality with the coffee trade, the sugar trade, the spice trade,—and on a much better footing than the tobacco trade, the wine trade, and others which could be easily named ?

Your Committee will now proceed to offer some observations upon the greatly extended traffic, between this country and China, which may justly be calculated upon, when the restrictions imposed by the Company's monopoly are removed.

The Chinese empire contains 150,000,000 of people, so greatly superior in industry, civilisation, and wealth, to the rest of Asia, that an ordinary artisan of that nation will earn, in the British territories in India, just fourfold the wages of a similar artisan, being one of our own native subjects. This fact is conclusive ; it must be considered as a just criterion for judging of the respective civilisation of the two races, and, which is the same thing, of their capacity for conducting foreign commerce. The population of China, therefore, in reference to a commercial intercourse with this country, and in comparison with the people of India, would be much more correctly stated at 300,000,000 than 150,000,000.* The restricted intercourse and connexion, which British subjects are permitted to hold with the British territorial possessions in India, has indeed some little effect in reducing this disproportion ; but nothing short of a *free settlement and colonisation*, calculated to remedy the sloth and barbarism of the native inhabitants, and improve and augment the productions of their soil and industry, can materially affect it.

The vastly superior trade which the East India Company itself carried on with China, beyond what it did with its own possessions, when the monopoly of Indian commerce was entire, is a strong corroboration of the view here given of the respective capacities of the two nations.

* It might very fairly be stated at more, but your Committee place it at this proportion in order to afford no room for cavil.

Your Committee will say a few words upon this subject before they proceed. The total exports of the East India Company, from Great Britain to China in 1814, were 987,788*l.*; their whole exports to India in the same year were only 740,901*l.** On the average of the four subsequent years, it appears the Company's exports to China had fallen off to 864,375*l.* Through the infusion of free trade, the Indian commerce had advanced, in the same period, to 3,850,360*l.*† The Commissioners of the Customs and the East India Company, or both, refuse, for the satisfaction of the public, to separate the Chinese from the Indian trade, and on this account it is not practicable to give the necessary comparison, between free and monopoly trade, for a later period. One important fact, however, may be stated—in 1814 our total export, from Great Britain to India and China together, amounted only to 2,559,033*l.*; in 1826, it was 4,739,359*l.*†

The trade, by sufferance, carried on between British India and China, illustrates, in a remarkable manner, the commercial capabilities of the latter country. In the year 1814, when, as already mentioned, the whole export between Great Britain and China was only 987,788*l.*, and that to India about 740,901*l.*, the Colonial exports amounted to 1,533,576*l.*; that is, the exports of the two ports of Calcutta and Bombay to a single port of China, amounted to nearly the same sum as the whole exports of the East India Company from Great Britain to the regions lying between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

But the American commerce with China, of which your Committee will now give a brief sketch, affords perhaps, of all others, the evidence which is most to their purpose. On the average of the first years of the American commerce, down to the year 1800, their annual exportations of tea did not exceed 2,735,090 lbs. On the average of the three first years of their renewed intercourse with China, after their last war with Great Britain, they exported 8,607,173 lbs. yearly. On the average of the years 1824 and 1825, their exports had increased to 13,314,449 lbs.

The exports of the Americans from China, it will be seen by this, have increased, in twenty-five years, 387 per cent. Those of the East India Company, in the same time, have increased only 23 per cent.; indeed, for the greater part of the time, they have been stationary or retrograding.

Excepting that to Great Britain and Canada, the East India Company have no trade from China to any other country whatsoever. The Americans carry on a trade from thence to the Continent of Europe, to South America, to the Philippine and Sandwich Islands, which

* Lords' Report of 1820 and 1821, p. 120.

† East and West India Trade, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 15th May, 1827.

to the three last countries, is increasing year after year; so that the extent of it, at its Chinese valuation, amounted in 1825 to 229,505*l*. In the year 1805, the whole imports of the Americans into China amounted to 740,795*l*. In 1825 they rose to 1,609,062*l*; and their exports, being 1,823,442*l*., made their whole Chinese trade 3,443,504*l*.

The export trade of the East India Company, from Europe to China, has long been stationary. On the average of the six years, ending with 1820, it amounted annually, at its Chinese valuation, to 1,481,173*l*.; their average yearly exports, from their Indian territories to China, amounted, in the same period, also at the Chinese prices, to 368,521*l*., making their total imports into China 1,859,694*l*. Excluding, of course, remittance of territorial revenue in merchandise, which is not trade, their exports from China may be taken at the same amount as the imports, which will make their whole Chinese commerce 3,719,388*l*.

With a population of 22,700,000, and after an intercourse of 150 years' standing, our trade is but eight per cent. greater than that of the Americans,—with less than half our population,—with not one-half of our taste for the great staple of Chinese export,—and with so comparatively recent a knowledge of the Chinese trade. When we go a little further into the matter, however, we shall find, that the profitable and effectual trade of the Americans is much greater than that of the East India Company. The East India Company laid before the Trade Committee of the Lords, in 1820 and 1821, a statement of their exports from Great Britain to China, for a period of twenty-six years, commencing with their last charter. In the first year of their statement, their exports, consisting of woollens and metals, amounted to 731,559*l*.; in the last year of the last charter, there was an increase upon this of 50 per cent. Of the eight years of the present charter, of which an account is exhibited, there is, with one inconsiderable exception, a decrease of exports year after year; and, in the last year of the statement, they are less by 15½ per cent. than they were twenty-five years before. Upon fifteen successive years, there is a heavy loss sustained; and, out of twenty-six years, three only exhibit a profit, and this a very trifling one. In the whole period the loss sustained is 1,668,103*l*., which is, of course, so much of the national capital wasted and destroyed.*

In statements laid before the Lords' Committee at the same

* What portion of the Teas and other articles exported from China, in vessels of the United States, is destined for America, and what for European consumption, it is difficult precisely to determine. Although doubts have been expressed, whether the demand arising from the latter constitutes a permanent or a considerable portion of their trade, it may fairly be assumed that a contrary opinion prevails in America; as it is.

period, the East India Company represent themselves as having totally failed in their attempts to introduce British cotton manufactures among the Chinese. But, though the East India Company has failed in introducing, or in introducing to any useful purpose, British manufactures, the Americans have succeeded, notwithstanding, to all appearance, they are so much more unfavourably circumstanced. They made the first attempt to introduce European manufactures among the Chinese, so late as 1819, when their whole importations amounted to no more than 4188 pieces of camblets and 769 pieces of broad cloth. The following is a statement of their imports of British goods, into Canton, in 1824-25.

Long Ells.....	7,842 pieces	Handkerchiefs....	27,123 hdfs.
Bombazetts.....	672 ..	Cambrics.....	3,250 pieces.
Camblets.....	4,338 ..	Chintz.....	4,161 ..
Broad Cloths	10,257 ..	Shirtings.....	7,612 ..

In the next year the importations were greatly increased, and were as follows :

Long Ells.....	10,620 pieces.	Cambrics.....	8,288 pieces.
Camblets.....	4,290 ..	Chintz.....	7,376 ..
Broad Cloths	12,067 ..	Shirtings.....	13,694 ..
Handkerchiefs ..	31,694 hdfs.		

The value of a branch of trade which had no existence seven years before, was in this last year 190,620*l*. During the past three years, it has been well known in this country, that the quantity of British goods exported direct to Canton has been greatly increased ; for the British merchant and manufacturer have the mortification of seeing this trade openly carried on by foreigners before their eyes, while they themselves are rigidly excluded, by law, from the least direct participation therein. Previous to 1819, the bullion imported by the Americans composed 83 parts in 100 of their whole importation. Although, since that time, the quantity of furs and skins imported by them into China is considerably diminished, the importation of British manufactures had, in 1825-6, reduced the proportion to 74 parts in 100.

In the event of a free trade between this country and China, our importations thither will, no doubt, chiefly consist of manufactured articles. Raw goods the Chinese already receive in great quantities from our Indian possessions, from the Indian Islands, Siam,

stated, in the report upon American currency, laid before the House of Representatives, in 1819, ' that the annual exports in American vessels from the United States and all other ports, to China and the East Indies, can hardly be estimated at more than twelve millions of dollars, and it cannot be doubted that the sales of East India articles in Europe exceed that amount. The value of merchandise from China and India consumed annually in the United States, is probably equal to five millions of dollars, and, if this be so, the consumption of East India articles by the United States is paid for by the mere profit of the trade.'—*Extract from Report by the Lords' Committee on Foreign Trade, 7th May, 1821.*

Tonquin, and other neighbouring countries; and the Americans may as before import all the bullion which China requires. As far as our commerce is concerned, China will export and not import bullion. It in fact does so at present; one of the largest supplies of Spanish dollars or silver ingots, received into our settlements in India, being in fact derived from Canton. The following may be stated as the most probable articles of exportation from the United Kingdom to China, on the establishment of a free trade—lead, quicksilver, iron, copper, furs, woollens, cotton goods. With respect to metals, it appears that the Americans imported, in 1824, to the value of 116,375*l*. With our superior means, this is a branch of trade which may be very greatly extended. The taste of the Chinese for our woollen fabrics has been long established, and in this a great increase may be expected in a free intercourse with them. The East India Company have asserted, that the woollen fabrics of this country were forced by them upon the Chinese; but for this opinion it is obvious there is no foundation; for, independent of the quantities of British woollens sent to China from our Indian possessions, in express contravention of the Company's bye-laws, the Americans furnished an additional supply, which, in 1825, amounted to the value of 674,622 dollars.*

For our cotton manufactures India has afforded a great and unexpected demand. This market, which had no existence at all for several years after the commencement of the present century, took off, in the year 1826, 26,219,103 yards of printed and plain cottons. The Chinese, independent of their superior wealth and superior population, are far more favourably circumstanced for taking off such goods, than the inhabitants of Hindoostan. The raw material is dear in China, cheap in India. India has always exported both the raw and the manufactured material. China has always imported the first, and, with one inconsiderable exception, Nankeens, never exported the second. Cotton twist may especially be mentioned as an article of export from this country, and likely to be in great demand among the Chinese. Such is, in fact, the improved state of our machinery, in reference to this article, that we could afford to supply it to the Chinese nearly at as low a price as, in former times, they were accustomed to receive the raw material from our Indian possessions or from America. Under such circumstances, the extent to which this article may be exported to China may be inferred from what has been done in the less favourable market of Hindoostan.† It was first sent thither in 1816, the export in that year amounting only to 624 lbs. In 1826, the quan-

* East and West India Trade, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 15th May, 1827.

† This experiment is about to be tried, through the medium of private enterprise; a considerable shipment having been made for that market, by the indirect route of Singapore.

tity exported was 918,535 lbs., of which the share of the East India Company was just 852 lbs. In the year 1827, the export has been much greater, and in the present year it is going on at a still greater rate.*

Our imports from China will consist of drugs, raw silk, sugar, tea and bullion. Those who are unacquainted with the tea trade, may have some doubts of the capacity of the Chinese to furnish us with the large supply of tea upon which your Committee speculate. A few words of explanation will be necessary.

A little more than a century ago, tea was hardly known as an article of commerce to the European nations. The following is probably a near approach to the present consumption of the different nations of the European race:

Great Britain and Colonies.....	30,000,000 lbs.
North and South America.....	12,000,000
Continent of Europe†.....	4,000,000
	<hr/>
	46,000,000

The Chinese being as much addicted to the use of tea as when we first knew them, and it being very improbable that the consumption is at all diminished among themselves, it is evident that very nearly 46,000,000 lbs. of tea are now grown in China, beyond what was grown there some seventy years back; 60 parts in 100 of this have been the produce of the last forty-five years.

The fact, as connected with green tea, is particularly striking. The European consumption of this description amounts, giving one-fifth part to the English, four-fifths to the Americans, and one-half to the Continental nations, to 17,600,000 lbs. The Chinese themselves do not drink green tea as a beverage, and consume it only in trifling quantities as a medicine; all that is grown, therefore, of this quality is produced expressly for the use of American and European nations. In fact, whole districts of a distant province of the empire are appropriated to the cultivation of this variety, almost exclusively, for the markets of Europe and America.

* In the three first months of this present year, the export of twist to India has been 826,515 lbs.* In the corresponding three months of 1827, the export to India was 139,149 lbs.

† Your Committee have at present no estimate of the consumption of Russia, but it is now very considerable, and consists of tea of fine quality, produced in provinces which afford no part of the supply for other European and American nations. This proves that almost every province of China is suited to the production of tea, and that there can be no doubt, that the supply will always be commensurate with the demand, without speculating upon the highly probable event that the article will be grown in various European colonies. This may, more especially, be the case in the similar and congenial soil and climate of India, when the desirable and necessary policy of the free settlement of Europeans is fully established.

GROUND'S OF OBJECTION TO THE CALCUTTA STAMP TAX.

By an Old Inhabitant.

[THE question of the Indian Stamp Tax has been so fully discussed in our pages, and so ably treated also in the last Number of 'The Edinburgh Review,' that we should not have thought it necessary to revert to the subject ourselves, but, having received from India a manuscript, containing a condensed and well-arranged view of the leading arguments in this question, possessing some novelty of substance as well as form, we readily give it a place among the other records already printed on this important subject. The objections of the writer, who is, we believe, what he really signs himself, An Old Inhabitant, are thus stated] :

1. As consumers, we do pay our proportion of every mofussil tax—even the land tax, the salt tax, the opium tax. Although the Indian land revenue is the rent of the soil, yet under a system which leaves that in the hands of private owners, and to find its level, the cultivators acquire capital, and cultivate at less expense of production. Here cultivation is carried on by advances, or borrowing, at great interest, for which consumers pay indirectly, in prices, wages, and enhanced cost of all production.

2. We pay, *in the first instance*, all the customs and import duties, just as the inhabitants of the mofussil, *in the first instance*, pay their taxes; and they relieve us only of such part of the import duties as their consumption takes up.

3. We pay town duties, house taxes, taxes on liquors, &c. &c., in like manner as the inhabitants of places out of the jurisdiction of the Court.

4. In other most important particulars, the European portion of us are very differently situated from the great body of his Majesty's native subjects.

5. We are not allowed to purchase land.

6. We are liable to be ordered out of the country at a moment's warning.

7. We are not allowed to colonise, or to resort hither.

8. We are not allowed to purchase, or deal in salt.

9. We are not allowed to go eleven miles from Calcutta, without permission.

10. We are not allowed to follow callings in the interior, without special license, revocable at will.

11. The above are direct interferences with industry, with the

free disposition and employment of capital, and with personal liberty of action.

12. Comparing our situation with that of our countrymen at home, British-born subjects here are further exposed to many personal restraints and political disabilities.

13. We have not the benefit of juries to settle our differences, and assess damages.

14. We have not the full benefit of the Act of Habeas Corpus.

15. We have no voice in the nomination of the smallest magistrate, or functionary, set over us.

16. We have not the privilege of communicating our thoughts by printing, but under revocable license, so that security of property against the mal-administration of justice has not that guarantee which all upright judges desire.

17. We have not the right to assemble for public purposes, without special leave.

18. We have no voice in the imposition of any tax or burden upon us.

19. We have no knowledge even of taxes or burdens meditated, till they are passed into laws.

20. We have no corporate bodies, or public institutions, or organs of communication and influence with the Government here, or with any one of all the authorities in England.

21. We are the first and most directly interested in the financial measures of Government, especially such as relate to the imposition of burdens, the raising of loans, or paying them off; the reduction or augmentation of interest, &c., yet we have no knowledge of these matters so deeply affecting our property, which, be it observed, *cannot invest itself in agricultural purchases*, till they are suddenly and secretly carried into operation; and we have no opportunity, as in England, of preparing, distributing, or providing against partial and injurious effects of such measures.

22. We are not now complaining of all the above and other disqualifications; but we have always considered, and do consider, that so many privations and restraints were, in some degree, compensated by freedom from any laws, taxes, or burdens, within the jurisdiction of the King's Court, not specially and distinctly imposed by the Legislature, or sanctioned by the concurrence of the said Court.

23. We see no end to the imposition of taxes by local authority, in which we have no influence. If once the system of imposts takes root, we submit that the intentions of the Legislature, in throwing open the Indian trade, and expressly limiting the amount of duties to be borne by it, *might be indirectly, but effectually, defeated by*

excises, assessed and property taxes, and other burdens without number, affecting, in various ways, the ship-owner, trader, planter, capitalist, and all concerned in Indian commerce.

24. In his Majesty's colonies, taxes are levied either by the authority of colonial assemblies, in the older settlements, or in the more recent ones, by crown Governments, in which one or more Judges, independent of the Governments, have a voice.

25. Such security to the legal rights and interests of the subject, and to the cautious weighing of measures affecting him, we have not; although, from this not being a royal Government, but one delegated to the servants of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England, trading in and to this country, that protection may be reasonably thought peculiarly needful.

26. The establishment of the Supreme Court here, and its required concurrence in enactments affecting us, were declaredly intended by Parliament as a protection of this nature. We do not enjoy the advantages, like national colonies and establishments, of being administered under the immediate inspection and habitual vigilance of our virtual representatives in Parliament. The affairs of India are privately conducted in another place: in the first instance, by the Honourable Court of Directors, and, secondarily, by the Board of Control. It is only incidentally, and on rare and special occasions, that matters connected with India come at all to the notice of Parliament, or are made public even to the proprietary body of stockholders.

27. We most respectfully decline subscribing to the opinion, that there is, and ought to be, no difference between the inhabitants within the pale of the Supreme Court, and those without, in respect to legislation, or liability to imposts.

28. The establishment of the Royal Courts, for the reasons assigned by Parliament, proves the former,* and places the inhabitants of Calcutta under a totally different system of laws, with, of course, distinct rights, duties, and liabilities.

29. In respect to the latter, we respectfully submit that the distinct nature of our rights and liabilities,† from those of inhabitants under the Honourable Company's jurisdictions, is equally clear.

30. We are advised that English settlers, wheresoever sojourning under the King's flag, carry with them every practicable right and obligation of their birth, *excepting such as are taken from them by the Legislature of their own country.*

31. *Whereas the Native subjects, acquired by conquest in a foreign country, can claim no rights of British settlers, or any rights as British subjects, but such as are expressly conceded to them by the same supreme authority.*

* Distinct laws.

† Distinct rights and duties.

32. This difference of position we take to be *essential* and *fundamental*, and that it is expressly recognised in all the legislation of England for India.

33. The Native inhabitants of Calcutta have, by law, every right and privilege of *British* inhabitants, in virtue of their dwelling among us, and being expressly taken from the jurisdiction of the Company's laws, and placed under the courts and laws of England.

34. Our main objection being to the system of unlimited taxation, imposed without our previous knowledge, or the knowledge of our virtual representatives in Parliament, we have the less dwelt on local and partial, or inconvenient, effects of the Stamp Act: we are not, however, the less alive to the recognised impolicy and wrong of law taxation, or taxes on justice in any shape,—to the well known ultimate incidence of taxes that affect the transfer of capital, upon the needy instead of the opulent,—or to the notorious unproductiveness of stamp duties, compared with the cost of levying, and the gross sums levied.

35. One great and striking proof of the inconvenience and severity of a system of taxation carried on by private communications to and from England, is seen in the length of time it takes up, and the entire change, in political and commercial relations, which may take place before a tax returns hither sanctioned. What was proposed and approved as a war measure, or to meet urgent financial wants, may find, peace restored, finances prosperous. What was suggested when commerce flourished, and disposable capital overflowed, may find trade and manufactures languishing, and money scarce. What was proposed in periods of harmony and intercourse among all classes of inhabitants, may find distrust and ill-humour prevailing.

36. We believe the system of European direct and indirect taxation, and the system of Asiatic imposts, where the State is the real land-owner, and absorbs *all* of the nett rent of land, which it does not distinctly renounce, (by gift or compromise,) to be incompatible, in the political economy of any state; the latter system having prevailed in India, time immemorial, aggravated under the Honourable Company's regime, by their possession of the great monopolies, and the exercise of their mercantile functions, we believe it to be impossible that the practices of English finances can be productively, or largely, introduced here, without great suffering to all classes of consumers, on whom taxation, in whatever shape, ultimately falls.

37. In respect to the security against excessive taxation, which is said to be provided by the Act, which requires the assent of the King's Ministers to any proposed impost, we beg to profess our loyal reliance on the gracious intentions of his Majesty at all times, and our especial confidence in the liberal spirit which has characterised so many of the acts of the present Ministers. But we respectfully urge that no such confidence can be put forth, or consi-

dered as a constitutional or valid security to the subject, against the possible abuse of power, or neglect of duty, in any other set of Ministers who may in future times be called to office. There is no real solidity in any such guarantee at any time; and least of all, towards the close of the present charter, when his Majesty's Ministers have a natural and laudable interest in raising the standard of Indian revenue as high as possible, to counterbalance the Indian debt, with which, it is presumed, the British Exchequer will be burdened, in case of a resumption of the Company's exclusive privileges.

38. Finally, the Government assures us that we have nothing to fear from over-taxation, as they will only ask fresh contributions when they are urgently in want of them, and which is the only cause of their now asking them in shape of a Stamp Tax. But what security can we have in the moderation of a Government, the very basis and foundation of whose revenue system is that of drawing *all* the rent of the estate, expending as little of it as possible, and pocketing, or remitting the difference, as '*tribute*,' or '*surplus revenue*,'—a political and economical error,—but unhappily recognised in every successive charter, and boasted of so lately as 1822 and 1823. A Government, drawing its resources, as in Europe, from the contributions of the subjects for the common purposes of protection and government, may be restrained from asking more than its needs require; but a State that is land-owner, trader, and monopolist, can give no security that it will not exact all it can, to be enabled to remit a surplus to the another country.

THE CORONAL.

(Translated from a Sonnet written, in Modern Greek, by the late Ugo Foscolo, and addressed by him to Lady ———.)

FAR from my native Heaven, a wreath I wove
Of mingled odour, and of various hue.
Smiling and sad—my own heart's emblem true—
The violet pale—the rose that blooms for love.
The delicate hyacinth, and myrtle green,
Embracing the soft lily's virgin sheen.
And, oh! still dearer, from Hesperian bower,
The laurel shadowing each subject flower,
My Heliodora! thou wilt haply wear
This votive coronal I wreathed for thee,
To twine the tresses of thy golden hair,
Thy sunbright locks, proudly and gracefully,
Bright as thy polish'd brow, and perfumed as thy sigh.

LETTERS FROM THE EAST.—RECENT ACCOUNT OF THE-
STATE OF SINGAPORE.

THE following account of Singapore, contained in a very recent letter from a visitor to that settlement, will be, no doubt, new to many of our readers :

Singapore, 10th of November, 1827.

I HAD got thus far without experiencing much benefit from the change of air; but a short residence on this most delightful island completely re-established my impaired health, and I have been enabled to enjoy myself, during the stay of the ship, much more than I could possibly have expected.

The numerous, and, in many points, exaggerated reports of the capabilities and conveniences of this far-famed emporium, rather induced me, at first acquaintance, to feel some disappointment. This soon wore off; and, as it gradually disappeared, the new formed town, with all its concomitant business-like scenes of activity and industry, rose progressively into a place of no mean aspect, even to my unbiassed mind. It will not bear, it is true, any comparison with the appearance of our great commercial towns of the western hemisphere; nor has it to hide its diminished head when mentioned with Indian ports.

A large number of the houses are built of brick and stone, in a very superior style, the second and more numerous class are wood, with tiled roofs. The bazaar, in appearance, in bustle, and compact arrangements, far excels that of Penang; the revenue exceeds it proportionally. In climate, the inhabitants are peculiarly fortunate; the average of 78° of temperature is hardly to be expected, in lat. $1^{\circ} 18'$, which is, that of Singapore; further than this, the nights are always cool and refreshing. Here are no such things as sleepless nights after hot, grilling days; the sea and land breezes alternately cool the air.

I have been informed, that seventy-nine Chinese junks, from 100 to 600 tons, 120 Bugis boats, from fifty to 150 tons, and Malay and other boats of the Archipelago, too numerous to mention, with twenty European ships and square-rigged vessels, have been seen, at various times, in the roads together, navigated by different nations, and trading, under the vigilance of the police establishment, in perfect harmony.

The smallest boat in use here, only ten feet long by one foot broad, and pulled with a double paddle, by one man, can traverse in perfect safety the roads of Singapore, at all seasons of the year; affording safe and good anchorage for the fleets of all the world.

Here the Chinese, Choliahs, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, Arabs,

and various other tribes, live together, peaceably and quietly, under their European masters. A few cases of desperate revenge, peculiar to the Malayan race, have occurred; but it is, indeed, wonderful to see such unanimity prevailing generally among such different tribes; it must and can only be ascribed to the efficiency of the police, which has been for years under the direction of a gentleman of the Civil service, eminently qualified for any office of responsibility and trust. It would be hardly worth adding my mite to the general voice in his favour; he is decidedly the flower of the Penang service, which has been doomed for years to labour in obscurity, and to experience nothing but neglect and slight from those who are placed over it.

Various improvements, which had been projected by Mr. Fullerton, such as fortifications on a large scale, roads across and over the island, &c. &c., had been put a stop to before my arrival. The Government, it appears, considered Mr. Fullerton's staff large enough for 10,000 instead of 2000 men. A number of bullocks for the artillery, which, by the bye, could have been of very limited service, and would not have thriven, are countermanded. The Governor thus crippled, poor man! is determined, it seems, to enjoy his *otium* without, instead of *cum dignitate*, and means to take up, for the future, his quarters at Malacca; which has, from its territorial capabilities, and consequent powers of affording pasturage for his (as applied, to the straits) illegitimate child, *land-tax*, been always his favourite, preferring it before Penang or Singapore. He will be here in the middle of his flock; and, as far as I can learn, his retirement from the *extremes* of his mis-managed province will be looked upon as little short of a blessing.

His hands, if not in blood, are stained in the dye (lake) of patronage; not supporting and protecting those who deserve it, but lavished indiscriminately on his friends and connexions, whether fit for his gifts or not; it is not the wants of the service, but those of his friends that are considered. No barrier is insurmountable to that genius which clearly demonstrated that going to the expense of five rupees a month was cheaper than paying for the same time at the rate of only two!!

The system of extortion which had been found to work on the rich plains of India, in the shape of land revenue, was transplanted into the poor and barren soil of the Malayan peninsula, by the Governor, Mr. Fullerton. It appears to me to present an appearance very similar to the effect which might be expected to result from the introduction pretty generally of the *upas-tree* (if we may believe the description of it); destroying vegetation in the bud, and, if persevered in, likely to depopulate the whole of the interior of the island, occupied by agriculturists. There is, at least from what I heard openly and generally spoken, very little security to be had for property; for it is, at any time, in the power of Government to

resume, and dispose of, to others, such ground as they may please to term 'land of unfulfilled contract.'

Some gentlemen, residents in the island, had secured small lots of ground, at considerable expense, for building houses on, the only recommendations of which were their sea-ports: a narrow slip of ground between them and the sea, which had been appropriated to an evening drive and parade, not deep enough to build upon, and which, it was understood, at the time the above gentlemen occupied their lots, would *always remain open*, and which had remained so for years, the Inspector-General (a fine name) proposed to *dispose* of, forsooth, because it was likely to fetch money. It is to be hoped, that such an act of injustice may not be effected, and that the Supreme Government, whose eyes, for the sake of once-flourishing Singapore, we do hope are opened, will take into their own hands the helm which Mr. Fullerton is evidently unable to manage. The very unnecessary increase of troops, since the Bengal Establishment was replaced by Madrassees, together with the more expensive nature of the soldiers, has more than *doubled* the heretofore too extravagant demands of the Eastern settlements on the treasury of Bengal.

A few hundreds did formerly, where thousands, since the introduction of Mr. Fullerton's staff, and the Inspector-General's department, will not do now. Many of the acts of this Government, so disgraceful when viewed by themselves, are, no doubt, owing to the difficulties into which the fundamental error of *no council* has led them. To please his own ambition, Mr. Fullerton got the counselors divided and sent away, so as never to have more than one to sit with him: thus, by asserting his right to the *casting vote*, he became independent; and thus, left to his nod, the Honourable Company have allowed their constituents to feel the effect of his mis-management and extravagance, to the tune of many thousands.

The Madras troops had scarce arrived to replace the Bengal forces, which were represented as dearer and more difficult to manage, when one corps refused to obey orders, and *got their own way* on the subject of *provisions*; and it was clearly proved, and made as plain as A B C, that a wrong calculation, and wilful misrepresentation had been made to the Supreme Government.

Sooner or later, truth will out:

'Ex fumo dare lucem.'

The Bengal Government, there is reason to believe, from the stoppage of further outlay, have exerted their power; Mr. Fullerton intends to remain at Malacca, and all may yet be retrieved.

If allowed to grow by itself, Singapore must thrive, and will exceed the most sanguine expectations by its prosperity. Neither customs nor any additional weight can safely be added to its legitimate burden, or that which it has borne since its infancy.

TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM MAXFIELD.

SIR,

London, April 14th, 1828.

THE prominent part you have acted for some time past at the East India House, the zeal, activity, and independence you have exhibited, claim my admiration, and must plead my apology for addressing you personally on this occasion; and if, in so doing, I shall prove at all instrumental in preserving your consistency, I shall contribute no less to preserve your credit, than to benefit the public.

The motives by which I am actuated, are very remote from hostility or opposition. I have long approved and applauded that line of conduct which had evidently the public good in view, without the shadow of personal gratification; and the sacrifice of your individual interests was no less praiseworthy than creditable.

It has been long known to many, that you were engaged in the preparation of a work, descriptive of the East India Company's service, trade, &c. &c., and, Sir, from my knowledge of your zeal, application, and general information, with a belief that you have long contemplated such subject, with reference to the continuation of the present charter, I have no hesitation in saying, that I anticipate much public benefit from the facts, evidence, and data, which I believe it in your power to adduce at so important a crisis.

Report, however, says that your opinions, on many important points, connected with Indian affairs, have undergone considerable change, and that you now even consider the preservation of our Indian Empire dependent on the preservation of the East India Company. Mere report, however, would have had little weight with me, unless corroborated by some circumstances, which I confess have excited my surprise. Had you not been present at the last two Quarterly General Courts held at the India House, I should have found an excuse for you, which I am at present unable to conceive.

When no positive evidence can be had, we must avail ourselves of such as presents itself; and the opinions of some men may be ascertained by their silence on certain occasions, as unequivocally as if distinctly averred. The defalcation which had occurred in the Honourable Company's treasury, the importance of the subject, and the interest it excited among a large body of the Proprietors, rendered such affair no less worthy of notice, than likely to attract your attention. You have given too many proofs of your fearless independence to allow me to attribute your studied silence, on a question of such interest, to dread; and ignorance only could be an

adequate plea for abandoning a task, which justice and the public interests urged you to undertake.

The Company's treasury then, Sir, may be notoriously plundered, and the delinquents not merely pardoned but promoted, while a perfect oblivion is produced, and you are studiously silent on the subject. Mr. Gahagan, I think, did advert to the circumstance, at the last Quarterly Court, but declared his want of knowledge of the facts to enable him to submit a motion on the subject, while he dwelt on the importance of it. If you could have stated your inability, for want of information, to frame a motion on such an important point, I should have been spared the trouble of addressing you on this occasion; but, if I am not grossly mis-informed, you were, long ago, in possession of all the particulars of the transaction alluded to, as well as the extraordinary conduct of the Court of Directors in such affair. With such information, what a case ought you not to have established,—what credit might you not have obtained,—and what an opportunity you have lost?

You must be aware how many there are who admire and approve, both in the Court of Proprietors and out of it, the conduct of those who dare to question the proceedings of the Court of Directors; and, although few are the hands which are raised to support the minority, there are many who reciprocate in their feelings and opinions, though they are not at liberty to avow them.

Your silence, coupled with a knowledge of the transaction, evinces a degree of indulgence and consideration on your part, which I had little expected; and, under such circumstances, I shall be as little surprised to find you soon the strenuous advocate of those you have so frequently assailed. If you are a sincere convert to the opinion, that the happiness and prosperity of India are best secured through the administration of the East India Company, I am well aware no argument of mine can have any influence; but, if it is the mere portion of those advantages, which the extensive patronage of the Court of Directors hold out as the reward of their faithful adherents and defenders, which operates to turn you, let me entreat you to hesitate ere you adopt a course so delusive and discreditable. Remember you have too long, too steadfastly, and too effectually exposed the defects and mis-management of various branches of the Company's service, to be readily forgiven; while the hungry dependents, and thick-and-thin supporters of every abuse, claim the lasting gratitude and sole rewards of the Court of Directors.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

AN OLD PROPRIETOR.

KING'S AND COMPANY'S OFFICERS IN THE UNITED SERVICE CLUBS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,—You will oblige me much by devoting a page or two of your valuable 'Herald,' for the purpose of announcing to the officers of the Indian Army, in what high estimation they are held by the officers in the King's Military Service, who compose a very large majority in the clubs, termed United Service Clubs, as well as to submit how far the designation 'United Service' includes, in point of fact, the officers of the Honourable Company's service.

You have no doubt heard, as well as personally know, a great deal of what goes forward in the variously denominated Clubs which abound in London, as respects the qualification and balloting for Members; and that it is not the being a gentleman, which decides the question of admission to these Clubs. Character, which should be an essential, is, of all things, the least attended to; it is not even a requisite.

As a military man, I am sorry to say the above observations strongly characterise the proceedings of the United Service Clubs; in addition to which, a party feeling prevails there, which is any thing but honourable to the members. To prove the same, I could furnish you with numerous instances, but I shall content myself with selecting two: The first being that of Sir Thomas Munro, late Governor of Madras, who, a short time previous to the account of his death reaching England, was balloted for as a Member, and, I understand, narrowly escaped being blackballed. Now, if Sir Thomas, on the score of character, ran such a risk, who have we in the Indian army who can possibly hope to succeed? But, as I have said before, the candidate's fate rests not on character,—it depends on the party, or service, he belongs to. Sir Thomas was not *one of us*; and therefore, the attempt to exclude him.

In the other instance, I beg to submit, through your pages, the following letters, which have passed between a member of the Junior United Service Club and an officer of the Indian army. The publication of the letter of the latter is not only intended as a warning to his brother officers; but he also hopes that it may meet the eyes of those to whom it applies, as well as those who can, under the protection of a blackball, wantonly trifle with the feelings of a gentleman: and he cannot but felicitate such characters, on the happy invention of a weapon that can be used with such safety to themselves. To some whiskered warriors, whose range of service may have been limited to the Cape, or a bird's-eye view of Waterloo,

the blackball is an enviable weapon : it is to them what the stiletto is to the assassin, and to such let it be consigned.—I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

London, 16th April, 1828.

A SUBSCRIBER.

‘MY DEAR ———,—I inserted your name, seconded by a brother officer of mine, in order that, if it should meet your approbation, you will, on Monday next, be one of us. If, on the contrary, you do not think well of it, you may withdraw it, whenever it pleases you ; which, though I confess I shall feel sorrow in doing so, will instantly be done, *without the least inconvenience to you*. Your election, I think, I can secure, having a strong phalanx in my service, ready to vote for a friend, and from having been so fortunate as to have saved a ——— from *his fate*, which was nearly decided. Write to me your feelings on the question, and it shall be attended to. We had a large General Meeting yesterday ; ——— in the chair ; most numerously attended, and many excellent speeches were made upon the occasion.—Believe me, my dear ———, sincerely yours,

‘J. U. S. Club, Dover-street, Piccadilly,
Tuesday.’

‘MY DEAR ———,—I fear you have not received a note from me three days ago, in which I stated having proposed you as a Member of our Club. Should you disapprove of my having taken this step, *no harm whatever* is done, for you can withdraw your name without the least inconvenience in the world *to you or to me* ; therefore be under no uneasiness whatever on that account. If you approve, on Monday you will be elected, and on Tuesday will receive, from the Secretary, your instructions. Write to me as soon as you can.—Believe me, &c.

‘J. U. S. Club, Dover-street, Piccadilly,
Saturday morning.’

‘MY DEAR ———,—I was engaged yesterday with ———, which prevented my writing you until now. Since I proposed you as a Member, a feeling, not in any way honourable to those who participate in it, has arisen among some of the ——— and ———, that there will not be vacancies enough for the King’s Service, and, in consequence of which, a determination to prevent any one else from joining the Club. In order to effect this, they reject the officers of the Civil Department of *Navy and Army*, and add to it those of the East India Company’s Service. I beg you not to give yourself the least annoyance on this account, when the cause is made known to you ; the principle might be good in abstract, but never in its pre-

sent practice. I write no more at present, as I hope to meet you to-morrow, or perhaps shall have that pleasure to-day.—Believe me, &c.

'Wednesday morning.'

MY DEAR —,—You cannot conceive how much your communication has annoyed me, as an officer of the Honourable Company's Service, and holding his Majesty's commission. I feel more than hurt at the ungentlemanly feeling which seems to guide the conduct of many of the Members of your Club, towards officers of the Indian army, and I more than agree with you in what you say on the subject. While the regulations of the Club continue as at present, and professions are publicly held out that the Members are admitted on the principle of an union of the services, I repeat that it is ungentlemanly for the Members, from any one particular service, to unite, in *secret*, for the purpose of generally excluding those of another service to themselves. In fact, I will go farther, and say, that it is assassin-like in those who can publicly hold out union and good fellowship in one hand, and yet secretly stab with the other. The sooner an exposure takes place the better; and, that the feelings of my brother officers may not be further outraged by a party, I shall endeavour to make your communication as public as possible, which I trust you will not object to.

'Anticipating, as I did, that, as an officer of the Indian army, I should have met with that fairness which one gentleman has a right to expect from another, I felt obliged by your having so kindly put my name on the list; and, without attaching any, or the least blame to you, I feel now only hurt that I should have allowed it to appear in a place where party feeling seems predominant. That there are many honourable men in your Club cannot be doubted; but that there are others, your communication sufficiently proves.—Yours, &c.

'Saturday morning.'

THE DEATH-PLACE OF CHARLES XII.

HERE fell th' enthusiast, 'the Swede !'
The spot, these cypress trees surround ;
And though mine be no warrior's creed,
I feel I tread no common ground.
That little pillar bears no name,
It needeth none where he did fall ;
It only marks the spot where fame
Link'd with his memory, Frederickshall !
His name ! oh, it is written there,
Eternal on that rocky wall ;
No more this obelisk need bear,
Than 'In the fight of Frederickshall !'

GENERAL LETTER OF NEWS FROM MADRAS.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR,

Madras, December 31st, 1827.

I CLOSED my last letter to you on the 4th inst., but I am not sure that you will receive it much before this, although despatched long before.* I need not here recapitulate any thing I then said, but go on informing you of the occurrences of the month, the most prominent of which is a sad storm with which Madras has recently been visited. I enclose you the particulars of it, as correctly as I have been able to ascertain them; perhaps from some of the newspapers you may glean something more, but I think I have not omitted any thing of consequence. Little else of novelty has occurred throughout the month. I enclose you copies of such General Orders as I think of sufficient interest; you will perceive from one of them that the officer, formerly mentioned as having killed one of his brother officers, by a blow from a billiard cue, has been tried by a General Court Martial, found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. A sepoy was shot on the 24th inst., at Palaveram, for attempting to take the life of a Native Officer; you will find his Court Martial in the inclosed, and some other rather strange Orders.

George Lys, Esq., has been appointed Sheriff of Madras, for the year 1828; and he has appointed Mr. J. T. Baillie as his Deputy. This is as it should be. Mr. Lys is an old and very respectable inhabitant of Madras; he has for some years been Coroner; and young Baillie, whom he has appointed his deputy, is the son of a late highly respectable medical officer on this establishment, and is now entered as an Attorney of the Supreme Court. He once exhibited symptoms of being an honest attorney, (a rarity indeed at Madras,) but of late he seems to have fallen into the wicked courses of his professional brethren, and will probably turn out as great an adept as any of them. J. Nixon, Esq., a gentleman belonging to the Bench, has succeeded to the situation of Coroner, in room of Mr. Lys. Accounts have been received here, this month, of the death, on his passage to England, of Captain D. Newall, C. B., an old and distinguished officer of the coast army.

A country-born man, who had carried on the business of silver-smith and jeweller for some years here, having given rather extensive credit, found himself in embarrassed circumstances, about two

* The letter referred to has not yet reached.—Ed.

† This will be found under the usual head, in a subsequent page.—Ed.

years ago; and, for the satisfaction of his creditors, he made over his books, with about eighty thousand rupees of out-standing debts on them, to an attorney of our Supreme Court, with instructions to use every legal measure to recover the amounts. The attorney retained the books for eighteen months, and then returned them, accompanied, of course, with a statement of his success. From this statement, it appeared he had collected the sum of eleven thousand rupees, and his bill of costs, charges, and expenses, amounted to nine thousand five hundred, leaving to the creditors of the unfortunate silversmith the sum of fifteen hundred rupees out of the eighty thousand! It would occupy too much of your pages, were I to detail many of the enormous charges in this bill of nine thousand five hundred rupees. One only I will mention; to a young officer, who owed the estate twenty-eight rupees, the zealous attorney had addressed three separate letters of demand, for each of which he charges ten and a half rupees, although the fee of such letter, as laid down by the Court, is three and a half rupees; notwithstanding which, this bill has been taxed and passed by the Master in Equity.

You will observe from the inclosed General Order, that our right honourable Governor has been graciously pleased to honour the class, formerly distinguished here by the name of Country-borns, with the more gratifying title of Indo-Britons. The benefit they are to derive from this I am unacquainted with, but hope it is considerable; what is rather extraordinary is, that it is generally understood here the boon has been granted at the earnest request and solicitation of a few country-born individuals, the descendants of banished Dutchmen, refugee Spaniards and Portuguese, and others, whose fathers, mostly Germans, came to India in the regiment de Meroun. At all events, a letter has been sent up to Government from this class, returning thanks for this accession to their hereditary honours; and, as it is signed wholly by this race, it follows that all now consider themselves Indo-Britons, and entitled to all the immunities and privileges of such.

Nothing of a public nature has been done by Mr. Lushington, since he assumed the Government. It is said he is about soon proceeding on a tour to the Neelgherry Hills, where it has been determined to form an establishment for the benefit of sick officers and soldiers, and the Governor enters keenly into its adoption: engineers, &c., accompany him for the purpose of forming the proposed buildings. It is said there is to be a large barracks and hospital for the European soldiery, and good detached bungaloes for officers and others. No doubt is entertained but this establishment will be of material utility to the service in general; and many will derive, from a few months' residence there, that restoration to health which it at present requires a voyage to England to obtain; and it will be the

saving of the lives of many European soldiers. Major Kelso, of the Native Infantry, is appointed to the command at the Neelgherries.

Report says that our Governor is most anxious, by some means or other, to augment the revenues of the country,—a rather difficult affair, coming after Sir Thomas Munro, as, under his government, every thing in this way had been effected that ingenuity or a complete knowledge of the country could with safety warrant. And it is further added, that finding little can be done in increasing the revenue, recourse is to be had to curtailing the expenses of Government in every possible manner. The pruning-knife of reform and retrenchment is to be set hard at work, and every reduction made that can be effected. It is, however, to be hoped they will only be exercised where the retrenchment is of real importance, and not on paltry trifles, such as the pay of a few sepoy, and the still more trifling pay of half a score of peons. The Governor has appointed his son, (a civil servant,) to be one of his secretaries. It is said the secretaries and others know but little of what is going forward, as the Governor himself is most indefatigable in his attention to business, and executes a great deal with his own pen. Since his arrival he has been examining minutely all the accounts and records of Government for some years back, comparing the revenues and expenses of collection, the salaries of all ranks, and every thing else connected with the commercial, judicial, and revenue departments. The expenses of the army, it is said, are also undergoing his scrutiny, if with a view to retrenchment it is to be hoped he will recollect the occurrences of 1809, when Sir George Barlow, by his endeavours to render himself popular in Leadenhall Street, nearly sacrificed the whole establishment, and involved the army in a labyrinth from which it has not yet recovered.

Some misunderstanding exists between the military authorities at Penang and the Recorder; no authentic statement of it has yet come before the public, although report blames both parties. Of the Recorder we as yet know but little; *of course he is an upright judge.* The military commandant, Captain Fraser, is an officer well known to the Coast Army, as one who has had experience and seen service, and withal a gentlemanly, shrewd officer.

In the inclosed Garrison Orders, you will find a caution from the Commander-in Chief, as to bringing before military courts martial, individuals who are not amenable to such authority. I will write you during the ensuing month, (January,) as there will be many opportunities.

I remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,

C. D.

Madras was visited, on the night between the 5th and 6th of December, with one of those severe hurricanes to which it is occasionally subject, but which, fortunately, are of rare occurrence, as, from the year 1807 to the present period, we can only recollect three of equal violence; viz. those of 1811, 18, and 20. During the whole of the 5th, the weather wore a most threatening appearance; the surface rose to a great height, the clouds were gathering thicker and blacker, and during the day, the violent gusts of wind from the north-west, accompanied by heavy clouds of dust, indicated a coming storm. Towards evening the wind became rather less violent, although at intervals sudden gusts continued to break forth, and at midnight it commenced to blow a perfect hurricane, exciting dismay and spreading desolation far and wide. It had rained, more or less, during the twelve hours preceding; but it now fell in torrents, and the gale had acquired such a violence as seemed to carry all before it. From about two o'clock, A.M., of the 6th, till between four and five o'clock, the storm of wind and rain continued most severe; during this period it was at its height; the wind then veered from the north to the east and the south-easterly points of the compass, still blowing with great fury; but soon after five o'clock it abated considerably, and by nine o'clock it became moderately calm.

The scene next morning was dreadful; the destruction terrible. Every one's thoughts were naturally turned towards the shipping. Seven vessels were in the roads the preceding evening, and had been seen riding hard all the day before; no communication had been carried on with them during the 5th, and all attempts of the commanders, who happened all to be on shore, to get on board, proved fruitless, as no boat could possibly leave the shore from the extremely heavy swell and high surf. The vessels were, the *Hope*, Captain T. Hill; the *Security*, Captain A. Ross; the *Malabar*, Captain D. Oliver; the *Felicitas*, Captain P. Campbell; the *Gunjava*, Captain J. Taylor; the *David Malcolm*, Captain W. D. Messiter; and the schooner *Waterloo*, Captain J. Williams.

The *Hope* had only arrived from England five days before, and the *Security* during last month. Out of those seven vessels, five were driven ashore, and totally wrecked. The *Hope*, *Security*, *Malabar*, and *Waterloo*, were lying on the strand, to the south of Fort St. George, off St. Thomé. The *Felicitas* was wrecked about seven miles to the south of Covelong. The *Malabar* got safely into Divicotta, with the loss of her masts and rudder. Of the *Gunjava* no tidings have been heard; but it is hoped she is safe, and she is supposed to have been seen by the ship *Royal Charlotte*, which arrived here from England on the 9th; as, two days before she made this port, she saw a ship answering the description of the *Gunjava*, without a mizen-mast, but was unable to communicate with her.

Of the ships thus unfortunately wrecked, not one will be saved;

in fact, most of them have already been sold by auction, and are quickly disappearing, piecemeal, from the beach. Part of the cargoes and stores have been saved from the wrecks, and landed, mostly in a damaged state, and are now also selling off by auction.

‘Fortunately the lives of the mariners were preserved, and, with a few exceptions only, the crews got safely on shore; but many ran great hazards, and none of them saved more than the clothes they had on them. It is deplorable to add, that many of the poor fellows, after struggling and escaping from a watery grave, were beset on their reaching the beach by the natives, who had flocked thither in thousands, and who actually tore the clothes from off the backs of the half-drowned Europeans, as well as plundered some of them of the few sovereigns or dollars that they had secured by tying them round their necks. Two poor tars positively had their trowsers torn from off them, for the sake of a little money that was sewed in their waistbands; being thus robbed by their fellow-men of ‘what waves and tempests spared.’ Nor were these disgraceful doings put a stop to, until the Right Honourable the Governor, with his Body Guard, and the Superintendent of Police, with a posse of peons, reached the spot. Every individual amongst the European community, seemed to vie with his neighbour in affording aid to the distressed; and foremost of all stood our Governor, who was on the beach by seven o’clock, and remained there during a great part of the day, exerting himself amidst this scene of horror and devastation, and using every means for saving the lives, and securing the property, of those belonging to the ships.

‘A subscription has been set on foot for the relief of those unfortunate men, who have lost every thing; and, notwithstanding that the Madras public have of late had numerous calls on them, in the way of subscriptions, (we shall not say on their benevolence, for many subscribe for pictures, services of plate, and monuments, that refuse their mite in this instance,) the fund already exceeds 12,000 rupees, and is intrusted to a committee of gentlemen, who will, no doubt, see it properly appropriated. *Government, in the mean time, have set apart a large barrack for the reception of the seamen, where they are supplied with every necessary of life, and medical attendance.

‘The scene on shore was no less appalling than that which the beach presented; the violence of the contending elements had been so great that the very appearance of the public roads, and every where around, seemed changed. It is almost impossible to give an accurate description of the devastation and havoc made, far more to describe the sensations and feelings that every one, capable of reflection, experienced during this night. Much individual distress has been occasioned, and to describe the general injury done is impossible; most fortunately few lives were lost, but a great many cattle were killed and drowned. Old trees, that had stood many a

blast, were torn up by the roots; the huts of the Natives were in many places swept away; and the houses of Europeans have universally suffered, more or less; many partly unroofed, others materially injured. The beach was strewn with large stones, and many boats were driven far into the Black Town. The loss of window glass, lamps, wall shades, &c., has been enormously great; in almost every house some injury has been sustained; many gardens and shrubberies have been completely destroyed. The glass windows of the light-house, and every other exposed building, were smashed to pieces. The storm does not seem to have extended far beyond Madras, either on the coast, or into the interior. At Palaveram, Ponamallee, and Wallajahabad, its effects were felt rather severely on the buildings, but nothing more.

‘It is considered extraordinary, that captains and owners of vessels should continue to resort to this port, during the period prescribed, as dangerous and unsafe; but of late years we have never been without shipping, of some description or other, in the roads during the whole of the monsoon. Last year, several accidents happened from boats swamping when embarking troops; and the warning given this season may, perhaps, induce those concerned to be more cautious how they risk the lives of so many human beings, besides much valuable property. On shore, we have the consolation that a hurricane has always the effect of purifying the air, and rendering the climate healthy. Thus does the goodness of the Almighty produce some benefit from the greatest evil.’

TRIBUTES OF RESPECT TO MR. ELPHINSTONE AT BOMBAY.

THE latest Bombay papers received, are filled with reports of meetings, speeches, entertainments, addresses, &c., to Mr. Elphinstone, the late Governor of Bombay, on his departure from that Island; and, although we think the value of any eulogies whatever much lessened, when they come from a community in which the same freedom to censure the acts of Government is not openly allowed, and where no man dare indulge in the exercise of this privilege, without risk of ruin to all his future prospects; yet, as praises, even from such a community, may be held by many to be worth something, we record the most material portions of them here, namely, those which are embodied in the addresses regularly signed and presented, and which, indeed, include the substance of the speeches at the meetings, &c., so as to supersede the necessity of giving them also, had there been even room for that purpose. We are not disposed to deny to Mr. Elphinstone the merit of great talents and many social virtues; but the great blemish in his public character appears to us to have been this, that, while professing the utmost regard for freedom and liberal opinions, and affecting to relieve the Press of Bombay from a censorship, he was acting in direct opposition to his professions, supporting Mr. Adam in his odious restric-

tions at Bengal, and exercising an influence over the Press at Bombay, quite as great as an acknowledged censorship, and suffering it to be used for the worst purpose, that of bringing the only authority which existed as a check upon the abuse of his own, namely, the King's Courts, into contempt. This is a great blemish, it must be admitted; but, great as it is, it shall not prevent us from giving free utterance to the eulogies indulged in by those who seem not to think as we do on this part of Mr. Elphinstone's public conduct, or have consented to pass it over altogether. We trust he will live to see the error of this himself, and devote the remainder of his days in England to the real object of advancing the happiness of the Natives of India,—by which he may amply atone for the errors of the past. The extracts from the Bombay papers, to which we have alluded, are as follow:—

‘On Wednesday last, (November 14th, 1827,) the subjoined addresses from the European and Native Communities were presented to the Honourable M. Elphinstone, late Governor of Bombay, as a tribute of admiration to the talents and virtues which, for thirty years, were known to have distinguished his public conduct and his private life.—At twelve o'clock on that day many ladies, the whole, we may say, of the gentlemen of the Presidency, and many strangers from distant dependencies, who had hastened to offer their last meed of respect to this distinguished individual, together with the whole body of respectable Natives, assembled at the Government House in the Fort. Mr. Elphinstone, attended by his old and distinguished friend, the Honourable the Governor His Excellency Sir John Malcolm, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Members of Council, received and replied to the addresses presented to him, in that dignified but retired manner which has ever been a marked feature of his character. It would be useless, and more than useless, to remark upon the scene at the Government House on Wednesday last. No language of ours could convey an idea of the sincerity, and intensity, of feeling which pervaded every breast, far less pourtray the recollections attached to the name of Mountstuart Elphinstone.

‘ADDRESS OF THE BRITISH INHABITANTS OF BOMBAY.

‘*To the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, Late Governor of Bombay.*

‘HONOURABLE SIR,

Bombay, Nov. 5, 1827.

‘We the undersigned British Inhabitants of Bombay and its dependencies cannot permit your departure from this country without expressing, thus publicly, the profound respect and esteem which your private character so justly merits, and the high admiration which your public virtues have universally produced. Nor are these professions the mere tribute of applause, which it is customary to present to a Governor on resigning his Government; but the sincere and heartfelt sentiments which amiable urbanity and engaging friendliness, united to the various acquirements and commanding abilities of a powerful and richly cultivated mind, must invariably inspire.

‘Gifted with talents of the highest order, you could not fail to attract the notice of your superiors from your earliest arrival in India; and their selecting you for public situations of the highest importance has

been fully justified by the zealous, meritorious, and able manner in which the various duties entrusted to your charge have been at all times performed. Having chosen the political department of the service, your eminent qualifications obtained the marked approbation of that distinguished diplomatic character, the late Sir Barry Close, under whose auspices you commenced your public career, and who led to your being appointed Resident at the Court of the Rajah of Nagpore in 1803. Five years afterwards, while thus employed, you were selected for the difficult and delicate conduct of an Embassy to the King of Cabul, and immediately on its conclusion nominated to be President at Poonah. It was then that we became more particularly acquainted with your private virtues and political capacity; and, during a period of sixteen years, while we have been delighted with the courtesy and affability of the polished gentleman, we have at the same time observed, with admiration, the firmness and sagacity of the accomplished statesman. But it must remain for the historian to appreciate and record, in merited terms of commendation, the conciliatory but undaunted conduct which you displayed in the embarrassing and dangerous discharge of your official duties, during the last years of the late Peishwas's Government,—the essential assistance which you contributed, both by your presence and counsels, to the successful termination of the war in the Deccan,—and the able measures which you adopted for rendering the unavoidable extension of British power the source of unknown felicity to the inhabitants of conquered territories.

‘Of the manner in which you have presided over the Government of this Presidency, during the last eight years, it would not become us to express circumstantially the opinion which we have formed; nor is it necessary, as we doubt not that it will receive from the proper authorities that distinguished approbation to which it is, for many causes, so justly entitled. But we may be allowed to observe, that, during this period, commerce has been encouraged by the considerate attention and liberal support with which every suggestion for the convenience of the mercantile community has been at all times entertained. The Civil administration has been most materially improved in all its branches, and these improvements have been rendered of permanent utility by a revision of the Code of Civil Regulations, and by the zeal to acquire an acquaintance with the Native languages, customs and laws, which your enlightened measures and discriminating patronage have excited in the junior Civil servants. Nor have the military and marine services benefited in a less degree, since in them, likewise, have been introduced important ameliorations in every department; and the comfort and accommodation of the troops and seamen have been insured by a judicious and unexampled liberality. In consequence also of the erection of churches, the consideration evinced for the interests of religion, and the successful measures adopted for the education of the children of Europeans, Christianity has been enabled to diffuse, most efficaciously, through these territories its benign influence. To your wise and extended views, therefore, must be principally ascribed the increased prosperity of this Presidency; and gratifying must it be to you to be convinced that you have not only thus materially contributed to render this portion of the British dominions of so much greater importance to the mother country, but that you have also taught its Native subjects, from this result having been produced, by essential ameliorations in their condition, to appre-

ciate and admire the unwonted benefits which they enjoy under the British Government.

'We are, at the same time, persuaded that the recollection of none of the liberal and enlightened measures which you have originated and promoted, will afford you a more lasting gratification, than those which have been adopted for the extension of moral and intellectual improvement amongst the Native inhabitants. For it may be confidently expected, from the prosperous commencement of the endeavours now exerting for this purpose, that they will be ultimately crowned with success. But how unavailing would these efforts have proved, had it not been for the animating support with which you have so constantly encouraged and protected them. As, however, the Native gentlemen have determined to testify, in a manner the most appropriate, the high respect and admiration with which they regard your character, and the grateful sense which they entertain of the numerous and invaluable advantages which the Native subjects of this Presidency have derived from your auspicious government, any further remarks on this point would be superfluous.

'It is with mingled feelings of pleasure and regret that we now address to you these few expressions of our unfeigned and heartfelt respect, esteem, and admiration. We rejoice that, after an absence of thirty years, and after displaying in the highest and most important situations those private virtues and public qualifications with which you are so peculiarly distinguished, you are about to be restored to your home and your friends, and to that country on which you reflect so much lustre, and which, we trust, may still benefit by your pre-eminent abilities; but we lament the privation of that affable, pleasing, and instructive intercourse which has afforded us so much gratification, of that animating and discriminating encouragement which has excited zeal in all ranks, and of those commanding abilities which have promoted with such success the welfare and prosperity of this Presidency. Under such impressions we can only alleviate the profound regret occasioned by your departure, by uniting in sincere and earnest wishes that you may long enjoy uninterrupted health and happiness, and by assuring you that our breasts will ever be inspired by these sentiments, which our words have so inadequately conveyed.

'In order, also, to perpetuate by ostensible memorials the remembrance of these sentiments, and of the causes which have produced them, permit us to request that you will allow your statue to be sculptured in marble, in order that it may be erected in a suitable place in Bombay, and to solicit your acceptance of a service of plate, which will be prepared and presented to you in England. We have the honour to be, Honourable Sir, your most obedient and most humble servants,

'THOMAS BUCHANAN, Chairman.

(Followed by about 200 signatures.)

'MR. ELPHINSTONE'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE BRITISH INHABITANTS.

'GENTLEMEN,—I receive the honour conferred on me with gratitude proportioned to my respect for the intelligent and enlightened community from which it comes.

'My long acquaintance with this establishment, while it renders your kindness particularly grateful to my feelings, enables me also to appre-

ciate the value of your opinion, and renders the present an occasion of pride and gratification of which I shall never lose the impression. Qualified as you are from your character and situation to judge of my public measures, the approbation you have conferred on them is the highest reward I could receive.

'Nor, in this avowal of the satisfaction which I derive from your applause, do I forget how small a share I can individually claim in the proceedings that have called it forth. Much is due to the able and estimable colleagues with whom I have been associated in the Government, and much to the circumstances under which I entered on my duties.

'Placed at the head of an establishment which was rapidly rising in importance, and increasing in extent, I found an impulse in all classes that must, under any guidance, have led to striking improvement. In the Civil Service, I found an enlarged and liberal inclination to adapt our institutions to the peculiarity of our situation, and to conciliate even the prejudices of a people unaccustomed to our rule, and averse to many of our most favourite maxims of government. I found the army characterised by a spirit of discipline, order, and forbearance, calculated, beyond all other means, to gain the affections of the countries which its valour had subdued. In all branches of the service, and in all members of the British community, I met with the same zeal for the honour of the nation, and the same expanded wish to promote the welfare of the people with whom our conquest had connected us.

'In enumerating the different improvements that have taken place since I have been in the Government, you strongly recal my obligations to the gentlemen by whose talents, industry, and ability those measures have been brought forward and matured, and who owe little to me but for an anxious desire to encourage their labours, and to profit by the light that resulted from their inquiries and experience.

'Interested as I am in the success of those institutions, and in the prosperity of this Presidency, I cannot but feel the liveliest pleasure when I reflect on the hands to which both are now committed. The versatile talents and solid judgment of my successor, his varied experience, his thorough knowledge of the Natives and of mankind, combined as they are with a kindness and benevolence that cannot be surpassed, afford a certainty of rapid advance and improvement to every part of an establishment, in which I shall never cease to take the deepest and most anxious interest.

'I should be devoid of all feeling if I were insensible to the expression of personal esteem which you have added to your recommendation of my official conduct. It comes from a body of whose applause I may well be proud, and from individuals for whom I shall retain, while I live, the sincerest sentiments of respect and of attachment.

'I accept, with a due sense of the honour, the splendid testimonials by which you propose to perpetuate the recollection of the sentiments which you have now expressed. I cannot but set the highest value on a distinction which serves to commemorate my connection with this establishment, and to record the honourable judgment which you have passed on my services.

M. ELPHINSTONE.

' ADDRESS OF THE NATIVE PRINCES, CHIEFS, &c.

'To the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, late Governor of Bombay.

'HONOURABLE SIR,

Bombay, 15th November, 1827.

'We, the Native Princes, chiefs, gentlemen, and inhabitants of Bombay, its dependencies, and allied territories, cannot contemplate your approaching departure from this country without endeavouring to express, however faintly, the most profound and lasting regret which has been occasioned in our minds, by your resignation of the Government of this Presidency. For, until you became Commissioner in the Deccan and Governor of Bombay, never had we been enabled to appreciate correctly the invaluable benefits which the British dominion is calculated to diffuse throughout the whole of India. But, having beheld with admiration, for so long a period, the affable and encouraging manners, the freedom from prejudice, the consideration at all times evinced for the interests and welfare of the people of this country, the regard shown to their ancient customs and laws, the constant endeavours to extend, amongst them the inestimable advantages of intellectual and moral improvement, the commanding abilities applied to insure permanent ameliorations in the condition of all classes, and to promote their prosperity on the soundest principles, by which your private and public conduct has been so pre-eminently distinguished, we are led to consider the British influence and Government as the most important and desirable blessing which the Supreme Being could have bestowed on our native land.

To particularise all the acts of your Government which are so justly entitled to applause is beyond our power; but we may venture to remark, that, in the former possessions of this Presidency, and the territories of its allies, the beneficial effects of your auspicious administration have been evinced, by the correction of abuses, the introduction of essential improvements into all the Civil departments, and by the consequently increased security and welfare of the people. In Guzerat, and the territories of the British Allies there situated, in consequence of your wise and extended views, various districts, which had long remained almost waste, have been restored to cultivation; an important change has been effected in the habits of the predatory tribes; and, effectual means having been adopted for repressing outrages and preserving public security, the country, from enjoying a tranquillity, protection, and exemption from onerous charges previously unknown, now presents an appearance the most flourishing and gratifying. In this island, also, the inhabitants can never adequately express the grateful sense of the salubrious and invaluable advantages that have resulted from the judicious and laudable liberality with which roads have been formed, and an inexhaustible supply of water has been provided by the excavation of wells and tanks. It was, however, in the Deccan, that the most favourable opportunity presented itself for your displaying, with their fullest lustre, those high abilities of the statesman, tempered with all the milder and engaging virtues of the private individual, which the historian will love to commemorate. For the conciliatory and benign manner in which you divested conquest of all its terrors, and introduced the British power in the Deccan,—the effectual means adopted to render hostilities as little detrimental to the people as possible,—the solicitous attention shown to the interests and rights of all classes,—the deliberate caution with which changes in the ancient form of government have been effected,—and the enlightened measures

adopted for its administration,—promise to insure the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the people.

‘Grateful, however, as we are for the consideration which has been evinced for our personal interests and prosperity, it is the liberal and enlightened measures, which have been adopted for communicating to the people, by improved methods, a knowledge of literature, science, and morality, that particularly demand our most unfeigned and heartfelt acknowledgments. To you, therefore, honourable Sir, we find it impossible to express our gratitude in adequate terms; since, had it not been for the animating support with which you have so constantly encouraged and protected them, the efforts to excite a desire and love of intellectual and moral improvement, that have commenced so prosperously, and promise to be crowned with ultimate success, must have been altogether unavailing. But permit us to acquaint you that, in order to evince that we are ourselves fully persuaded that no amelioration can be of more incalculable benefit to this country than the diffusion, amongst our children and countrymen, of that extensive knowledge, those noble modes of thinking, those wise and liberal principles of government, and those sublime views of moral rectitude, by which the British are so eminently distinguished, we have determined to raise a subscription amongst ourselves, which, at the present moment, amounts to upwards of two lacs of rupees, for the purpose of founding one or more professorships, for teaching the languages, literature, sciences, and moral philosophy of Europe. Nor can we doubt that you will be pleased to comply with our earnest solicitation, that we may be allowed to honour these professorships, as a slight testimony of our unceasing gratitude, with that name which we so much revere and admire, and to designate them as the *‘Elphinstone Professorships,’* and that you will permit your portrait to be drawn by an able artist in England, in order that we may place it in the rooms of the Native Education Society, as a permanent memorial of the liberal and enlightened founder and protector of that Society.

‘But, in presenting this sincere tribute of applause to the highly liberal and enlightened principles by which your public conduct has been so peculiarly characterised, it is your private virtues which have so particularly excited our admiration, gratitude, and respectful affection. For your accessibility, the absence of all form, and the urbanity with which you have always received persons of this country of all classes, the courtesy with which you have admitted them into your own parties, and the affable and unrestrained manner in which you have condescended to mix in their society, can only be ascribed to those amiable, generous, and high-minded sentiments, which shine so conspicuously in your every word and action. The causes, therefore, which now occasion our most profound and heartfelt grief,—in consequence of being deprived of those private virtues which have raised us in our own estimation, and afforded us the utmost gratification, and of those transcendent public abilities which have so effectually promoted the welfare and prosperity of our country, and rendered every amelioration permanent, by ensuring the diffusion of intellectual and moral improvement,—are much too obvious to require that we should in vain endeavour to convey by words those feelings by which we are at present so oppressed and overpowered. But permit us to assure you that we all unite in the most fervent prayers, that you may long enjoy uninterrupted health and happiness in the society of those friends and in that country from which you have been so long separated;

and that the pleasing and grateful sentiments which your private and public conduct have inspired in our breasts, will ever form the most delightful object of our contemplation; that the name of Elphinstone shall be the first that our children shall learn to lisp; and that it will be our proudest duty to preserve indelibly, unto the latest posterity, the fame of so pre-eminent a benefactor to our country. We have the honour to be, Honourable Sir, your sincere well-wishers and obedient Servants,

(Sealed and Signed by his Highness the Raja of Sattara, and others the Native Princes, Chiefs and Gentlemen, Allies and Subjects of the British Government of Bombay.)

MR. ELPHINSTONE'S REPLY TO THE ADDRESS OF THE NATIVE PRINCES, CHIEFS, &c.

'GENTLEMEN,—Nothing could have afforded me higher satisfaction than the address with which you have been pleased to honour me on this occasion.

'It records the opinion of a body, of whose esteem I have always been most desirous; and it relates to subjects, on which your approbation has peculiar value.

'The first duty of an Indian Government (after securing the safety of the state) is to attend to the welfare of the Native population; and the most genuine proof that it has endeavoured to fulfil the charge, is to be found in the favourable opinion of an assemblage, such as that by which I have had the honour to be addressed.

'The known character of many of the individuals to whom I am indebted for this honour, and the high place which they hold in the estimation of the public, entitle them to be considered as the representatives of all the dignity and worth of their country, and add weight to the applause to which their own authority was sufficient to give the highest value.

'On these grounds I must consider the present address as the most honourable testimony that could have been borne to my conduct, and must ever feel a high sense of the kindness of those by whom it is conferred.

'If an earnest desire to promote the welfare of my native fellow subjects could alone have entitled me to the commendations you have bestowed, I should here conclude this part of my acknowledgment, in the confidence that the honour was not entirely undeserved; but as the success of all my endeavours, wherever they have been useful and efficacious, has originated in the spirit and maxims of the British Government, of which I have been the humble instrument, I must ascribe to the beneficent influence of that Government a great portion of the feeling of which you have honoured me by making me the object.

'Impressed with the highest opinion of your loyalty and attachment to the British Government, and mindful of the occasions on which many of you have supported the interests of the Honourable Company, the authorities in Great Britain consider it as an imperative obligation to watch over your interests in return: nor is there any course by which their favour is so likely to be obtained, as by contributing to your welfare, and conciliating your good-will.

'Of its anxiety to promote the happiness of this part of its dominions,

to Mr. Elphinstone, at Bombay.

the Honourable Company could not have given a more convincing proof than it has just afforded in the nomination of Sir J. Malcolm to the Government of this Presidency.

‘Distinguished, as that eminent person is, for all the qualities of a soldier and a statesman, there is none for which he is more remarkable than for his esteem and attachment towards the Natives of this country, and there is no character in which he is more ambitious of appearing, than in that of the friend of India.

‘In returning my grateful acknowledgments for the address which has now been presented to me, I should do little justice to my own feelings, if I could conclude without noticing the impression made on me by the manner in which your approbation is to be perpetuated. By associating the present mark of your good opinion with an Institution promotive of the education of your countrymen, you have increased, beyond calculation, the honour conferred on me, while you have evinced an extent of wisdom, liberality, and public spirit, which shed a lustre over your own characters still more than upon mine. This measure, if properly pursued, is worthy of the judgment and foresight with which many of you are eminently gifted, and tends to raise still higher the opinion which I had already formed of your community, and to increase the respect and regard with which I shall ever remember the valuable persons of whom I am now to take my leave.

‘However far from this place the rest of my life may be spent, I beg you to be assured that the proofs I have received of your attachment shall never be forgotten, and that I shall never cease to feel the utmost solicitude respecting the progress of this part of the Empire, and for the improvement, prosperity, and happiness of its inhabitants.

‘M. ELPHINSTONE.’

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We present our readers with an address, written for the purpose of being delivered at the entertainment given to the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone; but the arrangements for the evening did not admit of its being given :

ADDRESS. •

As some tall bark, that hath in stately pride
Dashed her broad bows through many a troubled tide,
Steers homewards on her course, rich with the stores
Of distant climes, and nears her destined shores;
And whilst each billow seems her track to court,
Furls her white sails, and glides into her port,
So full of treasures, (treasures only their's
Whose wealth is wisdom, and whose memory shares
The poor man's blessing and the good man's prayers,)
Part, on his homeward course, *our honoured guest*,
Most honoured and most loved, where known the best!
Stamp'd on the brightest annals of the state,
Where high emblazon'd shine the wise and great,
His name shall stand pre-eminent, and truth
Shall there delighted trace him from his youth,
With bold and ardent spirit pressing on
To his own glory's perikelon!
Nor find, throughout the track that he pursued,
One foot-print quit the path of rectitude!
How bright and brilliant shall that transcript be,
The blotless record of integrity! !

And memory shows him in her fairy light
 Firm in the council, fearless in the fight,
 For, (braving obstacles that others shun,)
 Was knowledge to be gained or glory won,
 There, there, be sure, was Elphinstone !
 Let the bright mirror of remembrance throw
 Its fond reflection back, *ten years ago ! !*
 'Ten years ago ! on that eventful day
 When war's ' magnificently stern array'
 Had panoply'd itself on Kirkee's plain
 And Peace had stretch'd her olive branch in vain,
 The *civic hero* of the field beheld
 That battle scene, and proud his bosom swelled !
 He saw the standard of his rancorous foe
 Girdled by countless myriads ; and a glow
 Prophetic of his triumph fired his eye,
 Whilst on his brow the *Laurels of Assye*
Rustled impatient for the victory.
 With calm unchanging cheek and dauntless air,
 He mingled with the warrior band to share,
 The glory of their Spartan-like defence ;
 And, with a lip of soldier-eloquence,
 Breathing a kindred spirit in each man
 Inspired the young and cheer'd the veteran—
 Where thickest press'd the foe, where deadliest shone
 The cannon-flash, there noble Elphinstone,
 Like some presiding deity, appears,
 With the bold bearing of his ancestors !

But when war's tumults ceased, how blithely gay
 His presence chased our exile hours away !
 Mirth was his hand-maid—pleasure was his bride,
 Sport the companion ever at his side,
 Whilst affability around him hung
 The glow of happiness on old and young ;
 Himself the sun of every circle here,
 Bask'd in the radiance of his own bright sphere,
 Like to that forest-bird whose plumage gives
 The light in which alone he loves and lives !

But gloom falls fast upon the setting sun,
 And soon, how soon with yonder signal gun
 Round our fair isle, the tocsin of regret
 Shall fling its sounds from rock to parapet ;
 And many a stern and stolid heart will feel
 Emotions they may struggle to conceal,
 Awaken'd by the talismanic spell,
 That links affliction with the word—Farewell.

Farewell—see summon'd at the magic sound,
 The widow and the orphan crowd around ;
 And, pouring blessings with their last adieu,
 The Christian, Guebre, Musulman, Hindoo,
 All castes, all classes on one object bent,
 With heartfelt sorrow swell the loud lament !
 But 'midst the mournful, as they quail and cower,
 Who deepest will regret that parting hour ?
 Lo ! where the GENIUS of the DECCAN stands ;
 The blood-red boar-spear glittering in his hands,
 His swarthy brow, high flashing with the trace
 Of his fresh triumph in the mountain chase,

The tusked prey lies weltering in blood
 That darkly reddens the descending flood,
 And Classisye's loud alpine-echoes roar
 With the deep death-groans of the dying boar !
 Here as he gazes, Rumour, whose loud tongue
 Had far abroad the saddening farewell flung,
 And habbled the bad tidings to the breeze,
 Fust flies to Deccan land—the GENIUS sees—
 Sees that bold front that never felt a fear,
 And sunburnt cheek that never knew a tear !
 Yet, when that rumour struck with wing so wild
 His stony heart—he wept—wept—like a child !
 So when on Horeb's steep the prophet stood
 And smote the flinty rock, out gush'd the flood !
 Then spoke the mighty spirit of the chase,
 'Go, noblest scion of a noble race,
 Go, where proud honours, gained in thy career,
 Fling back in gladness their refulgence here ;
 Go to thy father-land, and in the bold
 Bleak mountains of thy birth-place, still behold
 These rugged Ghauts and precipices drear,
 Where thou hast roam'd a DECCAN HIGHLANDER,
 And o'er their rocky summits with delight
 Hast cheer'd from dawn to dusk the wild boar's flight,
 For here thy praises shall each glen resound,
 And all thy sporting haunts, henceforth, be classic ground
 Then oh ! forget not thou, (where'er the fates
 May lead thee from thine old associates,)
 The land that (eager for thy latest praise,)
 Cradled the pastimes of thine earlier days !
 And now farewell, this tear, the heart-sprung token
 Of all that's felt more deep than could be spoken,
 Tells that my task is done, my spell is broken—
 I cast my shiver'd boar-spear in the river—
 And cheerless leave this once-loved land for ever—
 • The Spirits of the Deccan speak with me—
 Farewell—great Elphinstone, to sport and thee !!!
 And that Farewell, tho' poured in fancied strain,
 Hath not been uttered by these lips in vain—
 For the sad valediction dims each eye
 And finds an echo in each bosom nigh.
 But let not sorrow cloud this festal night !
 Bid social feeling take its loftiest flight
 To pledge our loved, our *honoured guest*, the while
 We yet can bask in his benignant'smle—
 Yes, fill your goblets, bubbling to the brim,
 Fill to each toast, that breathes one thought of him,
 And this our last be echoed far and wide,
 God bless our *Friend*, our *Patron* and our *Pride* !

PUBLIC OPINION.

A work of very great merit and originality has been published during the month, describing the ' Rise and Progress of Public Opinion in Great Britain and the Continental States.' The author, however, has wholly omitted all mention of India, in his first and seconde dition, though we are informed, that, in the third edition, which is shortly to appear, a chapter will be devoted to our Eastern Possessions, in order still further to illustrate, by the present condition of British India, those views which the author has so ably and eloquently expounded by examples drawn from our own country, France, Italy, Spain, and even Turkey. The author of the volume, Mr. Mackinnon, late Member for St. Ives, has had access to the best sources of information, and we have no doubt that he will avail himself of them with an ability and eagerness commensurate with their importance,

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- Armstrong, H., Mr., to be Registrar of Zillah Court at Mirzapore.—C. Oct. 18.
 Atkinson, W. H., Lieut. Bengal Engineers, removed to Madras.—C. Oct. 5.
 Alcock, C. B. P., 2d Lieut. Engineers, to be Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Abbott, Jas., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Alexander, W. F., Ens., posted to 50th N. I.—C. Oct. 7.
 Abbott, A., Lieut. Artill., to be Adj. to Kurnaul Div. of Artill., v. Blake, dec.—C. Oct. 2.
 Awdry, Jas., Lieut. 55th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas., v. Simpson, res.—C. Oct. 2.
 Aubert, Maj., 2d Extra N. I., to have charge of 31st N. I.—C. Oct. 19.
 Arnold, Geo., Maj. Cav., to be Lieut.-Col., v. Sweetenham, Nov. 2; posted to 2d Regt.—Nov. 29.
 Agnew, E. J., Mr., adm. Assist.-Surg.—C. Nov. 2.
 Aitchison, Jas., Capt. 28th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Oct. 5.
 Alexander, Wm., Lieut. 5th L. Cav., on furl. to Bombay.—C. Nov. 9.
 Abbott, Peter, Ens. 4th Extra N. I., to be Lieut., v. Tweedale, res.—C. Nov. 2.
 Angus, George, Surg., to take rank, v. Primrose, res.—C. Nov. 2.
 Alcock, R. P., Ens. 46th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Guthrie, prom.—C. Nov. 16.
 Abbott, E., Lieut. of Engin., to be Exec. Eng. of the Neemuch Div., in Depart. of Pub. Works, v. Thomson, rem.—C. Nov. 16.
 Agar, G. F., Capt. 49th N. I., leave of absence extended to visit the Cape.—C. Nov. 23.
 Axford, Rich., Capt., permitted to retire.—C. Nov. 28.
 Auriol, J., Lieut.-Col. 21st N. I., on furl. to the Hill Prov. for health.—C. Nov. 29.
 Blackburne, to be Judge and Magistrate of Juanpore.—C. Oct. 25.
 Burry, C., Mr., to be Registrar of Zillah Court of Sylhet.—C. Nov. 1.
 Broadfoot, Wm., Cadet, adm. to Infantry.—C. Oct. 3.
 Bude, H. De, 1st Lieut. Engin., to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.
 Baker, W. E., 2d Lieut. Engin., to be Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Brown, M. W., Lieut.-Col. Artill., to be Lieut.-Col. Comm.—C. Oct. 5.
 Boileau, J. P., Maj. Artill., to be Lieut.-Col.—C. Oct. 5.
 Bazley, F. R., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Borlean, F. B., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut.—C. October 5.
 Buckle, Edm., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Begbie, A. P., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Beck, J. H., Ens., posted to 24th N. I.
 Batt, John, Lieut. 5th L. Cav., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mast., v. Oldfield, res.—C. Oct. 2.
 Baget, C. Y., Cadet, prom. to Cornet of Cav.—Oct. 9. Posted to 9th Regt. L. Cav.—C. Nov. 29.
 Broadhurst, W., Ens., posted to 1st Eur. Regt.—C. Oct. 12.
 Bruyn, P. P. V. De, Ens., posted to 64th do.—C. Oct. 12.
 Becher, Lieut.-Col. 16th L. Cav., to be President of Arsenal Committee, v. Hopper.—C. Oct. 12.
 Barstow, Lieut. and Adj., to act as Interp. and Quar.-Mast., to 37th N. I., v. Griffiths, prom.—C. Oct. 8.
 Burns, J. G., Lieut. 3d N. I., to be Capt., v. Chambers, dec.—C. Oct. 12.
 Blois, T. F., Lieut. 11th N. I., to be Adj., v. Crondace.—C. Oct. 19.
 Bremer, T. M., Ens. 33d N. I., to be Adj., v. Festing, prom.—C. Oct. 19.
 Bryant, Lieut.-Col., to continue Judge-Adv.-Gen. on departure of the Com.-in-Chief from Presidency.—C. Oct. 19.
 Baker, John, Assist.-Surg., to do duty in Fort William in the absence of Assist.-Surg. Spence.—C. Oct. 19.
 Brown, G. G., Assist.-Surg., posted to 26th N. I.—C. Oct. 17.

- Bogie, Lieut. 9th Lt. Cav., to act as Interp. and Quar.-Mast., v. Woodward res.—C. Oct. 17.
- Buchanan, G., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Oct. 19; posted to 7th N. I.—C. Nov. 30.
- Bignell, W. P., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Oct. 19; posted to 19th N. I.—C. Nov. 30.
- Burgh, H. de, Capt. 2d Lt. Cav. to be Maj., v. Arnold, prom.—C. Nov. 2.
- Bourdillon, B. C., Cornet, to be Lieut., v. Frazer, prom.—C. Nov. 2.
- Biddons, G. R., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—C. Nov. 2.
- Beck, W. G., Ens. 24th N. I., perm. to res.—C. Nov. 2.
- Baker, W., Mr., admitted Cadet of Cav., Nov. 2; posted to 6th Lt. Cav.—C. Nov. 29.
- Brodie, T., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Nov. 2; posted to 40th N. I.—C. Nov. 30.
- Bowden, H., Lieut.-Col. Com., rem. from 33d to 51st N. I.—C. Oct. 27.
- Bryce, Alex., Assist.-Surg., posted to 1st Lt. Cav.—C. Oct. 27.
- Brett, Assist.-Surg., app. to 29th N. I., at Shahjehanpore.—C. Oct. 31.
- Bishop, G. T., Lieut. 9th Lt. Cav., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Oct. 26.
- Brodie, D. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 9.
- Browne, C. R., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 9.
- Baldock, R. W., Major 35th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 9.
- Birrell, J. R., Lieut. 11th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 9.
- Burkinyoung, F. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 16.
- Bell, James, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 16.
- Bowen, H., Lieut.-Col. Com. 51st N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Nov. 16.
- Blake, T. G., Ens. 67th N. I., permitted to retire.—C. Nov. 16.
- Bracken, Chase, Lieut. 15th N. I., to Sub.-Assist in the H. C.'s Stud, v. Johnstone, dec., Nov. 16; on leave to visit the Presidency.—Nov. 29.
- Baldwin, T. J., Major 22d N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Nov. 23.
- Bailey, H. C., Lieut., perm. to retire.—C. Nov. 28.
- Bowyer, Cornelius, Lieut.-Col., C. B., 69th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Nov. 30.
- Beaty, Francis, Lieut. 1st Eur. regt., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 28.
- Baines, C. H., Lieut.-Col. 60th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. 21.
- Burt, B., Assist.-Surg., M. D., Civ. Station, Moorshedabad, on furl. to the Presidency.—C. Dec. 21.
- Bird, L. S., Capt. 24th N. I., to visit the Hill Provinces for health.—C. Nov. 8.
- Boscawen, H. A., Lieut., and Adj. Mug. Levy, leave to visit the Presidency.—C. Nov. 29.
- Browne, C., Lieut.-Col. Com., C. B., leave to visit Agra.—C. Nov. 29.
- Brownlow, G. A., Lieut. 3d Lt. Cav., on furl. to Moorshedabad for health.—C. Nov. 29.
- Burnett, C. J. F., Lieut. 8th N. I., on furl.—C. Dec. 7.
- Brown, R., Surg., rem. from 33d to 61st N. I.—C. Dec. 8.
- Bontcin, J., Capt. 1st Lt. Cav., to take charge of the horses for Muttra, to join his regt.—C. Dec. 8.
- Bellasis, D. H., Major 3d N. I., Agent for Clothing the Army, on furl. to Europe.—B. Nov. 1.
- Bagshawe F. D., Lieut., 5th N. I., to be Quar.-Mast. and Interp. in the Hindoostanee Levy.—B. Nov. 1.
- Burrowes, R. E., Capt. H. M.'s 28th Foot, to be Aid-de-camp to the Hon. Governor.—B. Nov. 7.
- Campbell, R. M., Ens. 33d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Festing, prom.—C. Oct. 3.
- Clement, F. W., 2d Lieut. Engin., to be Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
- Campbell, C. H., Capt. Artil., to be Major.—C. Oct. 5.
- Curphey, W., Capt. Artil., to be Major.—C. Oct. 5.
- Crawford, Brev., Capt. and 1st Lieut. Artil., to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.
- Cardew, A., 2d Lieut. Artil., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
- Christian, H. H., Com., posted to 7th Lt. Cav.—C. Oct. 5.
- Carnegie, posted to 5th N. I.—C. Oct. 1.
- Cowper, A., Ens., posted to 59th N. I.—C. Oct. 1.
- Craigie, J. H., Lieut. 20th N. I., to be Adj., v. Douglas, dec.—C. Oct. 2.
- Cole, W., Ens. 67th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Smith, dec.—C. Oct. 9.
- Christie, E., Cadet of Artil., prom. to 2d Lieut.—C. Oct. 12.
- Curphy, Maj., to com. Artil. at Neemuch.—C. Oct. 15.

- Campbell, Sir A., Maj. Gen., app. to Staff of Fort St. George, v. Nicolls.—C. Oct. 19.
- Cotton, Sydney, Capt., Aid-de-camp to Com-in-Chief, app. to general Staff.—C. Oct. 22.
- Cotton, Corbet, Lieut. H. M.'s 16th L. Dr., to be brought on Estab. as Aid-de-camp.—C. Nov. 1.
- Campbell, A. Mr., admitted as Assist. Surg.—C. Nov. 2.
- Curtis, J. G. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Nov. 2; posted to 36th N. I.—C. Nov. 30.
- Cameron, L. J., Assist. Surg., posted to 9th L. Cav.—C. Oct. 27.
- Castell, Surg., rem. from 7th L. Cav. to 64th N. I.—C. Oct. 29.
- Christian, H. H., Cadet, prom. to Cornet.—C. Oct. 29.
- Corbyn, Surg., rem. from 68th to 65th N. I.—C. Oct. 30.
- Charlton, A., Lieut., 6th extra N. I., to act as Adj. to 2d Nusseree Bat. until further orders.—C. Oct. 3.
- Cotton, H. P., 7th L. Cav., to be Aid-de-camp to Maj. Gen. Pinf.—C. Oct. 16.
- Charteris, R. L. R., Ens. 65th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Wilson, prom.—C. Nov. 2.
- Corfield, C., Ens. 69th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Roche, struck off.—C. Nov. 2.
- Cooper, Henry Cooper, to take rank, v. Mansell, retired.—C. Nov. 2.
- Curling, C. S., Assist. Surg., to be Surg., v. Patterson, dec.—C. Nov. 16.
- Cork, H., Maj. 23d N. I., leave for two months to apply for furl.—C. Nov. 16.
- Carleton, H. P., Capt. 1st Eur. reg., app. to the Civil Station at Hyderabad.—C. Oct. 12.
- Corfield, James, Lieut., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 23.
- Cowley, W. C., Lieut. 35th N. I., to be Capt., v. Mercer, dec.—C. Nov. 31.
- Chitty, R., Lieut. 40th N. I., leave of absence.—C. Nov. 29.
- Clerk, H., Lieut. and Adj. 6th Batt. Artill., posted to 1st Com.—C. Nov. 31.
- Croad, F., Lieut. H. M.'s 20th Foot, to act as Dep.-Quart.-Mast.-Gen., to the Troops detached from Poonah, v. Head, attached temporarily to Doonab-field force.—B. Nov. 7.
- Carstairs, D., Lieut. 6th N. I., to be Acting Adj. to detachment stationed at Dhoolia.—B. Nov. 7.
- Delafosse, H., Brev. Capt., 1st Lieut. Artill., to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.
- Duncan, F. K., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
- Daniell, J. H., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
- Dollard, Assist.-Surg., app. to 54th N. I.—C. Dec. 8.
- Duncan, Assist.-Surg., app. to take the Medical duties of 41st N. I., v. Paxton.—C. Oct. 12.
- Dalrymple, J., Assist.-Surg., app. to Medical charge of Mhairwarra local Corps, v. Mottley.—C. Oct. 12.
- Dongan, R. F., Lieut. 10th L. C., to be 2d in com. v. Mouke.—C. Oct. 19.
- Dolby, Lieut., Dep. Judge Adv. to att. Com-in-Chief on his Tour.—C. Oct. 19.
- Douglas, Lieut., to act as adj. to 3d Local Horse.—C. Oct. 1.
- Dickson, Superint. Surg., app. to Cawnpore Div.—C. Oct. 22.
- Dongan, R. F., Lieut., to be extra Aid-de-Camp to Com-in-Chief.—C. Oct. 22.
- Dennistoun, A. C., Lieut., to act as Adj. to 11th N. I., v. Crondare, prom.—C. Oct. 12.
- Dick, Peter, Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Nov. 9.
- Dalrymple, T. R., Lieut. 7th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Nov. 9.
- Dunlop, Andrew Vans, (M.D.), prom. to practise as a Surg.—C. Nov. 28. Prom. Assistant-Surgeon, Dec. 14.
- Dickinson, T., Capt. 55th N. I., to be Assist. to the Commission in Arracan.—C. Dec. 21.
- Dallas, C., 1st Lieut. Artill., to visit the Hills for health.—C. Nov. 28.
- Dixon, Lieut. 43d N. I., to act as Adj. during absence of Lieut. Macintosh.—C. Nov. 29.
- Dashwood, F., Lieut. and Adj. 2d Brig. Artill., posted to 3d Troop.—C. Nov. 30.
- Dawkins, Lieut.-Col., half-pay, unattached, to officiate as Adj. Gen. to the Forces in India, v. McDonald, deceased.—C. Dec. 5.
- Davidson, Lieut. 17th Regt., to be acting 3d Assist. in the Commis. Depart. temporarily attached.—B. Nov. 1.
- Ellerton, J. F., Mr., to be Judge and Magistrate of Dinapore.—C. Nov. 1.

- Fiskine, R. K., Lieut 33d N I, (deceased,) to be Capt. of a Comp., v. Gowan, retired—Oct 3, posted to 18th N I—C Oct 12.
- Edwards, C. L., Cadet, admitted to Infantry—C Oct 3.
- Ellis, George, 2d Lieut Artill, to be 1st Lieut—C Oct 3.
- Evans, Surgeon, removed from 67th to 20th N I—C Oct 10.
- Flint, W., Lieut, 27th N I, returned to duty—C Nov 16.
- Lwart, J., Lieut, General Staff, leave to visit the Presidency—C Nov 29.
- Edwards, J., Lieut and Adj 1st Batt Artill, posted to 3d Comp—C Nov 29.
- Forbes, R., the Hon., to be Assistant to Magistrate, and to Collector of Midnapore—C Oct 26.
- Festing, F. B. P., Lieut 33d N I, to be Capt., v. A new, deceased, and Gowan retired—C Oct 3.
- Forrest, W. St. L., Cadet, prom to Ens, Inf—C Oct 3, posted to 67th N I—C Oct 12.
- Fitzgerald, W. R., 1st Lieut Engineers to be Captain—C Oct 3.
- Frost, J., Lieut 2d L. Cav to be Captain v. De Burgh prom—C Nov 2.
- Fleming, W. H., Ens, removed from post to 3d N I—C Oct 29.
- Friedrich, H. O., Lieut 67th N I, to command escort resident at Nepal, during absence of Captain Robison—C Oct 29.
- Fallowfield, removed from 6th to 65th N I—C Oct 30.
- Fenton, A., Lieut, 1st N I, returned to duty—C Oct 2.
- Fisher, A. W. W., 5th L. Cav returned to duty—C Nov 1.
- Fingharson, Alex., Brev. Capt and Lieut, (th Infantry), to be Capt., v. Smith, dec—C Nov 17.
- Fanning, S. W., Lieut, Artill on furlough to Europe for health—C Nov 16.
- Fenton, J. B., Lieut 17th N I, on furlough to Europe for health—C Nov 16.
- Fallowfield, J., Surg., on furlough to Europe—C Nov 16.
- Fingharson, W., Surg., permitted to return—C Nov 28.
- Fiddwell, C., Assist. Commis. of Ordnance Detach on furlough to Europe—C Dec 21.
- Foley, Lieut 10th N I, to be Adj to the Commis. of—C Nov 29.
- Fleet, W., Lieut, (th N I) on furlough to Europe for health—C Nov 29.
- Friedrich, J., Lieut Col 20th N I, to be Military Sec. to the Hon. Governor—B Nov 7.
- Frost, Charles, Military Principal Asst. at Surgeon to the Agent to the Gov. of N. in Siam and S. Buddha Leticia—B Nov 9.
- Graham, W. H., 2d Lieut Artill, to be 1st Lieut—C Oct 5.
- Guthrie, C. S., 2d Lieut, Engineers, to be 1st Lieut—C Oct 3.
- Guddes, W., Brev. Capt, and 1st Lieut Artill to be Capt—C Oct 5.
- Gret, Fred, 2d Lieut, Artill, to be 1st Lieut—C Oct 3, from 2d Comp 4th Batt to the 2d Comp 2d Batt v. Linton—C Nov 31.
- Guttsell, Fred, 2d Lieut, Artill, to be 1st Lieut—C Oct 3.
- Graham, G. I., 2d Lieut, Artill, to be 1st Lieut—C Oct 3.
- Godfrey, J., Ens, posted to 33d N I—C Oct 12.
- Guttsell, J., Lieut, to act as Adj to 1st Wm. of 16th N I—C Oct 8.
- Golding, G. W. P., Cadet, prom to Ens, Oct 19, posted to 67th N I—C Nov 30.
- Gruessen, D., Cadet, prom to Ens, Nov 2, posted to 25th N I—C Nov 30.
- Gilmore, Assist. Surg., app to Depot at Chinsurah—C Oct 27.
- Gile, J. L., Maj, 1st N I, returned to duty—C Oct 2.
- Gordon, J., Assist. Surg., on furlough to Europe—C Oct 19.
- Guthrie, C., Capt, 37th N I, on furlough to Europe for health—C Oct 9.
- Gray, J. C. D., Lieut, 18th N I, for eighteen months to New South Wales—C Oct 26.
- Grant, John, Capt, 66th N I, on furlough to Europe for health—C Nov 9.
- Guthrie, G., Lieut, 46th N I, to be Capt., v. Johnston, dec—C Nov 16.
- Grind, J. G., Ens, 1st Europ Regt, leave of absence extended—C Nov 29.
- Grant, W., Lieut, 27th N I, leave to visit Dacca—C Nov 29.
- Graham, A., Lieut, 32d N I, on furlough to the Presidency for health—C Nov 29.

- Garret, W. T., Lieut. and Adj., 2d Batt. Artill., posted to 3d Company—C. Nov. 31.
- Green, Maj., H. M.'s 20th Regt., app. to command the Lt. Batt. formed at Poona, v. Place, rem. to 11st. Foot.—B. Nov. 7.
- Graham, G., Capt., of H. M.'s 2d or Queen's Royal Regt., to be Aid-de-Camp to the Hon. Governor.—B. Nov. 7.
- Home, D., Mr., to be Assist. to Magistracy and to Collector of Goruckpore.—C. Nov. 8.
- Hutchings, G., Cadet, admitted to Infantry.—C. Oct. 3.
- Hay, G. C., Cadet, admitted to Infantry.—C. Oct. 3.
- Hannington, Lieut., 24th N. I., to com. Escort at Kota, v. Howard, res., Oct. 5.
- Hane, S. B., 2d Lieut., Engin., to be Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
- Hodgson, W. F. J., 2d Lieut., Artil., to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
- Hore, W., Ens., posted to 18th N. I.—C. Oct. 1.
- Hay, Jas., Lieut., 40th N. I., to act as Adj. in absence of Lieut. Orr.—C. Oct. 2.
- Hutchings, G., Ens., posted to 1st Extra N. I.—C. Oct. 12.
- Hay, G. C. K., Ens., posted to 13th R. N. I.—C. Oct. 12.
- Heynes, Assist.-Surg., directed to proceed to Presidency.—C. Oct. 12.
- Hough, W., Capt., 48th N. I., to be Deputy Judge Advocate General, to perm. staff at Sirhind.—C. Oct. 19; rem. to Cawnpore dis., Oct. 31.
- Hay, Maj., 66th Regt., to have charge of 61th N. I.—C. Nov. 1.
- Hume, E. K., Ens., 61th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Wilcox, dec.—C. Oct. 8.
- Hewett, W. W., Assist.-Surg., to officiate as an Assist. to General Hospital, during the absence of Assist.-Surg. Grant.—C. Nov. 2.
- Hepworth, Capt., 61st N. I., to officiate as Major of Brigade, at Dacca, during the absence of Capt. Fell.—C. Oct. 26.
- Henderson, Surg., rem. from 61th to 59th N. I.—C. Oct. 27.
- Hayley, Surg., rem. from 29th to 56th N. I.—C. Oct. 31.
- Henderson, J., Surg., to take rank, v. Johnstone, retired.—C. Nov. 2.
- Hutton, T., Ens., 37th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Kennedy, dec.—C. Nov. 9.
- Hatchett, J. H., Ens., 1st Extra N. I., to be Lieut., v. Hickmann.—C. Nov. 23.
- Henderson, H. B., Capt., 5th N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Nov. 23.
- Hunter, J., Major, 55th N. I., app. to act Regulating Officer of Invalid Tannahs, in the District of Behar, during the absence of Major Spottiswood.—C. Nov. 30.
- Hopper, W., Lieut.-Col. Com. on furl. to the Cape, for health.—C. Dec. 21.
- Hickman, J. P., Lieut., 1st Extra N. I., to be Capt., v. Sam, acc.—C. Dec. 21.
- Hearsey, J. B., Capt., 6th L. Cav., to go on the River for health.—C. Nov. 28.
- Hawtreay, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 8th to 3d L. Cav.—C. Nov. 29.
- Harding, Surg., rem. from 2d Batt. Artill. to 53d N. I.—C. Nov. 29.
- Hull, J. W., Capt., 14th N. I., on furl. to the Presidency.—C. Nov. 29.
- Hodgson, W. B. J., Lieut., Horse Artill., leave of absence extended.—C. Nov. 29.
- Horsford, R., Lieut. and Adj., 4th Batt. Artill., posted to the 3d company.—C. Nov. 21.
- Howard, W. H., Lieut., 1st Eur. Reg., to be Interp. and Mas. v. Matthie.—C. Dec. 6.
- Harriott, 22d N. I., leave to visit the Presidency to apply for furl.—C. Dec. 7.
- Home, J., Capt., M. B., Brig. Staff, to accompany Brigadier Sleigh, C. B., on his Tour of Inspection.—C. Dec. 5.
- Holland, Capt., Comins. Depart., to be 2d Assist.-Com.-Gen. v. Waite, on furl. to Eur.—B. Nov. 1.
- Heath, J. C., Ens., 5th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Carthew, dec.—B. Nov. 6.
- Hughes, R., Ens., 3d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Johnson, prom.—B. Nov. 6.
- Hamilton, J. B., 2st Light Cav., to proceed to Persia on a Special Mission.—B. Nov. 7.
- Hamilton, B. N. C., Mr., to be Magist. of Benares.—B. Nov. 8.
- Irvine, Arch., 1st Lieut. Engin., to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.
- Innes, J., Assist.-Surg., to do Medical Duties of Civ. Station at Bhargulpore, v. Macara.—C. Oct. 5.
- Juglis, T., Assist.-Surg., M. D., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 9.
- Isaac, E. E., Lieut., 63d N. I., returned to be duty.—C. Nov. 16.

- Irvine, G. N., Lieut. and Adj., 4th Local Horse, to Visit the Hill Prov. for health.—C. Nov. 28.
- Innes, Lieut., 12th N. I., to do duty with 15th Reg.—C. Dec.
- Johnson, C., Lieut., 3d N. I., to be Capt., v. Alderton, en hierol.
- Johnson, J., Brev. Capt. and 1st Lieut. Artill., to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.
- Jenner, W. R., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Nov. 2, posted to 23th N. I.—C. Nov. 30.
- Johnston, P., Capt., 5th N. I., app. to Civil Station at Indore.—C. Oct. 26.
- Jenkins, R. C., Lieut., 61st N. I., permitted to resign.—C. Nov. 23.
- Johnstone, G. H., Capt., 26th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Nov. 30.
- James, J. A., Ens., 1st Extra N. I., to be Lieut., v. Hickman.—C. Dec. 21.
- Jarvis, J. H., Lieut., Interp. and Quart.-Mas., posted to 7th Batt. 2d Comp.—C. Nov. 31.
- Kennedy, H., Ens., posted to 67th N. I.—C. Oct. 12.
- Kerr, H. T. C., Lieut. 39th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Nov. 30.
- Kennedy, W. D., Lieut. 6th Extra N. I., on furl. to Presidency for health.—C. Nov. 29.
- Lashington, G. T., Mr., to be Extra-Assist. to Secret. to Government in Persian Department. C. Oct. 19.
- Lindsay, H., Cadet, admitted to Cavalry. C. Oct. 3.
- Lumsdaine, J. C., Lieut., 38th N. I., to be Interp. and Quar.-Mas., v. Robe.—C. Oct. 2.
- Lozan, John, Mr., admitted Assist.-Surgeon. C. Oct. 5.
- Lindesay, H., Cadet, app. to do duty with 6th Light Cav. at Sultanpore, Benares, C. Oct. 12.
- Lindsay, H., Lieut.-Col. Artill., to be Member of Arsenal Committee. C. Oct. 12. On furlough to Europe. Nov. 23.
- Logan, Assist.-Surgeon, attached to General Hospital. C. Oct. 8.
- Lindsay, W., Veterinary Surgeon, app. to 2d Light Cav. C. Oct. 19.
- Loughnan, J. M., Cadet, admitted to Cav. Oct. 19. Posted to 9th Light Cav.—C. Nov. 29.
- Lloyd, F., Cadet, prom. to Ens. Oct. 19. Posted to 36th N. I. C. Nov. 30.
- Lovel, M., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surgeon. C. Nov. 2.
- Laug, J., Lieut. 36th N. I., returned to duty. C. Oct. 27.
- Leacock, W. H., Lieut. 30th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health. C. Oct. 5.
- Leacock, H. W., Ens., 6th Extra N. I., to be Lieut., v. Farquharson, prom.—C. Nov. 16.
- Lockington, Conductor, on furl. to Presidency. C. Oct. 31.
- Lloyd, E. S., Lieut. 19th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health. C. Nov. 23.
- Logan, J., Assist.-Surgeon, on furl. to Europe for health. C. Nov. 23.
- Lucas, J. M. A., Capt. 21th N. I., on furl. to the Cape and Europe for health.—C. Nov. 23.
- Lloyd, C. H., Lieut.-Col. 30th N. I., transf. to Invalid Estab., and to command the 15th Bundelcund Prov. Batt. C. Dec. 21.
- Lamb, Y., Lieut. 51st N. I., on furl. on the River for health. C. Nov. 29.
- Lawrie, J. A., Assist.-Surgeon, (M.D.), 53d N. I., on furl. to Presidency for health. C. Nov. 29.
- Landon, C. G., Ens. 8th N. I., on furl. to the Presidency for health. C. Nov. 29.
- Ludlow, Lieut., to act as Adjut. to Artill. Div. at Rajpootana, v. Symons, on sick leave. C. Dec. 1.
- Motley, C., Assist. app. to Medical Duties of Civ. Station of Ajmeer, v. Heynes.—C. Oct. 5.
- Monat, Sir Jas., Lieut. Col. Engin., to be Lieut. Col. Comm.—C. Oct. 5.
- M'Leod, D. Major Engin., to be Lieut. Col.—C. Oct.
- Morland, R. S. B., Brev. Capt., and 1st Lieut. Artill., to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.
- Money, E. H., Corn., posted to 2d L. Cav.—C. Oct. 5.
- Mainwaring, P., Ens., posted 33d N. I.—C. Oct. 1.
- Maule, W. M., Ens., posted to 11th N. I.—C. Oct. 1.
- Morrison, R., Ens., posted to 52d N. I.—C. Oct. 1.
- Macra, J. M., Assist. Surg., to be Surg., at Khatmandoo, v. Innes.—C. Oct. 5.

- M'Murdo, Lieut., to act as Interp. and Quart. Mast. to 33d N. I., during indisposition of Lieut. Riddell.—C. Oct. 8.
- Morrice, Assist. Surg., to do Medical duties of 36th N. I., v. Hough.—C. Oct. 8.
- Maddonald, Lieut., to act as Adj. to right wing of 61st N. I., proceeding with treasure to the Presidency.—C. Oct. 8.
- Matthew, Surg., to officiate as Superintend. at Cawnpore.—C. Oct. 8.
- Macleod, J. C., Ens., 2d N. I., to be Lieut., v. Erskine, dec.—C. Oct. 12.
- Muston, Edward, Surg., app. to 13d N. I.—C. Oct. 19.
- Maitland, Sam., Lieut., Engin., to be execut. Engin. of 16th or Purneah Div. Department of Public Works.—C. Oct. 19.
- Mundy, G. C., Capt., H. M.'s 2d Queen's Royals, to be Aid-de-Camp. to Com-in Chief, v. Cotton.—C. Oct. 22.
- Martin, J. R., Assist.-Surg., to officiate as 1st Assist. to Presidency Gen. Hospital, and medical charge of Calcutta goal.—C. Nov. 2.
- Martin, J. R., Assist.-Surg., to have medical charge of Gov.-General's body guard.—C. Nov. 2.
- Marshall, J. N., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 2.
- Murrell, J. B., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 2; posted to 67th N. I.—C. Nov. 30.
- MacLeod, B. W., Surg., rem. from 67th to 8th N. I.—C. Nov. 29.
- Morgan, T. T., Assist.-Surg., to place himself under direction of Superintend.-Surg. at Cawnpore.—C. Oct. 31.
- Maxwell, H. G., Maj., 43d N. I., ret. to duty.—Oct. 1.
- Mouat, Sir Jas., Lieut.-Col.-Com. of Eng., ret. to duty.—C. Oct. 31.
- Mason, C. O., Capt., 10th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Nov. 2.
- M'Leod, A., Major 19th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Nov. 2.
- Mesurier, H. Le, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 9.
- Miles, R. H., Lieut. 1st N. I., on furl. to Eur.—C. Nov. 16.
- MacClintock, G. F., Lieut. 4th L. Cav., on furl. to Eur. for one year without pay.—C. Nov. 16.
- Monteath, T., Capt. 85th N. I., leave of absence, granted in July, cancelled.—C. Oct. 31.
- Marshall, Jas., Ens. 61st N. I., to be Lieut. v. Jenkins, res.—C. Nov. 30.
- Macnaughten, J. D., Cornet, on leave for health.—C. Nov. 28.
- MacIntosh, H., Lieut. and Adj. 13d N. I., on leave on Med. Certif.—C. Nov. 28.
- Miles, R. H., perm. to remain at Pres. for recovery of his health.—C. Nov. 29.
- Murray, Assist.-Surg. (M. D.), to assume charge of the Com-in Chief's escort.—C. Nov. 29.
- Marshall, J. N., Ens., posted to 40th N. I.—C. Nov. 30.
- M'Kay, Lieut. and Adj. 1st Brig. Artill., posted to 3d Troop.—C. Nov. 30.
- M'George, Lieut. 7th N. I., to officiate as Interp. and Quar.-Master during the absence of Lieut. Huddleston, directed to visit the Presidency.—C. Dec. 31.
- Matthie, J., Lieut. 1st Eur. Reg., to be Adj. v. Kennedy, dec.—C. Dec. 6.
- Mesurier, Le, Capt. Commis. Dep., to be acting 3d Assist.-Commis.-Gen. v. Holland, prom.—B. Nov. 1.
- M'Intyre, L. M., Ens. 2d Eur. Reg., to be Lieut. v. Bell, struck off.—B. Nov. 1.
- Macan, Richd. Mr., to be principal Assist. to the Gov.-Gen. in Saugor and the Nerbudda Territories.—B. Nov. 9.
- Nisbett, Wm., Cadet, prom. to Ens. of Inf.—C. Oct. 9; posted to 53d N. I.—C. Oct. 19.
- Nicholls, Sir Jasper, Maj.-Gen., removed from Presidency of Fort St. George to Fort William.—C. Oct. 19.
- Ottley, G. O. B., Ens., posted to 67th N. I.—C. Oct. 19.
- Odell, J. C. Odell, 41st N. I., on furl. to the Cape and Isle of France, for health.—C. Oct. 19.
- Oyly, J. D., Brev. Capt. and Acting-Adj., 6th Batt. Artillery, posted to 1st company.—C. Nov. 31.
- Prinsep, Thomas, 1st Lieut., Engin., to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.
- Playfair, H. L., Capt. Artill., to be Major. C. Oct. 5.
- Pattenson, C., Ens., rem. from 24th to 4th N. I. C. Oct. 5.
- Parker, Lieut., to act as Adj. during the absence of Lieut. Watt. C. Oct. 5.

- Pollock, D. T., Ens., posted to 6th Extra N. I. Oct. 12.
- Paterson, J. J., Surg., 20th Regt., app. to do duty with 66th N. I., v. Wood. C. Oct. 17.
- Paton, J. G. B., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Oct. 19, posted to 11th N. I. C. Nov. 30.
- Parker, W., Lieut., to be extra Aid-de-Camp to Com.-in-Chief. C. Oct. 22.
- Penrose, W. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Nov. 2, posted to 40th N. I. C. Nov. 30.
- Pemberton, T. F. H., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Nov. 2, posted to 8th N. I. C. Nov. 30.
- Palmer, Wm., Lieut., 32th N. I., to officiate as Dep. Judge Adv.-Gen. in Cawnpore, during absence of Capt. Pratt, and at Kurnaul. C. Oct. 22.
- Paterson, R., Surg., rem. from 26th to 8th N. I. C. Oct. 27.
- Park, Lieut., to act Interp. and Quar.-Master to 29th N. I., from 17th Oct., during absence of Lieut. Brown. C. Oct. 31.
- Pratt, Capt., Dep. Adv.-Gen., rem. from Sirhind to Cawnpore div.; C., Oct. 31.
- Paterson, John, Surgeon, returned to duty, C., Oct. 31.
- Pennington, R. B., Surgeon, to rank for the augmentation, C., Nov. 2.
- Pearson, J. T., Assist.-surg. appointed to Medical Duties of Civ. Station of Jessore, during the absence of Assist.-Surgeon Francis, C., Nov. 30.
- Phillips, B., Lieut. and Adj., on leave for health, C., Nov. 28.
- Pattle, W., Major, 1st Lt. Cav., on leave to the Presidency, C., Nov. 29.
- Pratt, J. B. Capt., Gen. Staff Dep. Judge Adv. Gen., to remain at Almora on sick certificate, C. Nov. 22.
- Pennington, G., Lieut. and Adj., 3d Brig. Artillery, posted to 3d Troop, C., Nov. 31.
- Payne, Sen. Acting 3d Assist., is confirmed a Third Assist.-Com.-Gen. C., Nov. 1.
- Riddell, Thos., Ens., posted to 60th N. I.—C. Oct. 1.
- Robe, W. G. J. Lieut. 59th N. I., to continue Adj. of Bundelcund Prov. Batt. —C. Oct. 2.
- Ravenscroft, E. W., Cadet, prom. to Ens. of Inf.—C. Oct. 5. Posted to 46th N. I.—C. Oct. 19.
- Rattray, C. Ens., posted to 46th N. I.—C. Oct. 12.
- Ronald, J., Assist.-Surg., app. to Med. duties of Civil station of Barripore, v. Tweddall.—C. Oct. 19.
- Ranken, George, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—Nov. 2. Posted to 67th N. I.,—C. Nov. 30.
- Richards, Alfred, Lieut.-Col. Com., rem. from 51st to 33d N. I.—C. Oct. 27.
- Riddell, R., Lieut. 33d N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Nov. 2.
- Row, John, to take rank v. Rind, invalided.—C. Nov. 2.
- Ross, L., Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 9.
- Ree, W. W., Capt. 59th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 9.
- Reynolds, Thomas, Capt. 63d N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Nov. 16.
- Robinson, Thos., Capt. 64th N. I., app. to Civil station at Indore.—C. Oct. 26.
- Ross, Hugh, Capt. 42d N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Nov. 23.
- Ramsay, Thos., Ens. 22d N. I., perm. to proceed to Singapore for health.—C. Nov. 23.
- Rocke, F. B., Lieut., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 23.
- Rice, J. Howard, Ens., returned to duty.—C. Nov. 23.
- Rooke, B., Lieut.-Col. 49th N. I., to visit the Presidency for health.—C. Nov. 28.
- Reid, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 2d to 8th L. Cav.—C. Nov. 29.
- Rotton, J. S., Lieut., Interp. and Quar.-Mas., 6th Bat. Artill., posted to the 2d Company.—C. Nov. 31.
- Robertson, W. T., Mr., to be Judge and Magistrate of Futtehpoore.—B. Nov. 8.
- Spiers, A., Mr., to be head Assistant to Secretary to Board of the Revenue, for Central Provinces.—C. Oct. 5.
- Stockwell, George, Mr., to be Postmaster-General.—C. Nov. 1.
- Scott, Walter, 2d Lieut., Bengal, Engineer, post. to Bombay.—Oct. 5.
- Smith, Robert, Capt., Engineer, to be Major.—C. Oct. 5.
- Sweetenham, Edm., 1st Lieutenant, Engineer, to be Captain.—C. Oct. 5.
- Smith, E. J., 1st Lieut., Engineer, to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.

- Smyth, W., Mr., 2d Lieut., Engineer, to be Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Scott, G. R. Brev. Capt., and 1st Lieut., Artillery, to be Capt.—C. Oct. 5.
 Swinley, G. H., 2d Lieut., Artillery, to be 1st Lieutenant.—C. Oct. 5.
 Shakspear, J. D., 2d Lieut., Artillery, to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Scott, G. D., 2d Lieut., Artillery, to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Sage, T. F., 2d Lieut., Artillery, to be 1st Lieut.—C. Oct. 5.
 Smith, H. B., Lieut., 37th N. I., to be Interp. and Qu. Mas. v. Griffiths prom.—C. Oct. 2.
 Scott, A., Assist.-Surg., to be Surgeon v. Reddie, dec.—C. Oct. 9.
 Sleigh, Brig., app. to inspect the whole of Cavalry Regiments on his establishment.—C. Oct. 8.
 Scott, Alexander, Surgeon, posted to 60th N. I.—C. Oct. 19.
 Sanderson, Lieut. and Brev. Capt. to Art., as Interp. and Qu. Mast. to 9th Light Cav., on departure of Lieut. Malone.—C. Oct. 17.
 Samler, F., Cadet, promoted to Ens. Oct. 19, posted to 16th N. I.—C. Nov. 30.
 Sweetenham, K., Lieut.-Col., 9th Light Cavalry, transferred to Invalid Estab.—C. Oct. 19.
 Sissmore, T. H., Cadet, promoted to 2d Lieut., Artillery.—C. Nov. 2.
 Smith, G., Assist.-Surg., posted to 67th N. I.—C. Oct. 31.
 Stokes, J., Assist.-Surg., to place himself under the direction of Superintend. Surg. at Cawnpore.—C. Oct. 31.
 Scott, Alexander, Surg., to take rank, v. Stephens, dec.—C. Nov. 9.
 Slacke, Charles, Cadet, prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 9.
 Sedgely, George, Mr. admitted Veter. Surg., Nov. 9, posted to 10th Lt. Cav., C. Nov. 30.
 Syme, Andrew, Capt., 57th N. I., returned to duty, C. Nov. 16.
 Smyth, G. C., Lieut., 3d Lt. Cav., on furl to Eur. for health, C. Nov. 16.
 Siddons, George Richard, Cornet, to rank from Oct. 26, Nov. 30, posted to 2d Lt. Cav., C. Nov. 29.
 Showers, H. D., Major 4th Extra N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.
 Spottiswood, Robert, Major, leave to visit the Presidency and to apply for furl., C. Nov. 30.
 Smith, George, Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health, C. Dec. 21.
 Starvoock, H., 2d Lieut. Artill., to visit the Hills for health, C. Nov. 28.
 Symons, W. J., Lieut. and Adj. Artill., to visit the Presidency for health, C. Nov. 28.
 Shakspear, W., 2d Lieut. 3d brig. Horse Artillery, to do duty at Meerut, C. Nov. 28.
 Skiuner, J., Lieut. 61st N. I., on leave of absence on sick certificate, C. Nov. 29.
 Saunders, T., Brev. Capt. and Adj. 3d batt. Artill., posted to 3d company, C. Nov. 31.
 Stoddart, Capt. 8th Lt. Cav., to officiate as Dep.-Judge-Adv.-Gen. to the Serhind Division, C. Nov. 31.
 Stark, Lieut. 1st Gren. regt., to act as 3d Commis.-Gen., v. Capt. Bell, on leave to sea, B. Nov. 1.
 Tebbs, G., Cadet, admitted to Infantry, posted to 12th N. I., C. Oct. 3.
 Trafford, W. L., Cadet, prom. to Ens., Oct. 3, posted to 35th N. I., Oct. 12.
 Tickle, Richd. Capt., Eng., to be Major, C. Oct. 5.
 Taylor, Jos., Capt., Eng., to be Major, C. Oct. 5.
 Thomson, Geo., 1st Lieut., Engin., to be Capt., Oct. 5, posted to Sappers and Miners, C. Dec. 6.
 Tremehere, G. B., 2d Lieut. Artill., to be 1st Lieut., C. Oct. 5.
 Trimmer, F. Lieut. Cawnpore, Prov. Batt., to be Adj., v. Chitty dec., C. Oct. 2.
 Tytler, R., Surg., rem. from 26th to 67th N. I., C. Nov. 29.
 Tweddell, H. M., Assist. Surg., to be attached to Board of Revenue, in Central Prov. v. Ronald, C. Oct. 16.
 Twining, W., Assist.-Surg., to be 3d Perm. Assist. to Presidency Gen. Hospital, C. Nov. 2.
 Turner, V. F. F., Adm. Cadet of Cav., Nov. 2, posted to 6th Lt. Cav., C. Nov. 30.
 Turton, Jos. Lieut. Artill., to be Adj. & Qu. Mas. to 5th Batt. v. Vauxhall, prom., C. Oct. 31.

- Tudor, J. C. Lieut., 46th N. I., returned to duty, C. Sept. 21.
- Turner, John Surg., to take rank v. Crawford retired, and to take charge of 1st and 2d Lt. Cav., Nov. 29.
- Turton, J., 1st Lieut. and Adj., 5th Batt. Artill., to visit the Hills for health, Nov. 28, posted to 3d Company, Nov. 31.
- Thomson, Lieut.-Col., rem. from 3d to 9th Lt. Cav., C. Nov., 29.
- Toke, J. S., Assist.-Surg., 43d N. I., on leave to visit the Presidency, C. Nov. 29.
- Thomas, M. Major, 54th N. I., on furl., to visit the Presidency for health, C. Nov. 29.
- Taylor, Edw., Cadet, posted to 6th Lt. Cav., C. Nov. 30.
- Trevelyn, C. E., Mr., to be extra Assist. to the President at Delhi, B. Nov. 19.
- Udney, Arch., Mr., to be Assist. to Board of Trade, C. Nov. 1.
- Urquhart, Surg., rem. from 11th N. I., to 7th Lt. Cav., C. Oct. 27.
- Vibart, T. G., Mr., to be Judge and Magistrate of Rajeshahye, C. Oct. 25.
- Vanrenen, T. A., Brev. Capt., and 1st Lieut., Artill., C. Oct. 5.
- Vetch, Lieut., 54th N. I., to act as Adj. to Rungpore Light Inf. C. Oct. 1.
- White, K. J., Cadet, admitted to Artillery, Oct. 3., promoted to 2d Lieut. C. Oct. 12.
- Wood, Brev. Lieut.-Col. and Maj. Engin., to be Lieut.-Col. C. Oct. 5.
- Wanlow, Thos., 1st Lieut. Engin., to be Capt. C. Oct. 3.
- Whish, W. S., Major, Artill., to be Lieut.-Col. C. Oct. 5.
- Wilson, R. B., Brev. Capt. and 1st Lieut. Artill., to be Capt. C. Oct. 5.
- Wilcox, J. T., Ens., posted to 49th N. I. C. Oct. 5.
- Welford, H. P., Ens., posted to 30th N. I. C. Oct. 1.
- Windsor, C., Ens., rem. from 30th to 53d N. I. C. Oct. 3.
- Warden, W. E. Cadet, prom. to Ens. of Inf. C. Oct. 9.
- Windsor, C., Ens., posted to 53d N. I., at Bareilly, C. Oct. 12.
- White, M. T., Ens., post. to 43d N. I. C. Oct. 12.
- Ward, Lieut.-Col., to resume command of 1st Eur. reg. C. Oct. 8.
- Watlow, Assist.-Surg., to take charge of Med. Depot. and Bazaar Hospital at Cawnpore. C. Oct. 12.
- Wright, C., Ens., 3d N. I., to Lieut. v. Burns, prom. C. Oct. 19.
- Whish, Lieut.-Col., to command Artill. at Sangor. C. Oct. 15.
- Wood, Surg., 66th N. I., app. to Med. Charge of Eur. Artill. at Dum-Dum. C. Oct. 17.
- Walker, F., Maj., re-appointed to charge of 10th N. I. C. Oct. 19.
- Warden, W. S., Ens., to do duty with 46th N. I. C. Oct. 19.
- Wallscombe, T., Capt., 65th N. I., transf. to inval. estab., at his own request. C. Nov. 2.
- Wilson, E. P., Lieut.-Col., Comman. 17th N. I., to command Rajpootana Field Force, with rank of Brigadier v. Fagan. C. Nov. 2.
- Watson, T. C., Maj., 2nd Ens., reg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—C. Oct. 26.
- Wilson, R. W., Brev.-Capt. and Lieut., 65th N. I., to be Capt., v. Wallscombe.—C. Nov. 2.
- Wray, C., Assist.-Surg., to be Surg., v. Hickman, retired v. Reddie, dec., posted to 2nd batt. Artill.—C. Nov. 29.
- Wood, A., Surg., to take rank, v. Cocke, dec.—C. Nov. 2.
- Watson, A., Lieut.-Col., Com. 7th, L. Cav., app. to temporary command of the garrison of Monghyr.—C. Oct. 31.
- Watson, W., Surg., on furl. to the Presidency, C. Nov. 23.
- Wise, T. A., Dr. perm., to practise as surgeon, C. Nov. 23.
- Wyatt, J. Hindes, Mr., perm., to practice as a surgeon, C. Nov. 28.
- Wyndham, C., Ens., 35th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Cowley, prom. C. Nov. 31.
- Wallace, N., Capt. 53rd N. I., on furl. to Eur. C. Dec. 21.
- Wright, J., Lieut. 3d N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—B. Nov. 6.
- Wallace, R., Surg. Med. Storekeeper, on furlough to Europe for health.—B. Nov. 6.
- Watkins, F. D., Capt. Artill., appointed to charge of the Depot of Commiss. of stores, Baroda, until the arrival of Capt. Falconer.—B. Nov. 7.
- Walker, Robert Mr., to be Judge of the City of Benares.—Nov. 8.
- Young T., Ens., posted to 40th N. I.—C. Oct. 1.

' General Orders by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

' Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, 10th Dec. 1827.

' THE following Extracts from the confirmed Proceedings of a Native General Court Martial, held at Palaveram, on Monday, the 3d day of December, 1827, are published to the army.

' Sepoy Pinedeapah, No. 14, a Company 4th regt. Native Infantry, confined to the Quarter-Guard, on the 29th inst., on the following charges:—

' 1st, For mutinous conduct, in having, on the afternoon of the 29th October, 1827, presented and snapped a musket, loaded with ball-cartridge, at Jernadar Coopah, of the 4th regt. Native Infantry, he being in the execution of his duty.

' 2d, For having subsequently to presenting and snapping his musket, as aforesaid, said, 'you are my enemy, and I shall kill you some time or other,' or words to that effect.

' 3d, For making away with one round of ball-cartridge, the property of the Honourable Company.

(Signed)

WILLIAM CLAPHAM,

Lieut.-Col. Commanding 4th regt. N. I.

By order,

(Signed)

T. H. S. CONWAY,

' Palaveram, 29th Oct. 1827.

Adjutant-General of the Army.

' The Court having most maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence brought forward in support of the prosecution, as well as what the prisoner, Pinedeapah hath urged in his defence, and the evidence in support thereof, is of opinion :

' Finding, on the first charge—Guilty.

' Finding, on the second charge—Guilty.

' Finding, on the third charge—Guilty.

' Sentence—The Court, having found the prisoner, Pinedeapah, Guilty to the extent above stated, doth sentence him, the said Pinedeapah, private, 4th regt., N. I., to be shot to death with musketry, at such time and place as His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief may direct.

(Signed)

&c. &c. &c.

' Approved and Confirmed,

(Signed)

G. T. WALKER,

Lieut.-Gen. and Com.-in-Chief.

' With permission of The Right Honourable the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief directs, that the sentence awarded to private Pinedeapah, of the 4th Regiment Native Infantry, shall be carried into execution on the morning of Monday the 21th inst., in front of the troops at Palaveram, agreeably to detailed instructions, which will be furnished to the officer commanding the troops at that station.

' Lieutenant-General Sir George Townshend Walker, G.C.B., and K.C.T., with a view further to impress upon the minds of the soldiery under his command, the awful example he has been compelled to order, in the execution of private Pinedeapah, of the 4th Regiment, N. I., is pleased to direct, that every corps, and detachment, of the army, shall be under arms, from six till seven o'clock in the morning of the 24th inst., the period at which the sentence is to be carried into execution, when the above crime, sentence, and general order, shall be distinctly read (and interpreted to the Native Corps) three times, to every corps, and detachment, in front of the parade.

' The due execution of the above order, is to be reported to the head-quarters of the army, through officers commanding divisions and forces.

(Signed)

T. H. S. CONWAY,

Adj.-Gen. of the Army.

' General Orders, by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

' Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, 15th Dec. 1827.

' THE following Extracts from the confirmed Proceedings of an European General Court Martial, held at Masulipatam, on Wednesday, the 5th day of

December, 1827, by virtue of a warrant from His Excellency, Lieutenant-General Sir G. T. Walker, G.C.B., and K.C.T., Commander-in-Chief, are published to the army.

' *Charge.*—Ensign Thomas Hilman Hull, of the 1st European Regiment, placed in confinement by order of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, on the following charge:

' For manslaughter, in having at Masulipatam, at, or about four o'clock, on the afternoon of Friday the 12th of October, 1827, struck, with the thick end of a billiard cue, or other weapon, Lieutenant Samuel Marshall, of the 1st European Regiment, a blow on the head, whereof the said Lieutenant Marshall died, at about half-past One o'clock, on the following morning.

' Adj.-Gen. Office, Fort. St. George, (Signed) T. H. S. CONWAY,
26th Nov. 1827. *Adj.-Gen. of the Army.*

' Friday.—The Court having most maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence brought forward in support of the prosecution, as well as what the prisoner, Ensign Thomas Hilman Hull hath urged in his defence, and the evidence in support thereof, is of opinion,—

' That he is guilty of the charge preferred against him.

' *Sentence.*—The Court having found the prisoner guilty to the extent above stated, doth sentence him, Ensign Thomas Hilman Hull, of the 1st European Regiment, to be imprisoned for the space of Twelve Months, (kalendar,) from such time, and at such place, as His Excellency, the Commander-in-Chief, may be pleased to direct.

(Signed) D. C. SMITH,
Lieut.-Col. 38th N. I. and President.

' Approved and Confirmed.

(Signed) G. T. WALKER,
Lieut.-Gen. and Com.-in-Chief.

(Signed) ' R. L. HIGHMOOR, *Dep.-Judge Adv.-Gen.*
conducting the Proceedings.

' The officers commanding at Masulipatam, will give directions for forwarding the prisoner, under proper escort, to the common Jail of Madras, on receipt of this Order; and his sentence will commence from the date of his reception there.

(Signed) G. T. WALKER,
Lieut.-Gen., and Commander-in-Chief.

' General Orders, by Government.

' No. 236. Fort St. George, 30th Nov. 1827.

' It having been represented to the Governor-in-Council, that the class of persons, designated *Country Born*, in the General Orders of 13th of March last, prefer the designation of *Indo-Briton*, the Governor-in-Council is pleased to direct that they shall in future be distinguished by that term in all public documents in which there may be occasion to mention them.

' By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council.

(Signed) ' D. HILL, *Chief Secretary.*

' General Orders, by Government.

' No. 240. Fort St. George, 7th Dec. 1827.

' Mr. James Stephen Lushington has been appointed Private Secretary to the Right Honourable the Governor.

' By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council.

(Signed) R. CLIVE, *Secretary to Government.*

' General Orders, by Government.

' No. 230. Fort St. George, 20th Nov. 1827.

' THE following Appointment is published in General Orders:—Major R. S.

Douglas of the Royal Artillery, to be Aid-de-Camp to the Right Honourable the Governor, vice Hay, deceased.

‘His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, having brought to the notice of the Government, the disgraceful conduct of Lieut. J. G. Green, of the 1st Regiment of Light Cavalry, on the passage from Madras to Bombay, in the Brig *Britanna*, the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council has resolved, that Lieutenant Green shall be suspended from the Honourable Company’s service, until the decision of the Honourable Court of Directors on the case shall be known; and that Officer is hereby suspended accordingly.

‘By order of the Right Honourable the Governor-in-Council.

(Signed)

R. CLIVE, *Secretary to Government.*

‘General Orders, by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

‘Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, 21st Dec. 1827.

‘COMMANDING Officers of Stations and Corps, are cautioned against bringing to trial, before Military Courts, persons who are not amenable to Military Law; as they may thereby subject themselves to all the inconveniences of a prosecution in the Civil Courts, for authorising that which is illegal.

‘21th December, 1827.

‘ALL recruiting for regiments of Light-Cavalry, and Native Infantry, including the Rifle Corps, Extra Regiments, and Seringapatam Local Battalion, is to cease until further orders; and any detached recruiting parties from those Corps will immediately join their respective head-quarters. Recruit and Pensioned Boys, attached to Cavalry and Infantry Regiments, are, notwithstanding this order, to be transferred to the ranks, agreeable to the General Orders by Government, of the 23d of February, 1813, when they have attained the proper age and height, and are in all respects fit to carry arms.

‘The promotion in Native Infantry Regiments, of Commissioned, Non-Commissioned Officers, Naïques and Drummers, is to cease till further orders; and all casualties in these ranks are to be reported to the Adjutant-General’s Office, that the supernumerary of each rank may be disposed of.

(Signed)

T. H. S. CONWAY,

Adjutant-Gen. of the Army.

BIRTHS:

Apcar, the lady of Gregory, Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 4.

Bailes, the lady of Captain, of the Hon. C.’s stud, of a son, at Poona, Nov. 17.

Bagrain, the lady of G. P., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 19.

Bird, the lady of John, Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 18.

Bentley, Mrs. Mary Anne Emmer, wife of Mr. P. Emmer, only daughter of the late John Bentley, Esq., at Calcutta, Dec. 11.

Black, Capt. Thomas Montague, 58th N. I. at Seemaroo in Neywar, Nov. 16.

Ball, the lady of Capt. T. P., Assist.-Quar.-Mast.-Gen.; Light Field Divis. of Hyderabad, of a son, at Jambhah, Sept. 29.

Belli, the lady of W. H., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Hadgley, Oct. 1.

Bruce, the lady of W., junr., Esq., of a son and heir, at Ballygunge, Calcutta, Oct. 3.

Bruce, the lady of Capt., Assist.-Com.-Gen., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 14.

Bayley, the lady of W. B., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 25.

Brett, the lady of F. W., Assist.-Surg., of a son, at Bhaugulpore, Nov. 2.

Boyd, the lady of Lieut.-Col. M. B., of a daughter, at Chowringhee, Nov. 15.

Debrett, the lady of Capt., of a daughter, at Dum-Dum, Nov. 26.

Drew, the lady of John, Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 9.

Fox, the lady of W., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 16.

Forde, the lady of J. A. N., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Moradabad, Oct. 26.

Govan, the lady of G., Esq., Bengal Med. Estab., of a son.

Gwatkin, the lady of Capt. E., Superintend. of the stud, of a daughter, at Meerut, Oct. 24.

- Gouldsberry, the lady of F., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Malda, Oct. 26.
 Hudson, the lady of N., Esq., Attorney at Law, of a son, at Calcutta, Dec. 18.
 Hodgson, the lady of Major J. A., of a son, at Chowringhee, Oct. 26.
 Holland, the lady of Capt. G. J., of a son, at Lucknow, Oct. 28.
 Kindlinger, the lady of the Rev., of a son, at Pulicat, Nov. 24.
 Lowther, the lady of W., Esq., Civil Service, of a son, at Ghazee pore, Dec. 1.
 Lake, the lady of Major, of a son, at Penang, Sep. 11.
 Lane, the lady of H. S., Esq., of a son, at Ghazee pore, Oct. 23.
 Lamounoux, the lady of P. A., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 29.
 Mackenzie, the lady of James, Esq., of a daughter, at Howra, Nov. 1.
 Mitchel, the lady of Lieut. R., 6th N. I., of a daughter, at Bangalore, Nov. 25.
 Mouatt, the lady of Dr., (M. D.,) Surgeon, H. M.'s 14th Foot, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 23.
 Mepher son, the lady of G. G., Esq., of a daughter, at Bauleah, Nov. 24.
 Maxwell, the lady of Major H., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 9.
 Mackay, the lady of Capt., of the ship *Louisa*, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 9.
 Minos, the lady of P., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 10.
 Maillard, the lady of J. P., Esq., at Tirhoot, Oct. 16.
 Maddock, the lady of Capt., Secretary to the Clothing Board, of a still-born son, at Calcutta, Oct. 20.
 Munro, the lady of Capt. C. A., 6th Extra N. I., of a daughter, Nov. 10.
 Paliologus, the lady of N., Esq., Notary Public, of a son, at Calcutta, Oct. 19.
 Robison, the lady of the Rev. Thomas, Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Governor-Gen. at Chowringhee, Nov. 27.
 Reid, the lady of L. R., Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Rutnagherry, Oct. 8.
 Ricketts, the lady of Mordaunt, Esq., of a son, at the Residency, Lucknow, Oct. 10.
 Smith, the lady of D. Carmichael, Esq., of the Civil Service, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 27.
 Somerville, Neil, Esq., of Edinburgh, at sea, on board the ship *Henry Parker*, Oct. 10.
 Sinclair, the lady of Capt. Charles, 24th N. I., of a daughter, at Bellary, Oct. 9.
 Seallan, the lady of T., Esq., Bengal Marine, of a son and heir, at Calcutta, Oct. 6.
 Smith, the lady of Charles, Esq., of a daughter, at Dacca, Oct. 8.
 Smith, the lady of E., Esq., Civil Service, at Cawnpore, Oct. 13.
 Steer, the lady of Capt. W. F., of a son, at Dinapore, Oct. 15.
 Stoue, the lady of the Rev. Cyrus, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Oct. 26.
 Taylor, the lady of Capt. W., 22d N. I., of a daughter, at Calicut, Oct. 30.
 Tuskett, the lady of Harvey, Esq., H. M.'s 11th Light Dragoons, of a daughter, at Ghazee pore, Dec. 9.
 Taylor, the lady of Benjamin, Esq., at Benafes, Oct. 13.
 Whitlock, the lady of G. S., Esq., 36th regt., H. M., of a son, Dec. 5.
 Webb, the lady of G., Esq., Surg., 1st Europ. regt., of a son, at Agra, Oct. 12.
 Welchman, the lady of C. W., Esq., (M. D.,) at Tumlook, Nov. 1.
 Wilkinson, the lady of E., Esq., of a daughter, Nov. 2.

MARRIAGES.

- Beddell, W., Esq., to Francis Eliza Ann, only child of the late Capt. W. Sirright 8th B. L. Cav., at Calcutta, Oct. 3.
 Brown, Dr. G. G., Assist.-Surg., to Catherine, daughter of the late W. Fernice, Esq., of Fifeshire, at Calcutta, Oct. 11.
 Buttershaw, Capt., ex-rec. officer 14th Div., to Miss Hobday, daughter of B. Hobday, Esq., near Birmingham, at Sangor, Oct. 13.
 Chalmers, Alex., Esq., (M. D.) Assist.-Surg., to Maria Francis Jena, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. Bishop, commanding the extra N. I. at Mynpooree.

- Dalzell, The Hon. H. B., to Miss Isabella Campbell, at Dum-Dum, Nov. 16.
 Emin, E. J., Esq., to Miss Marian Owen, daughter to Sarkies Owen, Esq., at Calcutta, Oct. 18.
 Hand, A., Lieut. Gren. Reg., to Miss Watson, at Bombay, Nov. 8.
 Harton, T., Esq., to Mrs. Emily Dickie, at Calcutta, Oct. 20.
 Hughes, J., Esq., Attorney at Law, to Miss Matilda Sarah Moore, only daughter of the late Major John Moore, of H. M.'s 12th Foot, at Calcutta, Nov. 8.
 Hancock, H., Esq., H. C.'s Milit. Serv., to Susan, youngest daughter of F. De Bercken, Esq., of Upper Clapton, Middlesex, at Bombay, Oct. 24.
 Hall, H., Capt., Comm. Mainwarrah, Local Batt., to Sarah, eldest daughter Brigad. Pier, at Nusseerabad, Oct. 11.
 Muller, E., Esq., Royal Reg., to Selenia, eldest daughter of Maj.-Gen. Sir Thomas Britzler, K.C.B., Madras, Oct. 13.
 Rind, J. N., Esq., Surg., to Mrs. Marion Row, widow of the late J. Row, Esq., at Calcutta, Dec. 20.
 Ross, G. C., Capt., Aid-de-Camp to Gen. Knox, to Mary Anne, second daughter of Brig. Maxwell, C.B., commanding in Oude, at Lucknow, Nov. 3.
 Rowan, R., Esq., of Carrickfergus, to Harriett, second daughter of J. W. Fulton Esq., of Upper Harley-street.
 Thacker, W., Esq., to Miss Martha Anne Smith, at Calcutta, Nov. 8.
 Wheatley, A., Lieut. and Adj., 5th Light Cav., to Charlotte, sixth daughter of Brig. G. Richards, Commanding in Bundelcund, at Mynpooree, Nov. 8.
 Wright, R., Esq., to Eliza, widow of the late Lieut. John Walker, at Calcutta, Oct. 1.
 Wardlaw, D. B., Esq., to Miss Anne Brodie, at Calcutta, Nov. 10.

DEATHS.

- Armstrong, George Clermont, second son of James, Esq., Collector, at Goruckpore, Nov. 15.
 Bruce, Lieut. Stanhope, H. M.'s 3d Buffs, aged 30, at Calcutta, Oct. 13.
 Bourgois, E. T., Esq., aged 22, at Tippiacolah, Furreedpore, Oct. 24.
 Carthew, Edmund, Lieut., 5th N. I., at Baroda, Oct. 29.
 Croker, Capt., John, H. M.'s 48th regt., at Bangalore, Nov. 7.
 Chambers, Capt. F. M., 3d N. I., aged 38, at Calcutta, Oct. 12.
 Cook, the lady of Capt. John, aged 52.
 Coquerel, Charles, Esq., aged 45 years, at Calcutta, Dec. 19.
 Clark, the lady of W. T., Esq., at Cossipore, Oct. 28.
 Davidson, W. B., Esq., late Com. of the ship *Humayoon Shaw*, aged 30, at Calcutta, Oct. 20.
 Esdall, Capt., commanding 15th N. I., aged 38, at Baroda, Oct. 30.
 Emerigue, M., Esq., aged 43 years, at Santipore, Dec. 9.
 Fraser, the lady of T. C., Esq., Civil Service, aged 27, at Colabab, Oct. 28.
 Harris, Mr. George, 4th Assist. Apothecary, aged 21, at Calcutta, Nov. 14.
 Jones, W. A., Esq., Judge of Surat at Bombay, Oct. 14.
 Lloyd, Hugh, son of R. B., Esq., aged 21, at Calcutta, Dec. 2.
 Mercer, Capt. S., 35th N. I., at Baucora, Nov. 21.
 Paxton, George, Esq., (M. D.) Assist.-Surg., 41st N. I., aged 28, at Calcutta, Dec. 2.
 Penn, Capt. Abel, late Com. of the Hon. C.'s vessel *Mermaid*, aged 32, at Howrah, Oct. 24.
 Patterson, John, Esq., Surg. on Estab., aged 26, at Calcutta, Nov. 9.
 Roe, the lady of Capt., Assist. Quart.-Mast.-Gen., Oct. 31.
 Renell, Mrs., widow of the late William Renell, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, at Futtighur, Nov. 16.
 Ross, James, Esq., at Benares, aged 35, Oct. 11.
 Shellington, E., Esq., at sea, on board the *Childe Harolde*, Oct. 4.
 Smith, Capt., Chas. C., 6th Extra N. I., aged 41, at Berhampore, Nov. 6.
 Webb, John Berry, Lieut., Bombay Artill., aged 21, on board the *Royal George*, at sea, Nov. 16.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1828.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date. 1827-8.
Mar. 25	Portsmouth	Andromeda ..	Muddle ..	Mauritius	Dec. 11
Mar. 26	Dartmouth	Harmonic ..	Versleys ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 11
Mar. 26	Downs ..	Mary and Jane	Matches ..	Singapore	Nby. 2
Mar. 28	Dartmouth	Lozether Castle	Baker ..	China ..	Nov. 9
Apr. 3	Weymouth	Waleloo ..	Manning ..	China ..	Dec. 6
Apr. 3	Dartmouth	Hythe ..	Wilson ..	China ..	Dec. 1
Apr. 3	Dartmouth	Gen. Kydd	Nairn ..	China ..	Dec. 1
Apr. 4	Plymouth	Penelope ..	Christie ..	Mauritius	Nov. 26
Apr. 1	Cork ..	Narcissus ..	Watson ..	Cape ..	Jan. 4
Apr. 1	Liverpool ..	Ad. Cockburn..	Cooling ..	V. D. Land	Sept. 23
Apr. 7	Falmouth ..	Elizabeth ..	Asherden ..	N. S. Wales	Nov. 15
Apr. 7	Dover ..	Fortitude ..	Burham ..	Mauritius	Dec. 20
Apr. 7	Portland ..	Charles Grant	Hay ..	China ..	Dec. 5
Apr. 11	Portsmouth	Sir W. Wallace	Brown ..	China ..	Dec. 5
Apr. 12	Portsmouth	Bombay ..	Charitie ..	China ..	Nov. 23
Apr. 12	Downs ..	Dawson ..	Dawson ..	St. Helena	Feb. 7
Apr. 12	Dover ..	Travis ..	Colb ..	Cape ..	Jan. 5
Apr. 12	Gravesend..	Mar. of Ha-ting	Drake ..	China ..	Dec. 1
Apr. 14	Downs ..	K. Stewart Forbes	Chapman ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 7
Apr. 11	Downs ..	Guildford ..	Johnson ..	China ..	Dec. 1
Apr. 11	Dover ..	Louisa Auguste	Martin ..	Manilla ..	Nov. 18
Apr. 14	Margate ..	Samuel Brown	Reid ..	Mauritius	Jan. 16
Apr. 15	Liverpool ..	John Taylor ..	Atkin-on ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 8
Apr. 15	Isle of Wight	Bolton ..	Clarkson ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 27
Apr. 15	Romney ..	Vasso de Cami	Versleys ..	Batavia ..	Dec. 20
Apr. 15	Downs ..	Harriett ..	Palmer ..	Cape ..	Feb. 12
Apr. 16	Liverpool ..	John ..	Hayes ..	Worthint.	Dec. 22
Apr. 16	Downs ..	City of Edinbur.	Mackellar ..	Mauritius	Jan. 14
Apr. 17	Liverpool ..	Bengal ..	Atkins ..	Bengal ..	Nov. 28
Apr. 17	Portsmouth	Cesar ..	Watt ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 2
Apr. 17	Downs ..	Morning Star ..	Bushley ..	Ceylon ..	Dec. 15
Apr. 17	Downs ..	Valiant ..	Bragg ..	Mauritius	Jan. 15
Apr. 17	Downs ..	Norval ..	Conbro ..	Mauritius	Jan. 6
Apr. 18	Downs ..	Pacific ..	Sutherland	Cape ..	Jan. 24
Apr. 19	Cowes ..	Augusta ..	Anderson ..	Sourabaga	Dec. 22
Apr. 21	Isle of Wight	Carn Brea Cast.	Davey ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 30
Apr. 22	Downs ..	Manlius ..	Johnson ..	Mauritius	Jan. 13
Apr. 22	Downs ..	Anna Maria ..	Grant ..	Mauritius	Jan. 13
Apr. 23	Isle of Wight	Stenshall ..	Duening ..	Mauritius	Dec. 15
Apr. 25	Liverpool ..	Cleiss ..	Peabody ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 11

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1827.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Sept. 17	Van D. Land ..	Orelia ..	Hudson ..	London
Nov. 8	Madras ..	Circassian ..	Danckwaite ..	London
Nov. 27	Calcutta ..	Lady Flora ..	Fayer ..	London
Nov. 27	Calcutta ..	Cartha ..	Lindsay ..	Greenock
Dec. 1	Calcutta ..	Baretto, jun. ..	Shannon ..	London
Dec. 1	Calcutta ..	Parmelia ..	Wimble ..	London
Dec. 1	Batavia ..	Bellina ..	Hutchinson ..	Liverpool
Dec. 4	Bombay ..	Upton Castle	Wildridge ..	London
Dec. 4	Bombay ..	Vebilia ..	Stephenson ..	London
Dec. 4	Bombay ..	Cornet ..	Fraser ..	Greenock
Dec. 4	Calcutta ..	Ripley ..	Hesse ..	Liverpool
Dec. 5	Calcutta ..	Carnarvon ..	Winspear ..	London

Date. 1827.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's name.	Commander.	Ports of Depart.
Dec. 5	Calcutta	Henry Parker	Jeffrey	London
Dec. 5	Calcutta	Elphinstone	Atkinson	London
Dec. 7	Calcutta	Diadem	Wilson	London
Dec. 9	Madras	Royal Charlotte	Dudman	London
Dec. 9	Calcutta	Catherine	Macintosh	London
Dec. 22	Calcutta	Palmyra	Lambe	London
Dec. 23	Calcutta	Ganges	Jefferson	Liverpool
Dec. 23	Calcutta	Robarts	Corbyn	London
Dec. 24	Calcutta	Walde	Ramsay	Liverpool
Dec. 30	Madras	Hope	Hill	London
Dec. 31	Madras	Prince Regent	Murphy	London
Jan. 14	Cape	Marmion	Wright	London
—	Bombay	Recovery	Chapman	London
Jan. 8	Madras	Wellington	Evans	London
Jan. 11	Cape	Francis	Heard	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1828.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination
Mar. 24	Downs	Thomas Coutts	Christie	Bengal
Mar. 26	Liverpool	Mary Hope	Farmer	New S. Wales
Mar. 26	Greenock	City of Aberdeen	Duthie	Bengal
Mar. 28	Liverpool	Rachael	Potter	Singapore
Mar. 29	Gravesend	Isabella	Barker	Bengal
Mar. 30	Downs	Silence	Jackson	Singapore
Mar. 30	Downs	Morna	Leggett	Singapore
April 2	Portsmouth	Victory	Farquharson	Bengal
April 3	Liverpool	Comet	Barnes	Mauritius
April 4	Liverpool	Rapid	Huntley	Bengal
April 5	Gravesend	Ceylan	Davison	Ceylon
April 5	Gravesend	Hobberts	Morley	Bombay
April 7	Plymouth	Ellen	Paterson	Mauritius
April 10	Gravesend	Walworth Castle	Sinclair	Bengal
April 11	Downs	Lycugus	Crawshaw	Mauritius
April 11	Gravesend	Madeline	Cochran	Manilla
April 14	Downs	Ganges	Lloyd	Madras
April 14	Gravesend	Mitford	Taylor	St. Helena
April 15	Gravesend	Spartan	Sanders	Bombay
April 15	Gravesend	Captain Cook	Willis	Bombay
April 16	Gravesend	Boyne	Pope	Madras
April 16	Gravesend	Lonack	Raket	Bengal
April 17	Gravesend	Orwell	Farren	China
April 17	Gravesend	Palambam	Nash	Bombay
April 18	Downs	Britannia	Blair	New S. Wales
April 18	Liverpool	Clyde	Scott	Bombay
April 19	Downs	Thames	Warming	Singapore
April 20	Portsmouth	Woodford	Milbank	V. D. Land
April 21	Gravesend	Canning	Baylis	China
April 22	Gravesend	London	Smith	China
April 23	Gravesend	Bolivar	Small	Mauritius
April 25	Gravesend	Eliza Jane	—	Cape

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Rolla*, from New South Wales :—Capt. Cunningham, late of the brig *Hope*; Messrs. Peack and Noble.

By the *Mary*, from Bombay :—M. Stewart, of H. M. 6th reg.; Messrs. O'Connor, Phipps, Power, and Hamby; Messdames Sharpin and Stewart.

By the *Andromeda*, from the Mauritius :—Capt. Runalph Dacre, from New South Wales.

THE ORIENTAL HERALD.

No: 54.—JUNE, 1828.—VOL. 17.

FREE TRADE AND COLONISATION IN INDIA.

WE are proud to see India and Indian subjects becoming every day more and more familiar to the people of England, and to witness the continual publication of works, which require only extensive circulation and perusal to make such an impression on the public mind as to render the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly inevitable. The watch-words of those who have desired to see India and England each reciprocally beneficial to the other, to the fullest extent of which their relations are capable, have always been, 'Free Trade and Colonisation.' These include almost all that is required, because improved institutions and good government generally are sure to arise out of them; monopoly and restriction of settlement being the only causes that prevent India from making quite as rapid a progress as America, New Holland, or any other country, in the civilised arts and enjoyments of life. These words, however, 'Free Trade and Colonisation,' are held, by the monopolists of India and their servants, in something like the odium which was attached by our loyalists to 'Liberty and Equality,' 'The Age of Reason,' and, 'The Rights of Man,' in the time of Paine and the French Revolution; or to 'Annual Parliaments' and 'Universal Suffrage,' 'Radical Reform,' and other terms of similar import, in later days. In England, we can hear a man praise the institutions of a Free Press, Trial by Jury, and power of appeal to the laws against acts of injustice in rulers, without considering him an incendiary, or accusing him of sedition, treason, and every other imaginable crime; and, as to Free Trade, (except it be in corn,) and the right of a man to buy land, to cultivate it, and to be protected in his possessions by law, we believe it would be difficult to find a hundred men in the whole kingdom who would be hardy enough to dispute the benefits which these are calculated to bestow. In India, however, many Englishmen have been

punished more severely than felons, (namely, by being transported, without trial,) for merely maintaining that a Free Press, and Trial by Jury, were better than a Censorship, and arbitrary punishment, at the will of the offended party; while the advocates of Free Trade and Colonisation are considered guilty of *lèse majesté*, at least, against the sovereignty of the East India Company; and one English Judge has lately been suspended from his office, without trial, or other process save arbitrary removal, for merely venturing to suppose that Free Trade and Colonisation would, one day or other, succeed to Commercial Monopoly and Political Despotism, or, in other words, that the reign of the East India Company would not be eternal!

Through such a state of thick darkness, it is consolatory to see the light beginning to beam, though only from a distance; and we, therefore, hail with pleasure and with hope the appearance of such works as the one now before us, under the title given below,* and those of Mr. Rickards, the second part of which has just appeared, and will be noticed in a future page. Confining ourselves in this place to the work just named, we must say that its execution is very able, its array of facts and arguments quite irresistible, and its appearance, at the present moment, most opportune. Others will, no doubt, follow it rapidly; and, if they resemble this, in matter and manner, the result is certain. We shall draw very largely from its stores, embracing the principal portion of its contents on each of the subjects named, connecting them by explanations and abridgements as we proceed, so as to give as perfect a view of the whole work as our plan and space will admit. After an introduction, which adverts generally to the delusions that have so long prevailed on Indian subjects, and the importance of dispelling them by facts, the author proceeds thus:

Trade with India and China.

‘As far as the question of free trade is concerned, the answer to the alleged statements and predictions of its opponents is quite triumphant. In 1814, the last year of the Company’s enjoyment of the exclusive monopoly, the whole exports from Great Britain to India and China together amounted only to 2,559,033*l.* Of this amount, the exports of China were 987,788*l.*, leaving for India, therefore, only 1,571,245*l.*, a great portion of which consisted of military stores.† The Company’s exports to China since that time

* ‘A View of the Present State and Future Prospects of the Free Trade and Colonisation of India.’ 8vo., pp. 124. Ridgway. London, 1828.

† “Lord Buckinghamshire would state, with the most perfect sincerity, that he had the strongest disposition to support the East India Company; not merely from sentiments of personal good-will, but because

appear to have continued stationary, or rather to have declined. In the mean while, the whole exports from Great Britain to India and China have risen to the sum of 4,739,359*l.*, which was their amount in 1826. Deducting from this sum the exports to China, estimated at the sum already stated, but which is probably about double their real amount, it will appear that our export trade to India has increased, in twelve years, to the sum of 3,751,571*l.* In 1814, our whole imports from India and China amounted to 6,298,386*l.* This valuation includes remittance of revenue by the East India Company, in the shape of goods, and is enhanced by the whole amount of the monopoly profit on tea. The true amount, of course, cannot fairly be estimated beyond the legitimate charges and profits on the exports. In 1826, the imports, without any augmentation in those from China, had increased to 8,002,838*l.*

Export of Cotton Goods.

The articles of export from Great Britain, and of import into it, have increased both in quantity and variety. In 1814, the total number of yards of cotton piece-goods exported was 818,208; in 1826, it was 26,225,103; or had increased, in twelve years, by 25,406,895.* Besides these, there have been exported to India some descriptions of cottons not measured. The value of the whole cotton cloths, in 1814, was 109,190*l.* In 1826, it was 1,059,471*l.*

Cotton Twist and Yarn.

To this statement of our cotton fabrics, however, must be added the export of twist and yarn. In 1814, the quantity exported was 8*lbs.*! In 1826, it rose to 919,387 *lbs.*,† valued at 100,869*l.*

he thought their dissolution would be a public misfortune, and the ruin of many respectable individuals; but, when he considered, that, by their own showing, they had lost, in the last nineteen years, above four millions by the trade for which they were contending, and that the merchants of country asked no more than to be put upon a footing with foreigners, he could find no argument to resist their application.”—*Extract from the Speech of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, then President of the Board of Control, 1813.*

* “English cotton cloths, both white and printed, are to be met with commonly in wear among the people of the country, and may, I learned to my surprise, be bought best and cheapest, as well as all kinds of hardware, crockery, writing-desks, &c., at Palla, a large town and celebrated mart, in Marwar, on the edge of the desert, several days journey west of Joudpoor, where, till very lately, no European was known to have penetrated.”—*Heber's Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, Vol. ii. p. 36. “The cotton produced in this district is mostly sent to England raw, and the manufactures of England are preferred, by the people of Dacca themselves, for their cheapness.”—Vol. i. p. 141.

† “Last year the quantity of cotton twist and yarn exported to India was no less than 2,672,536 *lbs.*, and, in the three first months of the present year, it has been 1,149,240 *lbs.*”

This sum, added to the price of the cotton cloths, makes our total exports of manufactured cottons, 1,160,310*l.* It is necessary to observe, that British cotton piece-goods sell, at present, in India, for about one-third part of the price which they did in 1814.

Broad Cloths and Serges.

‘In 1814, the number of pieces of broad cloths, camlets, serges, &c., exported from Great Britain to the East Indies and China, amounted to 242,809½; in 1826, to 296,508 pieces. The value of all the woollens exported in 1814, was 1,084,135*l.*; in 1826, it was 1,197,909*l.* The comparatively trifling increase which has taken place in this article, requires some explanation; it is owing to the trade being chiefly in the hands of the East India Company, as far as British subjects are concerned, and their having the entire monopoly of China, the great market for this article. Out of the value of 1,160,340*l.* worth of cottons exported in 1826, the share of the East India Company was only 15,181*l.*; out of the 1,197,909*l.* worth of woollens, their share was no less than 921,852*l.* Although possessing so much of this trade to themselves, it has not only not increased in their hands, but fallen off, within the last twelve years; for, in 1814, its amount was 1,064,222*l.*

Iron, Steel, and Copper.

‘The same observation which applies to woollens, applies to such of the metals as the East India Company perseveres in dealing in their competition—discouraging the fair adventure of the free-trader. The export of iron and steel, in 1814, amounted to 11,108 tons; and in 1826 it was only 11,870; nearly one-half of the whole being exported by the Company. Of copper, the quantity exported in 1814 was 1,881 tons; and in 1826, only 1,592 tons. It is needless to repeat that not only is the competition of the East India Company, in respect to the metals, mischievous as regards India in particular, but that it is still more so in consequence of the private traders being wholly shut out from the greater market of China.

Spelter, or Zinc.

‘This fact is sufficiently corroborated by what has taken place in respect to the article of spelter, or zinc. The East India Company does not interfere in this; and it is but a few years ago that the private traders began to deal in it. The market for spelter is India, and not China; from which last, in fact, the former used to be supplied. In 1814, spelter, as an import from Great Britain, or from any part of Europe, was unknown in the market of Calcutta; in 1826, it was imported to the value of 132,860*l.* About 50,000*l.* worth of this commodity, under the name of tutenague, used to be imported from China, from whence it was smuggled; the exportation of it from that country, as, indeed, of all other metals, being

contraband. In 1826 the value of this article imported into Calcutta from China was just 5*l.* 14*s.* ! It has been driven out of the market by the cheaper article imported from Europe ; and this cheapness had occasioned an increased consumption, to the extent of more than double the value, and perhaps of thrice the quantity. *

Imports from India.

* We come now to the imports into Great Britain from India, the most instructive branch of our subject. There are three great and obvious impediments to the extension of the export trade of India, or imports into this country : the impolitic monopolies or competition of the East India Company, the Government of the country ; the prohibitory or protecting duties, imposed under pretext of encouraging the colonial industry of other portions of the empire ; and the absurd and fatal exclusion of European capital and enterprise from improving the productions of the soil and industry of India. It will be seen, from the examination which we are now about to make, that, in proportion as one or all of these causes have operated, the trade in each article of Indian exportation will be found to have been injuriously affected

Tea from China.

* The first article to which we shall advert is tea, the greatest of our imports, and the subject of a rigorous monopoly. In 1814 the import of this article into Great Britain, (much smaller than during many years of the war,) was 26,076,550 lbs. ; on the average of the following six years, the import was only 27,838,139 lbs. ; on the average of the subsequent six years, it was 29,668,098 lbs.† In twelve years, in fact, the whole increase was only 3,599,548 lbs.† The consumption of the corresponding article of coffee, under free trade, has, in the mean while, been more than doubled !

Raw and Waste Silk.

* The quantity of raw and waste silk imported from India and China in 1814, was 1,116,113 lbs. ; in the following six years, it

* ' For the last four years the average exports of spelter to India have exceeded 7,000 tons. In 1826, they were 8,516 tons.'

† ' " In the year 1800, when the population of the United Kingdom was 15,149,258, the whole quantity of tea on which duty was paid, was 26,398,805 lbs., which gives an average of 27½ ounces per head per annum for each individual. In 1810, when the population may be estimated at 18,534,659, the quantity on which duty was paid, was 28,469,736 lbs., giving only 24½ ounces per head. In 1820, the quantity, duty paid, was 26,100,000 lbs., and, the population being estimated at 21,193,458, the average per head falls to 19½ ounces ; or, in twenty years, the supply had diminished, as compared with the population, by 29½ per cent. !" — *Report of the Liverpool East India Association, March, 1828, page 18.*'

averaged 1,039,591 lbs. only ; in the subsequent six years, the average rose to 1,361,392 lbs. The explanation is edifying : the Company's exports from China had been for many years stationary, and in Bengal the Government has a virtual monopoly. The whole of the silk filatures are in their hands ; and the monopoly regulations, enacted by them in the year 1793, were actually in force down to the month of July last, when, after many remonstrances on the part of the merchants connected with the East India trade, the Board of Control compelled the Directors to send out orders to *modify* them. By the regulations in question they claimed a right of levying extents, as exercised by the Crown in revenue cases in this country!!! By advances to the peasantry in the silk districts, and making them their debtors, they had in reality rendered the cultivators and manufacturers completely subservient to them ; reduced them, in short, to a condition worse than that of Russian serfs or villains. Owing to this state of things, and the prohibition on the part of Europeans to hold lands, every attempt made by private individuals to invest their capital in the manufacture of silk ends in ruin, and the virtual monopoly in favour of the Company has been established, to which we have alluded. The increased quantity, in the last six years of the statement, has arisen chiefly out of indirect importations from China by private individuals, consequent upon the just and politic improvements made in the silk trade in this country. In the year 1826, for example, we perceive that there is an increase in the importation, beyond 1814, of no less than 673,747 lbs. ; a large portion of which is Chinese silk, imported from Singapore.

Indigo from Bengal.

Indigo is an article in the culture and management of which the East India Company fortunately does not materially interfere—which is not burthened by protecting duties or heavy imposts, and, above all, which receives the benefit, although by no means a full and legitimate one, of European skill and capital. Europeans first began the culture and manufacture of indigo about forty-five years ago. What was manufactured by the Natives of India prior to that time was trash unfit for the European market, then almost wholly supplied by America. There are, at present, in Bengal 309 manufactories of indigo for exportation, of which thirty-seven only are conducted by Natives, and these in imitation of the European process. The Indians cannot even imitate us to any advantage with so many examples before them ; for the indigo thus prepared is full fifteen per cent. lower in value than that manufactured by Europeans : and, as to indigo made by the old Native process, it is still wholly unfit for the foreign market ; and, even when re-manufactured by Europeans, which is sometimes done, it is still a very inferior commodity. The average quantity of indigo produced in Bengal yearly, may be taken at 8,000,000 lbs., a precarious crop from its nature :

it has sometimes been as low as 3,500,000 lbs., and at other times risen to near 12,000,000 lbs. * Last year's produce was equal to this last amount. Here is a property worth about 2,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, created solely by the skill, capital, and enterprise of British-born subjects, living in India on sufferance. About four-fifths of the consumption of Europe, Asia, and America, is now supplied with good Bengal indigo : a commodity which, forty-five years ago, had no existence. All Bengal indigo is better than all Spanish American indigo by about 12½ per cent. Before Europeans undertook its culture and manufacture, it was, as already stated, so bad as to be unsaleable in a foreign market.

Lac Dye.

Another article which owes its existence to European ingenuity and enterprise, is the dye procured from lac, obtained by a cheap and simple chemical process. Previous to the opening of the trade, this article did not exist. The process was discovered by some enterprising Europeans, and even now is imitated, but at an humble distance, by the Natives ; what the latter manufacture seldom being of one-half, and often of not one-fourth, the value of what is prepared by Europeans. Of this article, which has in a great measure superseded the high-priced one of cochineal, Bengal at present produces about 800,000 lbs. In the last year of the Company's former charter, there was of course none imported into Great Britain. In 1824, the exports from Bengal to Great Britain amounted to 656,000 lbs. †

Safflower.

There are other articles which the capital and ingenuity of Europeans have called into existence, or greatly extended, since the establishment of the free trade, which deserve a short notice ; safflower is one of these. In 1814, the quantity of this article exported from Bengal was about 1,250 cwt. ; in 1824, it was above 5,000 cwt.

Pearl Sago.

Since the date of the free trade, the Chinese, encouraged by European capital and example, discovered a process for manufacturing pearl sago, by which the intrinsic value of the article was more than quadrupled, and thus rendered so much more suitable for exportation to the distant market of Europe. Singapore has exported of this article to Great Britain, in a single year, more than

* 'In 1786, the import of Bengal indigo into this country was 245,000 lbs. In 1826, it was 7,673,710 lbs., an increase of more than thirty-fold !'

† 'The advantage gained by this improvement may be judged of, when it is known that the value of the manufactured article is six times greater than that of the crude one, which used to be imported.'

18,000 cwt., notwithstanding that the commodity is burthened with a duty little short of 100 per cent. on its prime cost.

Ore of Antimony.

'Ore of antimony is another article called into existence by the free trade. This was discovered, for the first time in 1824, to be an abundant produce of the island of Borneo. Two years afterwards, 600 tons of it were sent to Great Britain from the new port Singapore. In 1826, the quantity of foreign European ore of antimony imported into London, amounted to 1,386 casks or boxes, and of Bornean, 1,290 boxes. In 1827, the quantity of foreign antimony imported was 500 boxes, and of Bornean, 13,660 boxes, which became then an article of export as well as import. Tin ore is, at this moment, becoming an article of import into Great Britain from the Malay countries, which contain the richest and most extensive tin districts in the world. This speculation arose out of a very obvious source: all the tin of the Malayan countries is stream ore, which it is that produces grain tin; now from this fine ore the Chinese, with their utmost skill, can only obtain fifty, or, at best, fifty-five per cent. of metal; and even this metal, when it comes to Europe, must be refined, before it assumes the rank of English grain tin. By the skilful process of smelting pursued in this country, the Malayan ore has been found to yield near three-fourths of its weight of metal instead of one-half; and, without further cost or labour, the product is at once grain tin. It would not surprise us to find that, in a few years, we not only supplied Europe with this article, but that we also sent it back to India and China, in the same manner in which we send manufactured cottons to those countries. These minor articles are only adverted to, to show the impulse and consequent revolution which free trade has produced in the Indian commerce, the reader bearing always in mind, that not a tithe of the possible commerce of the Indies is yet laid open to British enterprise, while its necessary auxiliary, free settlement, has not been permitted to produce any effect at all.'

Cotton Wool.

'We shall now refer to some articles which do not receive the advantages of European skill and superintendence, and see what the consequence is to their production, both in quantity and quality. Cotton-wool is one of these. In 1814, the quantity of this article imported into Great Britain from India was 2,850,318 lbs.; in 1818, it rose to 67,456,411 lbs., but afterwards fell off greatly from this amount; and, in 1826, was only 21,187,900 lbs. The cause of this is obvious enough. The rude produce of unassisted native industry is wholly incapable of competing with the improved produce of European industry in the different colonies of America. The best East India cotton, which is that brought to this country, is inferior in value to the worst that is brought from any other country. It

is, in short, nearly in the condition that Indian indigo was, before it was manufactured by Europeans. The East India cotton, in the London market, is inferior to the best West India cotton by three-pence per pound. It is but just half the value of Berberce cotton. The best cotton of the Spanish Main is by full fifty per cent. superior to it. Pernambuco and Egyptian cotton are 100 per cent. better. Bourbon, Manilla, and Sea Island cottons are superior in a still greater ratio. To what is such inferiority owing, but to this—that the skill of Europeans is directed to the culture and preparation of all these varieties, while the East India cotton is left to the rude and slovenly industry of the native inhabitants? In fact, no attempt whatever has been made to improve the produce of India. It is grown, prepared, and brought to market, just as it was three hundred years ago, and in all likelihood three thousand. The soil and climate of India must not be blamed for this. They are equal in capability to those of any other portion of the tropical world, and superior to the greater number. Cotton is not an article of difficult production, or one requiring a capricious selection of soil and climate. The enumeration of varieties which we have above given, shows that a moderate share of skilful culture is sufficient to bring it to perfection, in any soil of competent fertility and suitableness in North and South America, in Africa, and in Asia, from the equator to the 30th degree of latitude on both sides of it; and, in longitude, from the Philippine Islands on the one side, round to the Mauritius on the other. Why, it may be asked, do not British-born subjects engage in the culture of cotton in the same manner in which they engage in the culture and manufacture of indigo? The answer is easy. The quantity of British capital which is allowed, under existing regulations, to benefit the agriculture of India, is comparatively trifling; and it is more advantageously employed in producing indigo than in improving cotton. A few hundred acres of land are sufficient to invest a large capital in indigo, and a very small number of Europeans is sufficient for superintendence. Thousands of acres would not be sufficient for the same investment of cotton. From the small number of Europeans, there could be no adequate superintendence over so wide an extent of country; and there could be no security against depredation, in a commodity far more liable to it than the other. Moreover, to improve the cotton of India, the present annual and coarse varieties must be supplanted by perennial and finer ones—a circumstance which would occasion a complete revolution in this branch of husbandry, a revolution which could only be effected by European proprietors or their tenants: besides all this, the introduction of expensive machinery, both for cleaning and packing, would be necessary. What European in his senses, holding land at high rent from a native proprietor, from year to year, in a country where no civil suit is brought to trial under three years from its institution, and often not under seven, and where, by law, he may be removed from

his property for ever, with or without offence, would enter upon so precarious a speculation?

East India Sugar.

‘We come now to an article which feels the full force of all the impediments thrown in its way; viz. sugar. The Government of the country enters into a competition in it with the merchant; European industry is excluded from its culture and its manufacture; and the Legislature steps in with its discriminating duty, to complete the work of restraint, and nearly of destruction.

‘The quantity of sugar imported into Great Britain from the East Indies, in 1814, was only, 43,789 cwt.; in 1826, it rose to 342,853 cwt. No less than 186,245 cwt. of this is the produce of the Island of Mauritius; that is to say, the imports into this country from a petty and rather barren island are greater, in the grand staple of the tropical world, not only than that of all British India, with its area of 600,000 square miles, but of the whole of the Eastern world put together, the said island excepted, embracing a population of certainly not less than 300,000,000 of inhabitants. In the first year of the free trade, the importations from India were 124,318 cwt. Down to 1820, there was no extraordinary increase; for until that year the growth of sugar in the Mauritius was not extensive. In this year, the latter rose from 5,678,888 lbs., which it was in 1819, to 14,524,755 lbs.; in 1823, it rose to 27,400,687 lbs. It was in this last year that the duties on Mauritius sugars, heretofore the same with those upon other Indian sugars, were equalised with the produce of the West Indies. This reduction of duties, however, could not have affected the produce of that year. To what, then, is this extraordinary increase to be ascribed, in an island of very limited extent, of no remarkable fertility of soil in comparison with the millions of available acres in Hindoostan, and where the labours of agriculture are peculiarly precarious, in consequence of the prevalence of destructive hurricanes? A new soil, as yet unexhausted by the bad husbandry inseparable from the exclusive cultivation of sugar, the labour of cheap slaves, the introduction of European machinery, and the superintendence of European resident proprietors, are the true causes. The Mauritius sugar was at first of a very inferior quality, and a great deal of it is so still. The best of it is now superior to the best Bengal sugar, the only description which can be imported into this country, by about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. During the last eight years, there have been sent to the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, but chiefly to the latter, by a single iron-founder, no less than 200 sugar-mills,* the greater number of them with steam-engines attached. To the territories of the

* ‘Mr. William Fawcett, of Liverpool, a gentleman of great ingenuity, and who has for many years conducted one of the most extensive iron foundries in the kingdom.’

East India Company not one has been sent—no such improvements are introduced there! Here, the sugar-cane continues to be grown by the same rude husbandry, and sugar manufactured by the same miserable process, as, in all human probability, three thousand years ago. The land belongs exclusively to the Natives; European skill and capital are carefully and systematically excluded: and, as long as this impolitic and absurd restraint continues, the sugars of India will be inferior and will be costly; and it is even doubtful whether, if India enjoyed the monopoly which is now enjoyed against it, it would be capable, with all its advantages of soil, climate, extent, and free labour, of competing with the British West Indies. Unquestionably, it would not with those portions of tropical America possessed of a soil and climate equal to its own.

‘A short description of the Indian modes of growth and manufacture, will at once show the reader that it is hopeless to expect either a good or cheap product. The grower is a miserable peasant, without skill and without capital, who neither manures his ground, understands how to relieve it by a rotation of crops, nor makes any attempt to improve the variety of the plant. The sugar-mill consists of two small rollers, from four to six inches in diameter, turned, in opposition to each other, by two men or a wretched bullock. The boiling utensils are four small coarse earthen pots, of about the value of two-pence. The grinding, boiling, and distilling houses are one and the same, and consist of four stakes driven in the ground, with a mat over them for a roof. The first manufacturer carries the process no further than expressing the juice, the result being an ugly brown mass containing both the sugar and molasses. This unsightly product is carried to another description of manufacturer, fifteen, twenty, or even a hundred miles off, who re-dissolves it, and, with the assistance of alkalis to neutralise the acid which has been formed through the tedious and paltry process of his predecessor, gets, after all, no more than twenty-five per cent. of sugar, and this ill-granulated and deficient in saccharine matter.

‘The sugar-cane is known to be an ingenious product of India, and in fact it is, more or less, a product of agriculture in every considerable country of the vast regions comprehended under that name, from the 8th degree of south to the 30th degree of north latitude, and from Persia to China, both inclusive. Of all this wide extent, there is no portion more suitable to its growth than our own possessions.* This, indeed, is a point so long admitted, that it need not be insisted upon. To produce abundance of sugar in India,

* ‘And I can answer for myself, that, in the whole range of Calcutta, from Dacca to Delhi, and thence through the greater part of Rajpootana and Malwah, the raising of sugar is as usual a part of husbandry, as turnips or potatoes in England.’—*Bishop Heber's Journal*, vol. ii. p. 381.

and of the best quality, all that is necessary is to remove the impolitic restraints on the settlement of Europeans. The inevitable effect will be the immediate application of European capital, skill, and machinery, to the production of the most important of all tropical commodities; and one, without a free culture and free commerce in which, half our expectations of extended commerce with the East must end in disappointment.

Capital Required.

‘As in the case of cotton, it may be asked, why European skill is not at present applied to the production of sugar, as it is to that of indigo? The reason is very obvious; more skill and more capital are required in the one pursuit than in the other: the culture of the indigo plant is simple, and the returns rapid; that of the sugar-cane, complex and tedious. An indigo crop is reaped in three months from the time of sowing; a crop of sugar-cane takes four times as long to come to maturity. A crop of sugar-cane is liable to depredation in an open, unfenced, and unprotected country; one of indigo to hardly any at all. Indigo works, capable of producing yearly 10,000*l.* worth of the dye, may be constructed for about the sum of 700*l.*; sugar works, capable of yielding a produce of equal value, would require an investment of capital to the amount of 24,000*l.* Who would invest such a capital in a country where he can neither buy nor sell land, nor receive security upon it, where the judge and the magistrate are hostile, because labouring under the usual prejudice and delusion of their caste, and where the administration of justice is in such a state that an appeal to it is nearly hopeless?’

An account is next given of the opium and salt monopolies in India, both of which are fraught with injury of the deepest kind. For the details of the former, we must refer to the work itself; the latter is thus described:

Monopoly of Salt.

‘Salt, as every body knows, is made an object of monopoly by the Indian Government. The salt used by the Indians is of four descriptions: first, there is a little rock salt used, imported from the Persian Gulf, and the countries on the western frontier of India. The inhabitants of the northern provinces use salt obtained, by solar evaporation, from certain salt lakes. In Bengal, the salt commonly used is produced by boiling the dirty and slimy brine of the pestiferous marshes at the estuary of the Ganges. The inhabitants of the southern portion of the peninsula use fine baysalt, manufactured on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. The last two only are objects of monopoly; the others, of ordinary but heavy taxation. The Bengal salt is procured by a hasty evaporation, through a

miserable process, and costs about 53s. per ton.* It is computed that about 125,000 labourers are engaged in the manufacture of this commodity, although the whole quantity produced be only 150,000 tons; that is, the labour of 1 1-5th men from November to June, the whole manufacturing season, is required for the production of a single ton of salt. These labourers are in a virtual state of slavery, every man of them being in debt to the East India Company, inextricably and for life, and not daring to engage in any other employment, by "express law." A considerable number, according to the official returns, are yearly devoured by tigers, and a much greater carried off by dysenteries and fevers. A small quantity of the fine baysalt of Coromandel and Malabar is allowed to be imported into Bengal by special license, and this also is monopolised. The whole population subject to the monopoly, in Bengal, is estimated at thirty millions. The consumption of salt, therefore, for man, beast, and the arts, is at the rate of thirteen pounds per head per annum! The effect of the monopoly is, to keep the produce of salt stationary, while it is admitted that the population, and even the wealth of the country, is increasing. As to the taxation which it produces, it is sometimes as low as 300 per cent., and sometimes as high as 500; for fluctuation and uncertainty are among the other blessings of the system.

'Let us see the advantages that would accrue from getting rid of this nuisance. The price of salt, obtained by the cheap process of solar evaporation, on the coasts of Coromandel or Malabar, is about 6s. 6d. per ton, or about one-eighth part of the Bengal prices. Superior salt to that of Bengal may now be had at Liverpool for 9s. per ton, or near one-sixth part of the price of Bengal salt. The Malabar salt is excluded from the consumption of Bengal, because the quantity admissible is expressly limited; and because, before quitting the place of manufacture, it is already taxed through the local monopoly there. As to English salt, it is charged with a prohibitory duty of 8*l.* per ton; that is to say, a duty of between 1600 and 1700 per cent. on the prime cost. This is encouraging free trade with a vengeance! The contingency was not provided for in the charter; but the Local Government of India, in great alarm for its privileges, on the arrival of a cargo or two from Liverpool, hastened for relief to the home authorities, and speedily obtained it in the prohibitory duty just quoted.

'In a free trade, with moderate duties, it is pretty certain that either a better and more economical system for the manufacture of Bengal salt must be pursued, or foreign salt must supersede it: the latter will most probably be the case, on account of the great insa-

* 'The sum actually paid to the manufacturer is thirty per cent. less than this. The difference is made up by agency, establishment, warehousing, &c.

lubrity and natural unsuitableness of the situations in which it is manufactured. In this case 125,000 labourers, and a population of probably not less than half a million of people, will be emancipated from a real slavery ; and their services will be instantly available, where they are most required, in clearing and cultivating the thinly-peopled, the unhealthy, but the rich and extensive fens which form the estuaries of the great rivers, and which are now nearly in a state of nature. It is unnecessary to say, that cheap salt will be an especial blessing, in a country where the inhabitants, living on an insipid vegetable diet, consider it peculiarly a necessary of life. It will not be rating the increase too high, at eighteen pounds a head per annum, for the present population ; it will, in all likelihood, be a great deal more ; for, not only will the consumption be, as usual, greatly enhanced by a lower price, but the use of foreign salt will, in this case, extend to countries from which the present supply is excluded by its darkness and badness. This will add above 200,000 tons yearly to the import trade of the Bengal provinces, a greater immediate improvement in our trading and shipping interests than can well be contemplated from any local measure whatever. It is impossible to imagine countries better circumstanced for a commercial intercourse than Bengal and the southern provinces of our dominions, or that naturally stand more in need of each other's assistance. Bengal is a great grain country, without any natural supply of salt except the bad and imperfect one furnished by the muddy estuary of the Ganges. The supply for a territory of full one hundred and fifty thousand square miles, and for thirty millions of people, is drawn from about two hundred miles of a noisome, unhealthy, and almost inaccessible coast. The southern provinces are generally sterile, and subject to frequent dearths and famines ; but from soil and climate they are peculiarly suited for the production of a cheap and ample supply of salt, the very commodity which the former country stands so much in need of. Even under the present restricted system, they furnish yearly to Bengal about 26,000 tons. The shipping at present engaged in carrying this salt to Bengal, and grain to the Coromandel coast, amounting to several hundreds, are almost exclusively native vessels, of such wretched construction and outfit, that they can make but a single voyage a year. In a free trade, England will no doubt supply a great deal of the salt required in the Bengal provinces ; and her shipping will, at all events, participate in the coasting trade of India as connected with this branch of trade. From this slight sketch, to the accuracy of which there are thousands to testify, the reader may judge of the extent of the injury to fair commerce, and the interests, comforts, and happiness of the native inhabitants, which is inflicted by the monopoly, and the exclusion of European commerce and settlement.* Let him imagine the Legislature of

* British-born subjects are, by the existing laws, expressly excluded

this country confining the manufacture of salt, for the whole consumption of the United Kingdom, to a few miles of damp, rainy, and unhealthy coast, where it would be conducted to the greatest possible disadvantage, and to the exclusion, except in dribblets, of the produce of other portions of the United Kingdom, where it could be produced at a sixth or an eighth part of the cost; let him imagine nearly a total exclusion of foreign salt, required in curing fish and meat; let him imagine a monopoly, by the Government, of the whole consumption of the kingdom, which shall enhance the first cost four, five, six, or seven fold; let him imagine the best portion of the capital, shipping, and enterprise of the country excluded from the trade in salt, and still he will have but a very inadequate and imperfect notion of the injuries inflicted by the Indian salt monopoly.'

To this succeeds an account of the cinnamon monopoly at Ceylon, which is the work of the King's Government, in imitation of the Dutch and English East India Company.—when the author thus proceeds :

'Every accessible portion of India has been materially benefited by the influx of British capital, inadequate as it still is. Thus, the whole export and import trade of Calcutta, in the last year of the East India Company's close monopoly, was 6,911,774*l.*, on the average of the first seven years of free trade, every article of export or import having greatly fallen in price; still the trade rose to 11,158,889*l.* Our whole trade in the straits of Malacca, in 1814, was short of a million sterling. At present it considerably exceeds 1,000,000*l.* The trade of Bombay and its dependencies has, in like manner, sustained a vast increase; so has that of China, although not in our hands. In 1812, (we do not quote the immediately subsequent years, because the American trade was interrupted by war,) the whole import trade of the Americans into China amounted to 3,132,810 Spanish dollars. In 1825, it had risen to 7,776,301 Spanish dollars.

'These are but a few of the facts which might easily be adduced to invalidate the statements made by the East India Company and their friends, but twelve short years back. Had the Legislature, or rather the nation, listened to these predictions, the commerce of the country would, at this moment, (reckoning only the direct intercourse between Great Britain and India,) have been full ~~5,000,000*l.*~~ per annum less than it actually is. The Indian commerce, in a word would have been carried on, on the same drowsy principles as for the last two centuries; and it would have been unprofitable to every one concerned in it, except the few who enjoyed the patronage which sprang out of its abuses.

from the salt trade. Now and then an English ship is granted the favour of importing it, at a low freight, for and on account of the monopoly—and this is the only exception.'

Free Settlement of Englishmen.

‘It is in vain to expect that either the agriculture or trade to India can ever become of the vastness and importance of which they are both susceptible, until improved and extended by the unlimited and unshackled application of British capital and intelligence. In respect to agriculture especially, the free settlement of Englishmen is loudly called for, as a measure, not only of expediency, but of real necessity. The whole productions of Indian husbandry, that are abandoned to the exclusive management of the Natives, through the restraints and penalties of the monopoly, are inferior to the similar productions of every other tropical country; they are not only inferior to the productions of British colonial industry, but to those of French, Dutch, Spanish—even to those of Portuguese industry: they are in every case also inferior to the corresponding productions of Chinese industry. To what is this to be ascribed but to the slovenliness and ignorance of a semi-barbarous people? The whole is a mere affair of civilisation; and, in so far as the Hindoos are inferior to Europeans and to Chinese in real skill and intelligence, so must be the productions of their agricultural, their manufacturing, or their any kind of useful industry.’

A Tabular Statement follows this, showing the inferiority of certain articles produced under the monopoly system in the East, compared with the same articles produced under an open system of free competition in the West; after which the author very naturally asks:

Soil and Climate of India.

‘What, but the exclusion of European settlement, hinders, in our Indian dominions, the extensive culture of the peculiar productions of America, and even of China? The indigenous products of India have been transferred to America, and there, under the direction of European skill, they far surpass in goodness and quantity those of their original country:—witness the sugar-cane, the cotton-plant, coffee, rice, and even indigo, until, in its native country, the production of this last fell into the hands of Europeans. Have the Indians retaliated upon the American colonists? Where is our Indian annatto, our Indian cocoa, our Indian vanilla? Indian cochineal is of about one-sixth part the value of that of Mexico; Indian tobacco is certainly not of one-third the value, in any case, of the produce of Virginia, Maryland, or Cuba. India is in a similar predicament in regard to China: situated close to that country, in daily intercourse with it, receiving yearly into our settlements, hundreds, or thousands of emigrants from thence, and possessing the same soils, climates, and physical aspects, as the most favoured of the tea provinces of that empire, not one pound of tea has ever been grown in our Indian possessions. Not one attempt has been made to rear this valuable plant, while such efforts have been frequent in distant

and uncongenial European colonies.* Silk affords another example of the pernicious tendency of our policy : before the manufacture was commenced under the European Government, Indian silk was a rude commodity, wholly unfit for exportation. What is still manufactured by the Natives of the country is a very inferior commodity ; nay, what is manufactured under the direction of the monopoly is considerably inferior to the produce of free industry in China.

Arguments stated and answered.

‘ It is our business now to show, that the settlement of India by British subjects would not only be useful in a commercial point of view, but that, as a measure of general policy, it is not only safe but expedient—nay, absolutely necessary toward the security and maintenance of our Indian power.

‘ The following are the arguments which, at various times, have been adduced against the policy of European settlement :—

‘ The Hindoos are a peculiar and timid race ; and, if Europeans were permitted to hold lands, they would soon dispossess the Native inhabitants.

‘ If Europeans were permitted to settle, their offences against Native usages and institutions would disgust the inhabitants of the country, who would rebel, and expel us from India.

‘ If Europeans were to settle in India, they would soon colonise the country ; and Great Britain would lose her Indian possessions, in the exact same manner in which she lost her American colonies.

‘ If we civilise the Hindoos, or, in other words, if we govern them well, they will become enlightened, rebel against us, expel us from the country, and establish a Native Government.

Mohammedan Rulers over the Hindoos.

‘ One would expect, from the assertions of the advocates of restriction, that such relations as subsist between the people of India and ourselves had no parallel in the history of the world. There are, however, many cases exactly similar in every essential point, and we shall advert to a few of them. The Mohammedans of Persia and Tartary kept these same Hindoos in subjection for full seven centuries. They were rude, they were intolerant, they persecuted conscience sake. They were, at first at least, necessarily ignorant

* ‘ The tea plant grows wild all through Kemaon, but cannot be made use of, from an emetic quality which it possesses. This might, perhaps, be removed by cultivation ; but the experiment has never been tried. For the cultivation of tea, I should apprehend both the soil, hilly surface, and climate of Kemaon, in all which it resembles the tea provinces of China, extremely favourable.’—*Bishop Heber*, vol. i. p. 513.

of the language, manners, and habits of the aboriginal inhabitants ; and, when they became acquainted with them, it was only to treat them with derision or contempt. They altered the whole laws of the kingdom : they imposed Mohammedan institutions, and a Mohammedan language. Yet, with all this, there were few insurrections against their authority, and, in the above long period of seven centuries, not one successful case of rebellion. One race of Mohammedans, and one dynasty, succeeded to another race, and another dynasty, in the dominion of India. The patient and docile Hindoos quietly looked on and paid their homage and their taxes to each successive conqueror. In a word, they submitted to braver and more civilised races than themselves, which was in the natural order of things. The Mohammedans were not prohibited from occupying the soil. They, in fact, became possessed of extensive estates in land throughout the country, but the Hindoos were not, in consequence, dispossessed. The Moslems constitute at present, through emigration or conversion, full one-seventh part of the whole population ; that is, they amount to, perhaps, fifteen millions of settlers. Still the Hindoos held, after so many centuries of rude dominion, by far the larger portion of the land, down to the moment when we ourselves became possessed of the sovereignty of the country. This is rather a strong case. It may be rationally asked, will one of the most civilised and humane of the nations of Europe, in a civilised age, act a worse, or a weaker, part than the semi-barbarians of Persia and Tartary, in a very barbarous one ?

Tartar Dominion of China.

Other examples, however, may be given, of dominion maintained by foreign conquerors, for a succession of ages, without revolt, rebellion, or expulsion of the conquerors, there being neither prohibition to the conquerors to own land, or colonise in any other manner whatsoever. One of the most remarkable of these, is the dominion exercised by the present race of Tartars over the vast empire of China, containing double the area, and near twice the population, of our East Indian dominions. If the circumstances of this dominion be considered, it will be found a much more wonderful event than even the establishment of our own extraordinary empire. A mere tribe of shepherds, having nothing but their good swords to rely upon, effected the conquest of the greatest and most civilised empire in the East, in a far shorter time than was taken in the formation of our eastern dominion, and they have kept peaceable possession for 167 years. They govern that empire apparently without any extraordinary difficulty, and with as few insurrections as can well be expected in an over-peopled country. They go a little farther than we do ; maintaining the military power, they surrender the civil into the hands of the Native inhabitants : we are not quite so generous ; we seize the whole military and the whole civil power, to the entire exclusion of the conquered : we take the

most effectual means to exclude capital from the country, as well as to withhold from the Hindoos the example of morals, industry, arts, and science; and we end, by pronouncing such a form of administration the most acceptable, popular, and appropriate, which human wisdom could devise for the government of eighty or ninety millions of people, fifteen thousand miles distant from the power that essentially rules them. What figure would the conquerors of China have made in maintaining their dominion, had they contented themselves with sending an army of some forty thousand men, with a few civil functionaries, from the wilds of Tartary, to the rigid exclusion of the settlement and colonisation of the rest of their countrymen? The Chinese, united and intelligent far beyond the inhabitants of Hindoostan, would not have endured the experiment; and, fortunately for the Manchou Tartars, they had no East India Company to persuade them into such a blunder.

Roman Dominion over Britain.

‘Our own country affords remarkable examples of a peaceful submission to foreign conquerors. The Romans (the relative states of society in the world being considered) were, when they conquered Britain, substantially as distant from it as we are now from India; yet they subjected the ancient Britons—a people more brave, more untractable, more untameable than the Hindoos—occupying a country less accessible to invasion and conquest, and, imposing upon them their language, laws, and institutions, held them in peaceful subjection for between three and four centuries. There was no prohibition to Roman subjects to settle, to colonise, or, in a word, to improve the Natives by their capital, their industry, or their example. The stability of the Roman dominion appears to have been confirmed by a policy the very reverse of this. Hume, speaking of Agricola, the ablest and the wisest of the conquerors of Britain, eulogises him in the following strain, for doing that which a company of merchants imagine must ruin us:—“He introduced law and civility among the Britons, taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains which he had forged both easy and agreeable to them. The inhabitants, having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated in that mighty empire.”

‘The people of the East are, and have, in all ages, been, more passive and pusillanimous than the people of the West. The dark-coloured races are more passive than any of the fairer races of men. The Roman dominion over the more manly and freer nations of the West, scarcely lasted six hundred years; over the timid and subservient nations of the East, it lasted one thousand years longer:

such a prospect as this ought to satisfy our thirst for Oriental dominion.

Effects of Free Settlement.

‘ Let us approach, however, a little nearer to the examination of the assertion, that, if the free settlement of Englishmen were permitted, they would dispossess the Natives of their lands, and thus reduce them to the condition of helots. The only spots within our immense dominions, in which Englishmen are permitted to hold lands, are the towns of Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Prince of Wales’s Island, Singapore, and Malacca. There they hold lands, generally on the same conditions and under the same laws with the Natives. These are the only spots in which English capital can be invested in the soil ; whereas Native capital has the range of 600,000 square miles. It might be expected, then, that, under these circumstances, Europeans would be the holders of the greater portion of the landed property in such settlements : the very reverse is the case. The Indians are the holders of all the Native buildings in Calcutta, of all the public markets, and of the majority of the houses built by or for Europeans. This is still more remarkably the case at Madras. At Bombay, the greater portion of the landed property of the island is owned by the Parsees. At Prince of Wales’s Island, Malacca, and Singapore, the Chinese and Natives of Malabar share at least equally with Europeans in the property of the soil. If any one be ousted in these cases, it is not the Natives, but the Europeans. There ‘is no one ousted, however, nor will there be, where laws are duly administered, and where industry, enterprise, and capital, are suffered to follow their natural and beneficial direction.

Indigo Planters.

‘ But, in reality, the limited experiments which have been made, show, that, in whatever part of India a few Europeans have established themselves, their presence has been productive of unmingled good. In the single article of indigo, their skill has created a property to the yearly value of two millions sterling, an effectual addition to the real wealth and resources of this country, greater than it can rationally be proved the East India Company has produced in two whole centuries. The introduction of the indigo ~~plant~~ ^{culture} into a district is notoriously the precursor of order, tranquillity, and satisfaction: wealth is diffused through it ; and the public burthens, levied before with difficulty, and often only with the aid of a military force, are punctually discharged. Even the advocates of the system of restriction are obliged to confess this beneficial result. We have not time for much quotation, and, therefore, we shall content ourselves with one strong case. Mr. St. George Tucker, a Director of the East India Company, formerly a Commissioner of Land Revenue in Bengal, and principal Secretary in the same department, tells us, in nearly as many words, when

describing the inequality of assessment to the land-tax, that, in a particular estate, the introduction of the cultivation of indigo alone will be sufficient "to double the value of the produce." A country, of which the produce of the soil is doubled by the introduction of one single article of cultivation and manufacture, cannot, it ought rationally to be supposed, be much injured in any other way by those who confer this boon upon it.

Danger of English Settlers.

' Danger to the stability of our Indian empire was one of the points most perseveringly laboured by the East India Company in the discussions which led to the renewal of their last charter. It was one of the leading questions which their counsel put to the cloud of witnesses which they brought to the bar of the House of Commons—the same witnesses who confidently predicted the total impossibility of extending free trade. The answers were always prompt, and the assertion broad and unqualified—that there was the utmost danger to be apprehended from the settlement of Englishmen. When challenged to adduce examples, not one capable of bearing examination could be brought forward by these willing witnesses. One of the most intelligent of them adduced the case of an European settler as one in point. He, the witness, had, in the exercise of his public duty, given the said settler permission to live in the unoccupied house of an absent Native: the Native returned, and the settler refused to quit the house at his requisition, and without the specific authority of the person from whom he derived his permission, which appeared reasonable enough. It turned out, that the settler in question, however heinous his offence, was not a British-born subject, but a Dane,—one, in short, of the most 'orderly creatures of the European race. "Had he been an Englishman," continued the witness in his evidence, "he would most probably have kicked out the owner, for presuming to molest an Englishman in his castle, and it would have required a suit at law to eject him!" Here was evidence on which to legislate for an empire!

' The two cases above alluded to are the only examples of the evil consequences of settlement and colonisation which were brought forward by the East India Company during a discussion of three years' continuance. In reference to them, Mr. Courtenay, the then and present Secretary to the Board of Control, stated, in his place in Parliament, that the examples adduced amounted to such trifle as could not be listened to with common patience. Even the late Lord Londonderry became for a moment a kind of philosopher, and even a political economist, declaring that the apprehension of colonisation in India was purely "chimerical."

Tranquillity of Settled Provinces.

' Those portions of our dominions in India in which the greatest

number of European settlers exist, are invariably found to be the most orderly, tranquil, wealthy, and prosperous. Those in which they are carefully excluded are not only the poorest, but the most subject to insurrection. The acts of the Government and their servants have occasioned a good many tumults, a good many insurrections, and a good many military mutinies; but the advocates of restriction have never ventured to assert, that a merchant or trader has been implicated in any act of public disorder. The mutiny and massacre at Vellore were produced by the impertinent and ill-judged interference of the public officers of Government with the dress and pay of the troops. The tumult at Benares was produced by an attempt to impose an unpopular tax. The more serious insurrection in Rohilcund was produced by the same cause. The mutiny of the Native troops at Barrackpore, and the massacre which followed it, were notoriously occasioned by the Government, or its officers, refusing to listen to some palpable, and afterwards acknowledged and redressed, grievances. No private individual, black or white, had any share in the transaction. The general rising of the province of Cuttack, which took the Calcutta authorities by surprise, was produced by the misconduct of a public officer. There was not a merchant or trader in this extensive but poor province at whose door the blame might be laid. One example, on the great scale, may be added: the arbitrary and unjust conduct of Warren Hastings, and the violence which he offered to Native prejudices, threw the great and populous province of Benares into a state of general insurrection, which nothing could quell but a large army. This was the much-admired Governor of the East India Company; a man of undoubted talent, versed in the languages, manners, and institutions of the Natives of India, and who was brought up in 1813, before the House of Commons, to give evidence touching the impossibility of extending the commercial intercourse of Great Britain with India, the danger of violating Native usages, the excellence of the existing order of things, and other matters equally true and edifying.

Alleged Danger of Profligate Adventurers.

'The advocates of restriction have urged that free settlement will give rise to a dangerous influx of needy and profligate adventurers. How are needy and profligate adventurers to pay for a passage across half the globe? Do needy and profligate adventurers undertake a voyage of similar expense to New South Wales, where room and climate are more suitable? Needy and profligate adventurers go to the latter country with the assistance of the state: they could only find their way to India with similar assistance, which, it is to be hoped, the state will never grant. In fact, the existing restrictions are answerable for any disproportion of exceptionable persons which may now exist in the European population of India; and, after all, the number is very trifling. Men of character, in general, are unwilling to infringe the existing laws, bad as they are; men

of indifferent character infringe them without scruple ; and the worst class of Europeans in India are, in fact, runaways from the East India Company's own ships, notorious among British shipping for the badness of their crews,—men that, but for this channel, could never find their way to India at all, or who, if they did, would, in a free intercourse, constitute but a trifling fraction of the whole. In reality, from the very nature of things, the free adventurers to India would of necessity be composed of the most respectable emigrants that ever quitted one shore for another. The length of the voyage—the state of society in India—the character of the climate, would inevitably preclude the resort of such emigrants as were not possessed of what India stands so egregiously in need of,—capital, talent, acquirement, integrity, and enterprise.

Colonisation by Chinese.

‘ The only thing like colonisation which we see passing before our eyes in the East, is that of the Chinese, in the thinly-peopled countries in the neighbourhood of their own. There are about one hundred thousand of them in the Dutch, Spanish, and British possessions, and, perhaps, little fewer than a million in Siam and other adjacent countries. This, however, is a very unfavourable experiment ; for, by the laws of China, the men cannot be accompanied by their families. Had not the emigration of women been forbidden, we should, by this time, probably, have seen the half-desert countries in question peopled from the swarming inhabitants of that empire. Unfavourable as are the circumstances under which this Chinese emigration takes place, it is instructive to remark, that to it we owe more than half the prosperity of all the countries in which it has taken place.—such is the efficacy of a little infusion of civilisation in semi-barbarous communities. In the countries in question, the Chinese colonists generally carry on their whole foreign trade. They mine and smelt their metals, and they manufacture their whole sugar. In short, the most prominent branches of their industry would have no existence but for these useful auxiliaries.

Bad Government of the English.

‘ The Hindoos, instead of being a people difficult of management, are, in reality, of all the conquered people that ever existed, the most easy. Had they been otherwise, the barbarians of Persia and Tartary could not have held them in subjection for seven centuries. nor could the commercial and exclusive Government of the East India Company have lasted for a single day. The administration of the East India Company is, in itself, a proof with how little government—with how imperfect a Government—the Hindoos may be kept in subjection. The administration of India, as it is now constituted, disclaims all support derived from the influence or public opinion of Englishmen. It creates in its own hands enormous and

pernicious monopolies ; it refuses to grant, or is incapable of bestowing, an adequate administration of justice ; it denies to the people all share in their own government ; it places all power in the hands of a small party, or faction, of its own countrymen ; it rules the country by an army of about 280,000 men, chiefly levied from a disfranchised and insulted population ; and, finally, the spirit and tendency of its constitution is, to leave, to the precarious guardianship of about thirty thousand Europeans, the sovereignty or dominion over an empire of one hundred millions of people. This is a real trial of the docility of the Hindoos ; such a trial of men's temper and forbearance as was never made before in any age or climate : a scheme, the object of which must appear, to any rational and impartial observer, as little better than an experiment to ascertain the extent of the danger and jeopardy to which a people, in the wantonness of selfishness and error, may hazard a vast and costly acquisition.

European Settlers in the Philippines.

‘ From the confidence with which the arguments against European settlement in India have been urged, one might be almost tempted to believe that experience was all on the side of the advocates of restriction ; yet it will be found that this pretended experience is nothing better than an idle and interested hypothesis, the real experience being all on the other side : a few examples may be adduced. The free settlement of Europeans has been acted upon in the Philippine Islands for about four centuries, among a far less hospitable race than the Hindoos. It is not enough to say, in this case, that the practice has been safe only ; the Spanish dominion could neither have been established nor maintained without it ; the European settlers not only preserve the country from insurrection, but protect it from foreign aggression. It is their union and amalgamation with the Natives of the country which has preserved the dominion of the Philippines to Spain, even in her present state of colonial weakness.

Settlers in Java.

‘ In the larger portion of the great island of Java, European settlement has been tolerated for about two centuries, and Dutch colonists hold great and extensive landed possessions. This is just the part of the island where there has never been any insurrection. ~~On the other hand,~~ insurrections and formidable rebellions have been frequent in those portions of the country where European colonisation has been forbidden by law ; nay, more, it is matter of notoriety, that the arbitrary expulsion of European settlers holding leases of land from which the Native proprietors were deriving signal advantage in that interdicted portion, was one great cause of the present ruinous war in the island.

Settlers in Ceylon.

‘The same principle has been acted on in Ceylon, with its Hindoo, its Mohammedan, and its Cingalese population. When we received over the Government from the Dutch, eight out of the twelve members of the Council of Government were colonial landholders, men bred and born in the country. No sooner did the administration fall into the hands of the East India Company, than the danger of colonisation was again conjured up, and the usual prohibition duly enacted. His Majesty’s Government, in humble imitation, continued it for a short period, but, seemingly ashamed of such a piece of folly, took off this prohibition in 1810, and still more completely in 1812, as will be seen by the public proclamations in the Appendix. Some years after this, a formidable insurrection took place in the Candian provinces, where there were no European colonists; if there had, most probably there would have been no insurrection; or, at all events, that insurrection would not have come upon the Government as it did, surprised and unprepared.

Education of the Hindoos.

‘The fourth assertion of the abettors of restriction is—that, if we civilise the Hindoos, they will become enlightened, expel us the country, and establish a Native Government. This apprehension is rather Turkish; but we must reply to it. If the Hindoos are to be arrested in their progress to civilisation, and kept for ever in their present state of superstition, feebleness, and debasement, the existing form of government will no doubt answer the purpose well enough. But it is our duty to improve the Hindoos, let the consequences be what they may. We are of opinion that these consequences will be auspicious, and tend to increase the mass of human happiness, as well as to strengthen and confirm our dominion. It never occurred to us to improve the condition of the Hindoos until 1813, although we then had exercised dominion over them for half a century. What we then did was but small, and did not originate with the rulers of the country, but with private individuals. Out of a revenue of sixteen millions sterling, the East India Company set aside ten thousand pounds a-year, as the statute, facetiously we suppose, expresses it, “for the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned Natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences.” Our Indian subjects at the time were reckoned fifty millions in number. The sum allotted, then, by the bounty of the State for the encouragement of literature, ancient and modern, the encouragement of men of learning, and the promotion of science, out of a revenue of sixteen millions, was at the moderate rate of the tithe of a farthing per head!!

‘It was not until eight years thereafter, however, that a single step was taken to appropriate even this paltry sum to its destina-

tion: the Local Government appears to have been shamed into doing something about the year 1821, in consequence of the extraordinary progress made by the Christian missionaries, and other pious and benevolent individuals. A few years earlier, the Government not only did not encourage useful education, but even made efforts to put it down. The Serampore missionaries, whose labours have been since acknowledged to have proved so useful and so safe, were obliged, in order to escape banishment, to fly for protection to a foreign settlement, where they still continue to flourish. The British Government even went the length of demanding the surrender of their persons; but the Foreign Governor had the sense, humanity, and firmness, to decline compliance.

'The Indian Government, while it seemed to have proscribed European education, had from an early period given a certain encouragement to Asiatic literature. There has, for example, been long a Mohammedan and a Hindoo college at Calcutta, in which the Arabic and Sanscrit languages are taught, together with what is most absurdly termed Philosophy. The laws of the Mohammedans, the most intolerant bigots of all Asia, are administered in our courts of justice. Persian, the language of the bigots in question, understood neither by the people nor by their rulers—equally foreign to both parties—is preferred to English, as the language of the courts of law, of the public accounts, and of diplomacy. The Mohammedans, like all other conquerors of ancient or modern times, imposed their own laws and their own language on the conquered people. To establish our power, we pursue the very opposite course. One might almost suppose that the real intention of such patronage to dead and foreign barbarous dialects, to the exclusion of our own language, was to keep all parties, not only in utter ignorance of each other, but in ignorance of every thing which an uncivilised might learn from a civilised people—of all that might tend to improve the character or happiness of our subjects. By such a course of conduct, we make a mystery of Government—we convert it into a craft. Shall we not in this particular appear, to impartial observers, as behaving more like the wily priesthood of some ugly superstition, which wraps its dogmas in a recondite language, the better to secure its power and pretensions, than the enlightened conquerors of a great country? Let us bring the matter a little nearer to our doors, that the folly and absurdity of our proceedings may appear in their just colours. Suppose the Russians were to have wrested Greece from the Turks, and annexed it to their own dominions, would they not be considered absolute children, if they adopted the barbarous dialect of the Turks in their courts of law, their fiscal administration, and their diplomacy, to the exclusion of the Russian or the modern Greek language? This is exactly the policy we have pursued. The cases are precisely parallel.

'No assertion is more frequent with the advocates of restriction,

than that the Hindoos are a people unchangeable in their manners and opinions, and having a strong repugnance to all that is foreign—to every thing like change, necessarily including every thing like improvement. The late Sir Thomas Munro expressed this opinion in the most unqualified manner in his evidence at the bar of the House of Commons in 1813. Nothing can be more natural than that such an opinion should be entertained by a few solitary Europeans, living amongst millions of Hindoos, or of any other people whatever. All advance in civilisation is slow and almost imperceptible; and no wonder that an isolated observer, however great his natural acuteness, seeing the Hindoos subjected to no material cause of change, should be ready to pronounce their manners and character immutable. Sir Thomas Munro's observation applied to twelve millions of Indians, among whom there were, exclusive of civil and military servants, certainly not a hundred free settlers. As long as we take the utmost pains to exclude all causes of change and improvement, no doubt there will be neither change nor improvement. Admit these causes, and the Hindoos are neither unalterable nor unimprovable. Every where they improved the government, the laws, the arts, and even the literature of the country. We are compelled at length, however reluctantly, to abandon our extravagant and fanciful notions of ancient Hindoo civilisation, and to come to the rational conclusion, that the Hindoos were always inferior to their conquerors: these conquerors effected all, in improving them, that was within the scope of their ability; but still, as they were not a very powerful or a very civilised people themselves, they are far indeed from having effected what it is in our power to accomplish.

'The great majority of British sojourners in India are in the Bengal provinces, and a vast majority of these within the comparatively narrow limits of the town of Calcutta: the whole number of such sojourners does not exceed three thousand persons, of which we compute that about two-thirds are inhabitants of Calcutta; the remaining third, dispersed and powerless, is scattered over the nearly 600,000 square miles beyond its limits. It is, therefore, in the European towns alone, and especially in Calcutta, that there exists any thing like an efficient cause for change and improvement; and, considering the smallness of the means, change and improvement have, since the era of the free trade, the short compass of thirteen years, been great and remarkable.

'A few striking examples may be given. The Native inhabitants of Calcutta having been last year admitted to sit as petty jurymen in criminal cases, an official list of qualified persons was duly published: the qualification, in respect to education, was such a knowledge of the English language as should enable the party to follow the Judge in his charge, and, in point of property, an estate of the value of 500*l.* sterling, or payment of a house-rent of 5*l.*

per annum. Persons possessing an estate of the value of 20,000*l.* were exempted from serving on common juries. The lists, admitted to be imperfect, showed eighty-four qualified Indians, of whom no less than fifty-seven were men possessing an estate of 20,000*l.* or upwards.

‘From this statement several most interesting and important deductions may be drawn. Not many years ago, even a miserable smattering of the English language was confined to a few profligate persons, whose interests brought them into immediate connection with Europeans for no good purposes. We have here persons representing property worth, at the lowest possible estimate, 1,140,000*l.*, possessing not only a knowledge of the English language, but sufficient European education to enable them to comprehend the charge of a British judge to a jury. Of the whole number of persons competent to serve on juries, more than sixty-seven in a hundred are of this wealthy class, showing pretty clearly that it is the higher, and not the lower, or even middling orders, that are most disposed to receive European education. In the list of Native jurors there is not to be found a single Mohammedan name, either of Hindoostan, Persia, or Arabia; the whole is composed of the alleged *unchangeable* Hindoos. Further, the great majority of these wealthy persons are Brahmins, and all of them men of high caste. The different reception which the Jury Bill received at the commercial settlement of Calcutta, where there is much intercourse with Europeans, and at the uncommercial settlement of Madras, where there is very little, ought not to be passed over. The Natives of Madras held meetings, and declared that it was repugnant to their habits, institutions, religious prejudices, and inclinations, to sit on juries. One might almost suppose, that the advocates of restriction in Europe had been reading them a lesson. The Natives of Calcutta received the boon with satisfaction, and set about preparing petitions to Parliament, praying to be admitted to the privilege of sitting on grand, as well as petty, juries!

‘The number of schools instituted at Calcutta and its vicinity, for the instruction of Natives in English education, during the last few years, is extraordinary. In the town there are twenty private religious or benevolent institutions engaged, directly or indirectly, in the promotion of European education. In some of these, Natives of the highest rank and greatest wealth have associated themselves with Europeans. Five years ago, there were, in Calcutta or its neighbourhood, forty-three private schools, for the instruction of the Indians in English. As to disinclination to European learning, this is wholly out of the question. On the contrary, both the interests and the practical good sense of the Natives lead them to give it a decided preference, notwithstanding some foolish attempts made to restrain them, by diverting their principal attention to the barren field of their own language, literature, and philosophy!

Even the Hindoo religion seems to be giving way before the light of reason, and it is well it should; for, independent of its spiritual consequences, the influence which this degrading superstition exercises over civil society is pernicious and demoralising, far beyond that of any other known form of worship.

Bad Administration of the Provinces.

‘English laws and institutions, at least such as are suitable and rational, are equally popular with the Hindoos, notwithstanding the pains taken, at one period, to convince the English public to the contrary, and to make them believe that they were unalterably attached to their own. What but this attachment has peopled the towns of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay? What but this partiality makes a real property in Calcutta worth twenty years’ purchase, when in the provinces it is not worth five? What but this makes a Hindoo contented with an interest of five or six per cent. for his money in Calcutta, when he might receive in the provinces twenty or twenty-four? The Indians, in short, are thoroughly imbued with a just sense of the advantages of being considered British subjects, and of living under the protection of English law. When the Natives living within the pale of the English law, contrast their own prosperity and security with the poverty, disorder, and anarchy of the provinces, how should they feel otherwise? What the state of law and police must be in the provinces, we shall briefly point out. Justice is there administered by one hundred and fifty unprofessional Europeans,—in this number being included Judges as well as Magistrates, assistants as well as chiefs, Judges of appellate as well as of primary jurisdictions. Limiting the jurisdiction of these persons to 500,000 square miles, and to 75,000,000 of inhabitants, it follows that each of the above unprofessional Europeans must administer justice and maintain police over an area of 3,266 square miles, and over half a million of people, ignorant of the locality of five square miles of the area in question, not acquainted with fifty persons out of the 500,000, and having at best but a sorry acquaintance with the language, manners, or usages of any one man amongst so vast a multitude.*

‘The only suitable and efficient means of improving our conquered subjects—the only means by which one people ever conferred lasting and solid improvement upon another—is a free and unshackled intercourse between the two parties. Will the stability of our dominion be impaired by the improvement of the Hindoos? Poor and ignorant nations are always most liable to delusion, and most subject to insurrection; wealthy and intelligent ones the least so. In proportion, therefore, as the Hindoos become instructed,

* “You may rely on it, and I hope the truth may not be learned in a more unpleasant manner, that the present system cannot go on.”—SIR EDWARD HYDE EAST, *His Majesty’s Chief Justice of Bengal, in his Letter to the Earl of Liverpool.*

and are rescued from their present poverty, they will only be the more easy of management. This easy management, of course, supposes the introduction of laws and institutions suitable to, and keeping pace with, their advancement in civilisation. They cannot always be governed as mere helots; nor would a nation of helots be worth the governing: they must be gradually, and as they improve, admitted to a share in their own administration. If this principle be prudently and liberally acted upon, we may maintain our Indian dominion for many centuries. Sooner or later, be our administration good or bad, and soonest unquestionably in the latter case, we must lose it; for a relation which separates the governors from the governed by a navigation of 15,000 miles, (the latter being to the former in the numerical proportion of five to one,) cannot be a very natural or a very useful connection to either party. In the mean while, such of the Hindoos as have partaken of European education are not ambitious—they are a frugal, and rather a mercenary people, with very little disposition to engage in politics. The newspaper of widest circulation in Calcutta, for example, has 728 subscribers, of whom eight only are Natives: perhaps it would be overrating the whole Native readers of English newspapers in Calcutta to reckon them at fifty; and among the 100,000,000 of people beyond its limits, there certainly are not one half this number. The circulation of newspapers in the Indian languages is also extremely limited.

If the account which we have above given, of the predilection of the Hindoos and other Indians for our language, literature, useful institutions, and knowledge, be just, (and we have full reliance upon its being so,) every Indian who acquires an English education becomes, of necessity, a convert to what may be called our political opinions, and consequently an additional support to our dominion. Should the Natives abandon their own superstitions, (the matter is already in progress,) and adopt our religious opinions, this will be an additional tie. Their conversion, whether civil or religious, must necessarily be gradual, and will be the safer and more efficient for being so; but every convert of either description will be an additional stay to the support of our dominion. Every conquest of this description, which we make in the province of ignorance and dissatisfaction, will be a fresh accession to our own strength.

East and West Indian Commerce.

We have but a word or two to add on the comparative importance of East and West Indian commerce. Our sugar colonies in the West Indies contain a population of about eight hundred thousand persons, the great majority of whom are slaves, themselves possessing no property, but in reality the property of others. Our possessions in the East Indies contain eighty-three millions of inhabitants, and all that is included under the name of the East Indies, not less than three hundred millions, among whom the slaves are so few in number, and so little distinguished in colour or condition,

that it would not be a very easy matter for a stranger, on the most careful inquiry, to detect them. Under any thing like equal freedom of intercourse, it would be a bold assertion, to insist that a commercial correspondence with eight hundred thousand persons, had their condition been favourable, instead of being miserable, should ever be equal in value, in usefulness, or in extent, to one with 375, or even 100 times their number. It is very true, that, under an ancient and exploded system, which for folly and mischief on the great scale has no parallel in the commercial history of the world, the trade of a few slave islands of the West Indies was actually of greater extent than the commerce of all the East Indies put together. This is, however, no longer the case; in the year 1814, the official value of the exports to, and the imports from, the British West Indies was 15,644,447*l.*; much of it, however, being a mere transit trade for South American merchandise, originating in a state of war. In the same year, the official value of the East India trade was only 7,394,790*l.*, or less than one half. In 1826, the West India trade, export and import, was 11,574,543*l.*, that of the East Indies 13,578,952*l.*, the last now exceeding the first by 2,004,409*l.* This is, however, by no means the whole amount of the difference in favour of the East Indies. East Indian staples are undervalued in the Custom-House returns, and West Indian overvalued. This, according to a very good authority, makes a further difference of full two millions in favour of the East Indies, so that the real excess of its trade beyond that of the West Indies was 4,004,409*l.* It is in the necessary order of things, and in the natural course of human events, to expect that, when the trade of China is thrown open to the nation, and European capital and enterprise are fairly exerted in the improvement of our territorial dominions, the trade of the West will hardly bear the same proportion to that of the East Indies, which the foreign commerce of the Isle of Man does to that of the whole United Kingdom besides. Even in its present state of restraint and depression, the importance of the Indian trade becomes every year more and more obvious, and, unless, to our own injury, we wantonly step forward to arrest its progress, will soon surpass all that was predicted of it in the celebrated prophecy of Adam Smith. According to the returns for 1827, the East Indian trade of Great Britain exceeded that of the whole North of Europe, including Russia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands, by 991,779*l.* It exceeded the trade of all Germany by 2,767,803*l.* It exceeded the united trade of France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the Levant, by 697,082*l.* It exceeded the trade of the United States, and of our own colonies in North America, put together, by 707,053*l.* It exceeded the united trades of the foreign West, Brazil, Mexico, Columbia, Peru, Chili, and Buenos-Ayres, by no less than 6,251,463*l.* Finally, it exceeded our commerce with the new States of South America, so much wanted, by considerably more than a five-fold proportion.'

GREECE.

'Possunt quia posse videntur.'—VIRG.

LAND of Greece ! the hours are bearing
Life, or worse than death, along ;
Liberty her banner rearing,
As in days renown'd in song.

When her voice, her warriors leading,
Spoke in thunder from your skies,
• Land of Greece ! the hours are speeding ;
Sons of Greece ! awake ! arise !

Greeks ! the trumpet's call hath spoken,
And the spirit of your land,
Rising, points to every token
Of her ancient high command.

Let each stern heroic leader
Cast his griefs and fears aside ;
Think of those of old who freed her,
When the Spartan fought and died.

For a glory without limit,
And a matchless fame, is theirs ;
Grief, nor death, nor time can dim it,
Gleaming through the mist of years.

Tell the fierce and blood-stain'd stranger,
From where Nile his waves hath spread,
They who never reck'd of danger,
Fear not all the slaves he led.

Bid his legions, thinn'd and wasted.
Seek another land to die,
Where fell death, in regions blasted,
Loads the gale that's sweeping by.

• Chieftain, though, t' enslave and slaughter,
On our regions thou hast burst,
Back across yon heaving water,
'To thihe own, dark realm accurs'd.

—For the spirit that hath slumber'd,
Bursting from too long a night,
Rises, and our land hath number'd
All her warriors to the fight.

Slaves of Egypt—hordes of Yemen !
Less unwilling conquests seek,
Not pollute a land of freemen,—
Land of glory, and the Greek !

MONUMENTS, USAGES, AND CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES OF THE ANCIENT PERUVIANS.

THE ancient history of Peru, although so imperfectly known, owing to the want of corresponding records, has always been considered as more romantic and interesting than that of any of the other great divisions of the American continent. The progress made by the Aborigines in civilisation,—which the Spanish conquerors themselves were compelled to acknowledge in the reports of their victories, transmitted down to posterity, and corroborated by several contemporary works, particularly that of Garcilasso himself, a descendant of the ancient Incas,—added to the genius, peculiar character, and misfortunes of the Peruvians, have formed, in Europe, the basis of some beautiful works on their customs and manners, of which those of Marmontel and Madame Grafigny certainly stand pre-eminent. There is, however, nothing authentic in print, to tell us what monuments have outlived the lapse of time, or escaped the desolating ravages of war and the destructive thirst after the precious metals; nor is there any modern work, within the reach of the curious, that takes a collective view of the remains, still extant, of an empire which evidently had attained a high degree of splendour, the faint rays of which only have been reflected across the Atlantic. There is no guide, in fact, to direct the traveller in his search after Peruvian antiquities, so as to enable him to combine an interesting study, like this, with the contemplation of those sublime and striking scenes of nature by which he is unceasingly surrounded. There is no historical record from which he can acquire any other than scanty notions of a people now almost extinct—no friendly monitor to conduct him to spots on which he may, at the same time, behold the stupendous power and magnificence of the Deity, in the creation of his works, so emphatically marked in the varied regions bordering on the Pacific.

To that blind and fanatical zeal for religion, as well as that insatiable thirst for pillage, which ever impels on the ruthless soldier, and so particularly distinguished the conquerors of the New World, as well as their monastic followers, may be attributed the lamentable destruction of the archives of Cusco, Caxamarca, and Quito, where the successive monarchs of Peru had deposited the records and emblematic figures, representing their conquests, victories, and the proofs of their power and greatness. Unhappily, the fragile *quipos**

* "Although the Peruvians were a people less enlightened than ours, and professed fewer arts, they had sufficient to supply every want. The *quipos* served them instead of our writing. Strings of cotton, or gut, joined to other strings of different colours, reminded them, by means of

are also reduced to dust ; and the traditions of the memorable events which occurred in a portion of the globe, remote and secluded from Europeans, until the time of the great and enterprising Columbus, — traditions once preserved in the memories of historians, purposely taught and supported at the expense of the Government, — being now nearly forgotten, or only very imperfectly retained, the curioso, or man of taste, in the pursuit of his inquiries, is obliged to recur to fragments and ruins, in order to form an imperfect picture, and convey a faint outline, of a once extended, populous, and interesting kingdom.

The recollection of monuments erected by the Incas, for the purpose of displaying their power and recording their grandeur, the recitals of their past glories, and the traditions of their ancient usages and customs, are, however, still partially retained among some of the Caciques, and other chiefs of rank and distinction, among the Aborigines inhabiting the mountainous and secluded parts of Peru. By them several historical pieces are still represented ; certain sacrifices, emblematic of their ancient rites, performed ; and many traditions, both in prose and verse, received from their forefathers, are enthusiastically repeated by bards and other persons, renowned among their countrymen for their lore and retentive memory. But these are scenes at which scarcely any other than a few fanatical missionaries have been present, and unfortunately little substantial instruction is to be derived from the reports of men, who affected to behold such interesting exhibitions with an unnatural species of horror. There are, nevertheless, some entire edifices, and the vestiges of others, constructed either as the boasts of magnificence, or for the purposes of war and defence, which still strike the astonished eye, and help to dispel the thick gloom which, only after a lapse of little more than three hundred years, hangs over the history of the Peruvian monarchy, previous to the Spanish conquest.

The names of Carabajal and Gonzalo Pizarro will ever be remembered with a degree of horror by those who derive pleasure from the contemplation of Peruvian greatness, and, by the recital of the successive ravages which accompanied and followed the discovery and possession of the New World, feel half inclined to doubt whether an event, so memorable in itself, was a real benefit to mankind or not. No one can forget the almost entire extinction of the Natives, as well as the horrid expedient of going to Africa in search of fresh slaves, of a more sable colour, in order to replace

knots placed at certain distances, of things which they wished to recollect. These composed their annals, codes, rituals, &c. They had public officers, called *quipocamaes*, to whose care these records were entrusted. The finances, tributes, accounts—in short, all matters and combinations, were as easily recorded by means of the *quipos*, as they could have been by writing.—*Peruvian Letters*.

them. No one, also, is insensible of the enervating effects of gold and silver, as well as of the various luxuries of the newly discovered regions, wafted over to us from the other side of the Atlantic; and scarcely can the tear be suppressed at the recital of the horrid deeds of the Spaniards, even descending to insults, offered to the ashes of the dead, by which means they realised their ends of avarice and oppression. If, however, the entombed remains of the Indian chiefs, since regular governments were formed, have been more respected, and, as it were, exempt from that profanity and sacrilege which so strongly marked the acts of the two ruthless tyrants above-mentioned, their sepulchres and circular pyramids, if such a name can be given to the *huacas* of Peru, in more recent times, have occasionally become the seats of pillage; and the mouldering ashes of the dead have been disturbed by men, intent only on sending to the crucible the few golden ornaments with which the lifeless body of a departed chieftain had been decorated by an affectionate wife and loving children. In this manner, and in searching after the silver bands with which the stones of many of the ancient edifices were held together, have numbers of the Peruvian monuments disappeared. They have often been levelled to the ground, or left mouldering in indiscriminate heaps of ruins.

It was the custom of the ancient inhabitants of Peru (a topic reserved for another Number of 'The Oriental Herald') to bury part of the riches of great men with the bodies of their late possessors, as well as their clothing, arms, and favourite domestic utensils, particularly the vessels out of which they had been in the habit of drinking their *chicha* and other fermented liquors; and their sepulchres, up to the present day, wherever they can be found unimpaired, are often rich depositories of this class of articles, as well as of paintings, dresses, warlike instruments, implements of fishing, &c. The *huauqueras*, or earthen utensils, for cooking and holding liquids, frequently dug out of the *huacas*, also evidently show that it was the custom of that singular race of people to place near the bodies of their deceased friends and relatives food and drink, which they considered necessary for the wants of the soul, in its passage from this world to another.

Of their ancient mode of numeration, some instructive traces are still to be met with among the shepherds of the *Sierra*, or Uplands, particularly those entrusted with the care of flocks and the Llamas. They now use the *quipos*, evidently at one time a regular science, in a more simple form, and with fewer combinations, to reckon the number, increase, or diminution of their flocks and herds; and, by this means, are they enabled to mark the hour, or day, on which a sheep died, a lamb was ewed, or one of their flock carried away by the prowling beasts of the forest. If they have the care of Llamas, they mark the number of loads and contents of each, which they are entrusted to convey from one part of the country to another, as

well as the occurrences happening on the road. Their style of prayer, accompanied by the most expressive gesticulations, is still retained in several parts of Upper Peru, and the solemn and pathetic language in which they are wont to invoke the aid and protection of the presiding Deity, as well as the historical traditions repeated to an assembled audience, often in raptures, and sometimes driven to a state of frantic madness by the impressive recital of acts of injustice, violence, and oppression, serve to convey a faint idea of the oratory of the ancient Peruvians. Of their poetry and music, however, more numerous traces are to be found, the latter being peculiarly congenial to the melancholy and thoughtful character of the Aborigines of the Andes.

The modern Indians of Peru, amidst all their eccentricities, when once roused, are particularly fond of dancing, and have not forgot either the use and structure of the wind instruments, or the animated and showy figures and motions which once constituted the delight of their ancestors. The surrounding scenery, and striking works of the Creator, must also have inspired them with sublime ideas, and elicited from their lively imaginations brilliant flights of fancy, heightened by an expressive and melodious language. Many passages of a kind of heroic poetry, as well as harangues, are still uttered at certain festivals; and some idyls, odes, and numerous elegies, are preserved and repeated by the bards, called *Arabicos*, from whom the word *Yaravies*, or Peruvian songs, is derived. The resident Spaniards have learnt to appreciate and relish the sweetness of the soft and melancholy style of music to which these songs are adapted, so that now beautiful imitations are to be found in the Castilian language, which the ladies accompany with the guitar, harp, or piano.

The sciences cultivated by the Incas, with the greatest predilection and care, as well as taught in establishments something like schools, in which the youths of talent and promise were kept at the expense of the Government, were astronomy and medicine. Several pillars, erected to mark the equinoxes and summer solstice; the names given by them to the planets; their dread of eclipses; the observations made on the heavenly movements, so as to be in time to guard their plantations from frost; and their mode of regulating time—are all circumstances showing the progress which the Peruvians had made in the knowledge of the celestial bodies. This science, in short, constituted the peculiar study of the inmates of the palace; and it was the duty of the monarch on the throne, not only to set an example, and give to this useful branch of learning the whole shield of his protection, but it was further expected that he himself should be a proficient in it.

The acquirements of the ancient Peruvians in practical medicine, are attested by numerous facts. Living in a climate of a very changeable kind, and exposed to a variety of local disorders and

epilepsies, they had recurrence to the medicinal gums and herbs with which their valleys and forests abounded; and their attention was particularly devoted to the study of their healing virtues, and the best mode of their application. Tradition and experience had pointed out to them counterpoisons for venomous plants, which so frequently had proved fatal; and they knew how to cure the bites of reptiles, by simples of the most powerful efficacy. Madame de Genlis' Peruvian tale of 'Zuma, or the Tree of Life,' is founded on the avowed knowledge which the Indians had of the remedies with which nature had bounteously provided them, in order to counteract the dangers to which they were exposed; and the tenacity with which they withheld their valuable secrets from the first Spaniards, who drove them to the woods, and eventually deprived them of their freedom and their country, forms an interesting feature in the narrative. Their peculiar aptness and taste for medical pursuits, may likewise be gathered from the habits of the natives of the mountains, in whose villages a medical practitioner is always to be found, more or less eminent, and ceremoniously called upon in dangerous cases. The skill of the Ceamatás, a tribe belonging to the Intendancy of La Paz, is almost proverbial, and, up to the present day, they travel about the country, from one end to the other, carrying packs of drugs and herbs on their backs as empyrics, with which they frequently perform remarkable cures.

TO THE MUSE OF SHAKSPEARE.

THE great ones quit the earth, and pass away
As things remember'd not; but thou hast rear'd
A temple for thyself, where, loved and fear'd,
Shall live thy name beyond thy mouldering clay.
Hast thou not compass'd, with a nameless power,
The inmost soul of man?—hath he not stood
Unveil'd before thee, while the civil brood
Of passions that assail weak virtue's tower
Rose at thy bidding in their nakedness?
Hast thou not shown wherein consists his worth,
And in her foul deformity dragg'd forth
Insidious, lurking vice? All times confess
Another such they vainly seek to find,
Thou mighty master of the human mind!

L.

POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH CHINA.

As the time is rapidly approaching when the charter of the East India Company will become extinct, we feel strongly the necessity of calling the attention of our countrymen to those preparations that may be necessary for supporting their claims against the renewal of the destructive monopoly, so long, and so unjustly, vested in that body. In pursuance of this duty, we have submitted, from time to time, certain facts, in the pages of, 'The Oriental Herald,' which the public would do well to keep closely in view; and, at present, we propose to lay before our readers certain statements with regard to our commerce with the eastern world, grounded on practical knowledge and experience, more particularly on the trade with China.

The empire of China *proper* is supposed to comprise the most valuable division of the habitable globe, equally removed from the scorching heats of the equator as from the chilling cold of an arctic latitude. To these important local advantages are supposed to be united a fertile soil, a healthy climate, and an industrious population, flourishing under the firm but mild sway of a paternal government. This fine picture we believe, however, to be too highly coloured. Many of the advantages and the blessings ascribed to China are extremely problematical. Indeed, it is a question whether many of the accounts which we read of its climate, its wealth, and population, are not the exaggerations of certain sanguine minds, solicitous to invest with great honour and importance that particular portion of the globe to which their own labours are almost exclusively confined; and we suspect that the mild and paternal government of which they boast is, in practice, almost the worst species of tyranny and despotism, which at present exists on the face of the earth.

The various and imperfect statements that have been offered on the population of China, and the slender materials possessed for forming an accurate opinion on this topic, will lead us to touch, with great caution, so uncertain and unsatisfactory a subject. In proportion to our credulity, we may take it at fifty millions, or 333,000,000, and find equal authority for the support of either opinion. Seeing, however, that the most prejudiced writers in favour of that country betray the character of its partial barrenness, its impervious forests, its sterile tracts of inaccessible mountains, its extensive morasses, swamps, and lakes, its outskirts unpeopled, unknown, and unenlightened by the cultivation of any intercourse with other countries; and, above all, when we consider the whole of it to be oppressed by the iron hand of a despotic government,—all this, we say, presents

to us the idea of a population in a crude, undigested state, labouring under infinite disadvantages both moral and physical, and less in the aggregate than is generally believed. It is in estimating the extent of surface that we shall be able to form the truest estimate of the population of any country, wherein no satisfactory census has ever been known; and, although we have some difficulty on this point, as regards China, yet we know that we are safe in taking it at one million two hundred thousand square miles. In Europe, the average calculation gives, we believe, about fifty four souls to the square mile; and this, we are inclined to think, applied to China, would prove a more accurate datum than that offered by Lord Macartney. Nevertheless, supposing a certain degree of deference due to the opinions of the authorities that are generally quoted respecting China, and reckoning its population at nearly one hundred souls to the square mile, this would give, in round numbers, about one hundred millions for the whole; an estimate, be it observed, considerably lower than that popularly assumed.

In inquiring into the anomalous character of our connexion with this mysterious country, with the view of ascertaining how far it can be improved, we shall proceed on the premises of climate, population, and government, which we have just laid down; and we shall, for these alone, be able to show that the subject altogether possesses an interest and importance to Great Britain which will justify our going into considerable length in this first attempt to give a correct view of a singular people, and of a foreign policy equally singular, inasmuch as it is the policy, not of the aboriginal inhabitants of China, but of the Tartar conquerors of that country; a people, who, at the same time that they have repulsed with disdain all political connexion with those who have visited their shores, have yet, with singular artifice, contrived the growth of an enormous commerce,—a commerce which they not only affect to despise, but treat those by whom it is fostered and carried on with contempt and insult,—a commerce that has not only thriven, but apparently acquired fresh vigour, while opposed to difficulties and vexatious restrictions, which, in any other country of the world that we know of, would immediately bring on its utter annihilation.

The commerce of China has increased to such an extent as unquestionably to identify itself, not only with the revenues of Great Britain, but with the feelings and domestic comforts of the whole of our population. Tea, the chief article of export from China, has become an essential and indispensable necessary of life among all classes in this country. It is now in such general, such individual, indiscriminate use, that the want of it would, in all probability, be considered one of the most serious dispensations with which the nation could be visited. The want of it, as the Duke of Wellington said the other day on a question different from this, to be sure, as not being a question

of creature-comforts, would introduce a degree of rancour into every parish of this kingdom which we should not wish to be responsible for ! And yet, so uncertain is the tenure by which we enjoy this blessing, that it is liable to be overturned and lost in a moment, by accident or caprice ; nay, we may safely say, that it almost wholly depends on trifling points of etiquette, the slightest neglect or violation of which would be considered good ground, by one of the parties, for interrupting and destroying the commercial relations of the most populous nation in the world. It is no little reproach to Great Britain that a staple article of its commerce should be bound by a tie so slight. It is by a conduct disreputable to our national character and dignified station among the nations of the earth, that a rupture with an insulting, cold, and comparatively barbarous power, has been so often avoided. How many instances are there on record of ruptures and wars originating in causes of far less consequence than the degrading concessions, the cold treatment of our countrymen, and the utter contempt in which they are held by the celestial monarch and his satellites !

Under the influence of these opinions, it is no wonder that there exists at present, throughout this country, an eager desire to have our commercial relations with China placed on a firm and steady basis. We have to thank the East India Company for our present estranged condition with that division of the world ; and they ought to be used as instruments by which to restore us to our original state. To all conversant with the earlier history of Chinese commerce, it is well known, that, at one time, we possessed in these latitudes the freedom of trading to a great number of the ports ; while now, the trade, even of the Company, is confined to one port, and only one ! We have been told, that the East India Company had been *driven* from all the other places of resort in China. This remains to be proved ; but, whether the Company had been driven from them, or voluntarily abandoned them, we cannot help regretting that such places had not been left open to British enterprise. There are other merchants in Great Britain besides those who compose the East India Company. But how, it may be asked, have the Company contrived to fix themselves in Canton, while they pretend to say, ‘ that they were driven from it, and have voluntarily abandoned every other port.’ On investigation, certain latent causes present themselves for this cunning pretence, this extraordinary token of policy, on which it is not our present purpose to enlarge. It is enough to say, in the mean time, that its effect has been a mortifying feeling of inferiority and degradation, besides the loss of many commercial advantages which it will prove difficult for us to recover.

All the arguments that have of late years been used to the effect of abolishing the monopoly of the East India Company, and ex-

tending our commercial relations over the islands of the Indian Archipelago, apply with tenfold force to China. For, however wanting the Chinese may be, and actually are, in those liberal views of policy that belong to more civilised nations, yet they are a people having those tastes for the luxuries of life, and the splendour of rich and expensive apparel, which are common to the western world. The climate of China requires a far greater portion of warm and strong clothing, the peculiar manufacture of this country, than all the other nations open to British commerce beyond the Cape, put together. And here again, we cannot help noticing, that, to supply the wants of one hundred millions of people, spread over 1,200,000 square miles, only *one port* is open to British manufactures! We know that the Russians have a trade in the north confined also to one place, namely, Kiakta. This Russian traffic consists chiefly in skins and furs; but it is of importance to observe, that they also possess a partial trade to the same place in woollens. It is remarkable, but nevertheless true, that the Russians actually send to Kiakta British woollens, under the incalculable expense of land-carriage over nearly six thousand miles, and yet have found it a species of commerce well worth pursuing. How great, then, would be the advantage to the British merchant, the British manufacturer, to have the liberty of sending goods to that quarter, commanding, as he can do, the cheapest and most expeditious means of conveyance.

It will not fail to occur to the reader, that the portion of British goods that are thus consumed must be very inconsiderable; for the trade is confined to one port on the part of the British, and another on the part of the Russians. Whether the imports at Canton are cut off from the supply of Peking, whether they reach only the more affluent cities of the South, or scarcely reach beyond the province of Canton, is a question upon which no very satisfactory information can be gathered. One thing, however, is very certain, and that is, having but one port open, goods must be conveyed to all other parts of the empire, burdened with an enormous expense of land-carriage, and other charges incidental in passing from one province to another, besides the various profits of the dealers upon the different changes the commodities must undergo in passing from the seller to the buyer. Such a system, indeed, amounts to a prohibition; and the presumption is, that our goods are almost entirely cut off from the use of the great body of the people. Of this we are satisfied, when we compare the trifling supply of woollens with the demand that would naturally exist among a population so vast, that, of all countries in the world, China is the most united to us by a reciprocity of wants. Besides those to which we have alluded, how many more would be created by a freer, an unrestricted intercourse? We repeat, that the climate of China peculiarly befits it for the consumption of British woollens; and our demand for tea more than repays

to this. The increasing demand for raw silk in England is answered by an increasing demand for our cotton manufactures in China. We repeat, that, although the body of the Chinese nation cannot be considered in any other light than as one degree from semi-barbarism, yet they are susceptible of infinite improvement, requiring only some external impulse to put many dormant powers into useful action, powers at this time lying inert from an untried policy on the one side, and an exclusive monopoly on the other.

These observations apply to China *proper* ; but then, there is also the kingdom of Corea, and the long line of coast bounding Chinese Tartary, northward to the Daourian mountains. Compared with China, these countries are commonly looked upon as entitled to little notice ; but they certainly deserve no inconsiderable degree of attention from the merchants of this country. In a commercial point of view, they merit equal notice with those isles to which our attention has been so repeatedly directed, and particularly by the able and intelligent author of 'The Indian Archipelago.' The whole population of Chinese Tartary presents a people with whom it would be highly desirable for this country to establish commercial relations ; for here, independently of our knowledge of their wants, it is but natural to suppose, that they would prefer the comfortable manufactures of this country, to their own rude dress of skins, as soon as they became acquainted with them. Here, however, we are still kept at bay, by the singular and anomalous character of our commercial relations with China ; and, knowing of what importance it would prove to have our commerce extended through all these desirable channels of communication, we shall, after having taken a summary view of their civil, military, and naval character, suggest such remedies, by negotiation or otherwise, as the circumstances of our present condition, with regard to them, may seem to demand.

• The Civil Character of the Chinese.

In the preceding pages, we have endeavoured to point out the mistaken notions that generally exist with regard to the population and capabilities of China, and the wretched system of policy that has so long, and so unjustly, deprived this country of a less restricted trade with a people so peculiarly fitted, in respect of their wants and climate, for reciprocal relations with us, in a commercial point of view. The object we have next in view, is a further investigation of these points, and to lay before the public certain sketches of the civil, military, and naval character of the Chinese, with the view of leading to those preliminary measures that may be necessary, whether by negotiation or otherwise, for the purpose of improving these relations. Before proceeding to the discussion of these last mentioned topics, however, we may be permitted to avail ourselves of several well-digested statements, that have recently been communicated through the medium of the public press, and

then proceed to the subject-matter of our original and practical observations.

Briefly, then, to recapitulate the crying grievance to which the British public is subjected by the monopoly of the East India Company, we have to point out that no less a sum than 8,000,000*l.* yearly is paid, in charges and government taxes, for the purchase of the article of tea, an article that has become a necessary of life with almost every class of society; and that, while the Dutch and the Americans afford to sell this necessary commodity at forty-eight per cent. advance on the prime cost in China, we pay, in this country, three times the amount which the Company purchase it for at Canton. The Liverpool Association contend, in a Report recently put forth by them on this subject, which was given in our last Number, that the Company have forfeited their contract by this grasping and inordinate thirst after gain, inasmuch as it is in express contravention of the conditions on which the charter was granted. For there it is provided, 'that the Company shall, with the view to keep the price of tea in this country upon an equality with the price thereof in other neighbouring countries of Europe,' import such quantities from any part of Europe as may be necessary for this purpose; and that, 'if the Company shall, at any time, neglect to keep this market supplied with a sufficient quantity of tea, at reasonable prices, to answer the consumption of Great Britain, it shall be the duty of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury to grant licenses to any other persons whatsoever to import teas on the same conditions and for the same purposes.' We all know, at the same time, that the price of tea, in this country, has not been kept on an equality with its price in other kingdoms, that, therefore, the East India Company have not fulfilled the conditions of their contract, yet, still, that no licenses have been granted to other merchants to interfere with their monopoly. The *wholesale* price of tea, in fact, is made up, in this country, in the following iniquitous proportions: one fourth paid as prime cost at, and freight from, China; one fourth levied by the Company for their own especial benefit; and the remaining half, of a tax paid to Government; this last tax being an *ad valorem* duty, always rising in exact proportion to the price demanded by the Company. The possession of the trade with China has, consequently, become more firmly fixed in foreigners; and, if the knowledge of these unquestioned and unquestionable facts does not stir up and spread a conviction of the downright mismanagement of the tea trade, all argument on the subject may, indeed, be abandoned.

With these preliminary observations, we proceed to inquire what sort of people, in the Chinese, we have to deal with, in a civil point of view; and, in speaking first of their civil character, we must premise that, under every circumstance, we consider this question particularly interesting; and that, while we claim a due share of

indulgence, on account of the obscurity in which it is involved, obliged, as we are, to doubt and inquire at every step, we shall treat this subject very cautiously. We have been so long habituated to contemplate imposing pictures of the Chinese power, resources, and population, that it is with difficulty we can divest ourselves of a certain mysterious awe in investigating their condition in a civil character. But, like all other mysteries, the illusion vanishes, as the subject becomes a little better examined; and we have good grounds for knowing that much, if not the greater part, of the information generally received, with respect to the Chinese, is very far removed from the truth.

The body of the Chinese nation, in every grade, and under every circumstance, partake of the peculiar and despotic character of their head. Closeness, despotism, and ignorance, are the distinguishing characteristics, not of the monarch alone, but of every individual in his dominions. At the same time, the greatest contradictions exist in the dispositions of the inferior classes. They are passive and haughty; insolent and submissive; insufferably rude to strangers, and servilely abject to authorities; presenting to the foreigner a pompous port of independence and courage, which is looked upon as something very formidable, while, in reality, they are so pusillanimous that they are objects of utter contempt. All this proceeds from their abject state of subjection to a system of methodical mystery and despotism, and a strong inculcation of pride and contempt, by the higher powers, for every thing that is foreign. They have an Emperor arrogantly pretending to soar above every created being, in power and benevolence; descending, with a sort of meanness, to an examination of all the circumstances of the lowest of his subjects; having his pride gratified by the admission of all the high attributes which he may choose to claim, while he flatters the prejudices of his dependants, by encouraging them to think that they are the only great nation on the face of the earth; that, compared with them, all others are utterly despicable; and, indeed, only suffered to put a foot upon the imperial dominions, from the pure benevolence of his Celestial Majesty. Few have any notion how carefully principles, such as these, are inculcated; they are laid down as state maxims, with far greater care than any other maxim of government. The whole system is like a stage trick, where all parties have a mutual interest in being deceived.

The population of China consists of two classes: the executive, who oppress with all the despotic sway of their sole head, the Emperor, with whom they are identified; and the people, who obey implicitly, with a degree of passiveness and submission altogether inconsistent with the character of a free and enlightened people. This power on the one hand, and passive obedience on the other, have been confirmed by long usage; and the natural consequences are the dispositions and conduct which we have just set forth.

Notwithstanding the beautiful picture placed before us, by the early Missionaries, of the purity and perfection of the Chinese Government, it will sooner or later be found that we are giving the true estimate of their civil condition. The early Missionaries, of whom we speak, were pleased with the prospects which fertile China held up to their professional labours, as well as to their more avaricious aspirations. They have been discovered, in their descriptions, have exceeded all moderate bounds, extolling and exaggerating the natural capabilities of the country, as well as the system of government. By their accounts, China possessed an admirable code of municipal law, securing the power, the riches, and the subordination of a vast population. But we now begin to know, that that which they asserted to be all power and virtue, is merely tyranny and weakness.

‘Giving honour to whom honour is due,’ we must first, of course, speak of the higher orders in China, before proceeding to the mass of the population. They are called, by the missionaries, ‘*les lettrés*.’ They form but a small part of the population; but their influence extends through the most minute branches of the Government. So cunningly have they devised their system, that the joint interests of the governors and the governed, the links by which the large body who obey, are bound to the small body who control, are so firmly cemented that, in place of one despot, China has innumerable tyrants. The object, the undivided object of despotism, is the annihilation of universal power, rule, and opinion; the exaltation of the individual from whom alone such a disposition or power can proceed; and, excepting in the case of China, the history of every despotic Government, of every tyrant, is uniform. In China, there is an exception to all others, inasmuch as the Celestial Empire is totally without a noble, or an hereditary nobility; but yet a power of despotism exists, which is not only multiplied in the people, but is adapted, at the same time, to give stability to the throne. This proceeds from the management of ‘*les lettrés*,’ or, in common parlance, the mandarins, who have ever insinuated themselves so deeply into the secret thoughts of the Emperor, and into the details of all the transactions of the people, that no manifestations of internal commotion, or of outward threat, can possibly escape their observation or control.

We have been told that, in China, a candidate for a Government office may rise from an obscure state, pass through the various gradations of society, and become a mandarin at last,—just as we, in this country, pretend to get on in the army or navy. We are told that the beginning—the fountain-head, is open to all; to the poor as well as the rich. But, on this topic, we have only one observation to make, and, in making it, we regret to say that it does not apply to China alone. The mandarins are the sole judges of their own conduct,—the sole judges of those who are admitted into

their own fraternity; and they, consequently, confine the election of aspirants to this high distinction to their own offspring. And, if an unfortunate Chinese, who may have happened to acquire wealth by commerce or industry, may wish to advance his son to the rank of a mandarin, which he would naturally be desirous to do, protecting him, as it does, from all those vexations, restrictions, and tyrannies which all those out of this favoured class are subjected to, he is able to effect his object only by lavishing the greatest portion of the wealth which he had previously acquired. It is truly bewildering to contemplate what an influence self-interest, bribery, and corruption have commanded over any and every individual, in any and every country we have ever heard of from the beginning of time. Thus, a mandarin and his descendants become fixed in the high office, without any hereditary claim. Those who have been once admitted to the office, become part and parcel of the Government, and are divided from the people. They at once become objects of power and of fear; and we now know, notwithstanding all those representations, or rather misrepresentations, that have been made, namely, that the son of a mandarin must descend to the rank from whence his forefathers arose, and ascend by the same gradation, that it is individual patronage that creates the mandarin; and that this, and this alone, is the cause of the perpetuity of that system of presumption, ignorance, and despotism that has existed in China from time immemorial. The missionaries, in their writings, no doubt lay down a high-sounding and imposing principle of government and advancement, as existing among the Chinese, namely, that all the offices of Government are open to the meanest of the people, and that there is no hereditary nobility. If it were really so, it would be all well; but it is no such thing. Advancement in China proceeds on the precise grounds which we have pointed out. No sooner does a Chinese become a mandarin, than he rides his high horse, cuts his fellows, and heart and hand proceeds to support the proceedings of that arbitrary Government under which his ancestors have flourished, and joins in the rule of the Celestial Empire with an imposing but compromising spirit of pomp, pride, and ignorance, highly becoming 'the wisdom of his ancestors.'

Between the mandarins and the low classes among the Chinese, there is no intermediate body. The Chinese are simply divided into the active and the passive. It will be enough to say of the second class, that they are wholly passive. Indeed, where a Government is composed of the materials we have just described, nothing better can be expected. The lower orders are kept in a state of the most profound ignorance; they tremble under a system, of which, for want of external communication with any other civilised country, they have no divided opinion; and they subscribe to forms of government, and local customs, the violations of which are, by edict, denounced as more serious offences than the violation of any moral

or sacred order of things. Nothing more truly ridiculous can be conceived than the contrast between the self-importance and insolence of the lower classes of the Chinese towards strangers, and their obsequiousness to their mandarins, and all the inferior officers of Government. While they carry a high-headed and contemptuous deportment towards Europeans, their servility and genuflections to their own powers render them, beyond all measure, mean and despicable; and they submit to the exercise of the whip, or bamboo, of the all-powerful mandarin, without any apparent sense of degradation.

The whole machinery of the Chinese Government is placed on this abject and submissive state of the mass of the population, supported by the cautious conduct of the mandarins and the other Government officers, in preventing all intercourse with foreigners. They are well aware, perhaps, that a ready communication between the Chinese, and the people of any civilised or enlightened country, would shake the throne of the Celestial Empire to its very foundation. They have, however, managed it otherwise, and have wielded their power so effectually that, for age after age, the people have been kept in profound ignorance, and the empire has existed, from age to age, without any extraordinary revolution, for the aggrandisement of a few, and the especial exaltation of the individual who holds, for the time, the reins of government, to the entire exclusion of the universal good that might flow from a more liberal order of things. Robbers have mounted the throne of China, and pirates have established themselves in many of the provinces. Still they have all yielded, at last, to the guidance and control of the mandarins; and even the Tartar conquerors of China, either from necessity or choice, have united a Tartar and a Chinese in all the principal appointments, and adopted the whole of the ancient internal economy of the country.

In closing this notice of the civil order of things, it is only necessary to add, that the Chinese are cowardly to a proverb. It has been proved more than once, that no sooner does the Celestial Empire sustain any external shock, than its strength and faculties become totally paralysed. It is altogether unfit to repel a foreign force; and even an internal commotion, if so managed as to evade the surveillance of the superior powers, carries every thing before it, and, in some instances, has defied the power of the Government for years together. The consideration of the military and naval power of the Chinese must, however, be reserved for another Number.

SONG OF THE YOUNG GREEK.

THE stranger came down on our father-land
 Like the rush of the mountain flood ;
 Our people have perish'd beneath his brand,
 Our soil hath grown fat with their blood.
 He hath trampled our vineyards under foot,
 We have lived 'neath the scowl of his scorn,
 And our beautiful maids, all helpless and mute,
 To the stranger's rude arms have been borne.

A curse on dissension's rankling power,
 That hath made them an easy spoil !
 And blotted from time be the evil hour,
 When they fell 'neath the stranger's guile !
 And a curse on the spirit of craven dread,
 That hath wed them to the chain ;
 And the lust of gold, that hath greedily fed
 On their valour—a deep, damning stain !

Yet many there are that inly weep
 O'er the glories of days that are fled ;
 Their slumbering wrath will not always sleep,
 Their fire, though subdued, is not dead !
 I'll seek their banner, and forth I'll go
 To crush the stranger's pride ;
 I care not the joys of youth to know,
 The sword shall be my bride.

Yet I'm lured not by ambition's dream,
 That can make the coward brave ;
 Nor by glory's bright and dazzling gleam ;
 But I will not live a slave.
 How I long to smite the turban'd crest !
 In freedom I'll draw my breath :
 Should the tented field prove my place of rest,
 Then 'twill meet me there in death.

No funeral pomp shall mark my end ;
 For I boast not a mighty name,
 But an arm and a soul that will not bend
 Till death shall their energy tame.
 Then beauteous my country will seem to me,
 As from vision her fair features glide ;
 And, rejoicing in what she yet may be,
 I will, welcome death as my bride !

THE COLOMBIAN FREEBOOTER.

FROM the plains of Ocumare, to the Plaza-mayor in Caraccas, and for some hundred miles around, the peasants, priests, and poltroons, speak with reverential awe of the renowned Ciceneros ; but his achievements are not celebrated by them alone : his name resounds throughout the land that gave him birth, and even military chieftains have been known to tremble when recording his many daring exploits. The young lisp his name, while their little features betray the fear that entwines their youthful hearts ; and the aged echo it again, as their fingers rapidly traverse their distorted visages, and their feeble tongues implore the protection of their favourite saints.

Ciceneros is a man of colour, of a commanding mien and haughty demeanour. His age may be reckoned twice twenty years, and he is the sole individual of his complexion that ever enjoyed the special patronage of Spain's proud representatives, who conferred upon him the honour of a General's commission. During the revolutionary struggle, Ciceneros was the most inveterate foe the patriots could number among their enemies ; vindictive in his disposition, irritable in temper, and incensed at what he deemed the perfidy of his countrymen, he swore eternal vengeance on Colombia's revolted children !

'Talk not to me of republics, (he was heard to say.) I can read ; and the only book deserving credence is the Bible, which has taught me to comprehend, that kings have governed since this world was populated ; and Holy Writ inspires the belief, that our God made that a covenant with his then virtuous people. Ere many years shall have flown, I hope (as I trust in heavenly bliss) to behold once more the stately banner of glorious Spain triumphantly display its celestial hues to the agourising eyes of its forsaken, but undismayed, partisans.' Such is the creed of this brave and once magnanimous man. When tyranny was trampled underfoot, and the tree of liberty implanted on the fertile shores of smiling Venezuela, Ciceneros took refuge in the almost impenetrable forests which adorn that ethereal portion of the globe, and with him some forty long-tried heroes coalesced, and fled the haunts of newly-created politicians, whom they despised and hated for their treachery towards their lawful sovereign and master. Many months had rolled away since the voluntary banishment of this deluded man ; and his name and crimes were scarcely remembered by the multitude, until his wanton cruelties again spread terror and confusion throughout the mourning land wherein he trespassed ; even the threshold of the credulous slave, who bemoaned the misfortune that had burst his chains, but to incrust them with some weightier substance, was not exempt from the incursions of this terrible foe.

His own colour he respects ; but there is no hope of mercy to the unfortunate *white* who haply treads the mazes of his sacred seclusion, unless he can boast of Spanish blood : him will he sacrifice on the instant, and exult in the sanguinary deed, which his butchers perform with alacrity and savage delight.

These marauders range the country at pleasure, spreading dismay wherever their contaminating footsteps impress the pure earth ; and thus the peaceful inhabitants of some thinly-peopled hamlet are driven from their lowly cots, whilst the unwelcome intruders regale themselves with such fare as the humble possessors could call their own, but this was all the poor villagers had to give. Dire necessity alone instigated Ciceneros to the commission of these venial offences ; and pardonable are they, since absolute hunger urged him to the crime.

Ciceneros himself has often, in disguise, paraded the streets of the most populated towns, mixing with the throng, and listening with unfeigned delight to the extravagant fictions of the multitude. These surreptitious excursions were usually performed under cover of the night ; but the bandit seldom returned to his retreat without a few pieces, which, by his persuasive eloquence, he extorted from the unsuspecting passenger, and never failed to admonish the unlucky wight to beware of Ciceneros !

His alarming and increasing depredations chilled the souls of many Colombian heroes, and created a consternation more terrific, to the imbecile minds of those ennobled creatures, than all the horrors of a civil war, so great was the dread of this far-famed bandit !

The piercing eye of the sagacious freebooter penetrated the impending danger, as the magistracy had long determined on his utter annihilation, and he once more betook himself to his wonted haven, where he would sojourn for weeks together, subsisting upon esculents and the wild inhabitants of the majestic forests through which he wandered. In this rude habitation, he was one morning surprised by the appearance of some of his men, who led into his presence a person, who they assured their chief had been detected prowling within the precincts of the rustic encampment ; and, 'Look, my master,' said the foremost of the savage horde, 'his face is whiter than a well-bleached skull.' 'Aha !' exclaimed Ciceneros, whilst his eyes glistened with brutal exultation, 'an Englishman, by St. Peter ! Welcome, generous gentleman ! A thousand times welcome to these rural shades ! Can you accommodate yourself, Senor, with a seat on the warm soil of Colombia ?' The stranger spoke not ; he mis-trusted his reception, as he too well knew the implacable hatred Ciceneros entertained towards the English, and he therefore considered himself a free man. 'You hesitate, Senor,' said the bandit ; 'I am not now versed in stupid compliments ; 'tis

true, my furniture is somewhat rustic, and, mayhap, thy lily countenance dislikes these sable faces here ! 'To-morrow, ere the glorious sun shall have shed his lustre o'er these verdant boughs, thou diest ! I hate thee and thy race ! Know this truth, thou cursed English cur ! had thy heretical countrymen denied their aid to these puny white-faced Americans, my country, Spain, would still have held her rightful sway over these domains ; and I, the outcast, persecuted Ciceneros, should have had fewer crimes to swell the catalogue of my iniquities. What, ho ! Antonio, convey this English dog to the inner cave, and guard him strictly, as thou lovest thy life !'

'Captain,' said the trembling stranger, 'I pray you act not thus ; listen to me, I beseech you. For God's sake, Senor, grant me but a hearing, and I will convince you that I am deserving your clemency.' 'Tush, tush !' replied Ciceneros, 'thou knowest me not ! Thy doom is sealed ; and, before this hour to-morrow, by the holy Saint Peter, thy lily carcase shall serve to feast the ravenous brutes that seek our purer blood ! Take him hence, Antonio, and hear me, boy, remember thy own head is in jeopardy !'

The unfortunate stranger was speedily conveyed to his gloomy abode ; but the dreadful emotions which tore his perturbed breast robbed him of the balm of sleep, and morning only dawned to blast his aching eyes with a sight of his ruthless murderers, who were ranged before the guarded cavern, restless with impatience for their devoted victim.

The discharge of a musket announced the presence of Ciceneros, who was arrayed in the costume of a Spanish General. 'A happy day this, my friends ; bring forth the prisoner, 'tis growing late, and we are men of our word, you know.' The dejected stranger appeared before the merciless crew ; his bright blue eyes glanced hastily around, and a smile of ineffable contempt played about his mouth, as he calmly surveyed the ragged wretches whose dastardly souls were thirsting for the blood of an innocent man. 'Sir Englishman,' said their leader, 'you have yet some few minutes to inhale the morning's refreshing air ! I command silence,' continued Ciceneros. The confused murmurs of dissonant voices, which had previously drowned the melodious notes of the richly-plumaged songsters that there abounded, ceased, as if by magical influence, and the hardened bandit addressed the assembled gang in nearly these words :

'My friends, brothers, and fellow-sufferers ! listen to your Chief ! The solemn compact by which we bound ourselves to destroy every foe to our country, when the hereditary owners of this soil were driven from its shores, must still haunt your memories ! The present is the occasion that shall serve to knit more firmly the adjuration which we breathed to each other on the sacred cross !

'You now behold one of that nation whom we most detest ! one of that people who joined the banners of revolted America, for the gain of lucre ! one of those miscreants, without whose powerful arm our white-faced countrymen would still have bent the supple knee to their rightful lord. Comrades, and companions in misfortunes ! remember, that we, at least, are Spaniards ! Our fathers drew their breath in Spanish Europe, and we have been fostered in their bosoms. Our loyalty makes us free ; and, whilst Heaven grants us life, we live but to serve our legitimate sovereign ! Comrades ! our hatred of these English is boundless ; and, since one hath fallen within our grasp, his northern blood shall glut our longing appetites !'

The savage orator was here interrupted by the loud *risas* of his impassioned admirers, whose discordant shouts aroused the unfortunate stranger to a sense of his awful situation. With astonishing fortitude, which few men can command in a moment so eminently dangerous, the stranger haughtily demanded to be told the reason of this unjust proceeding !

'Hold, sir Englishman !' replied Ciceneros, with a contemptuous smile, 'thy nation's pride shall here avail thee nothing. What ! thou who dost talk our language, and hast ears of thine own, and withal, pretend an ignorance ! I'll tell thee once again, since *reasoning* pleaseth thee so much, our deadly hatred towards thee, and all thy execrable race, dooms thee to die by the hand of an enraged and loyal Spaniard ; but this is waste of breath. Serjeant Hernandez ! make fast this proud Englishman to yonder youthful pine ; it has strength enough to hold the sturdy miscreant.'

Subservient to the wishes of his commander, the willing serjeant obeyed the mandate ; and the unfortunate stranger was firmly bound to the tender tree. A dead silence ensued. The silvery tones of the celestial songsters lost their wonted sweetness, and their mournful notes seemed to deprecate the nefarious deed, while their huge companions croaked responses to the funeral sounds.

Four men were ordered to place themselves within as many yards of the innocent victim. The fatal weapons were presented, and Ciceneros was prepared to give the concerted signal, when a loud shouting suddenly arrested the murderous hand. 'Hark !' cried the bandit, 'what noise is that ?' From whence does it proceed ? To arms ! to arms ! my boys. We are betrayed ; but our lives shall be dearly bought !' The shouting increased. All was confusion and conjecture ; the sounds approached ; and they could distinctly hear the words, '*Viva el Ingles ! Viva el Ingles !* Long live the Englishman ! Long live the Englishman !'

'What can this mean ?' said the robber ; but, ere a reply could be given, two men were descried bearing an elderly female. The instant she beheld Ciceneros, she gave a piercing shriek, and bounded

from the shoulders of her bearers with the velocity of a tigress. She knelt at the feet of the chief, whose knees she embraced with fervour, whilst tears of joy ran plentifully down her furrowed cheeks. 'Ah! my good master, I have escaped! I have escaped the wretches!'

'How did you effect your escape, my good Pepa?' asked Ciceneros with much anxiety. 'An Englishman, Sir, an Englishman freed me from their claws!'

'Are you positive, Pepa, that your liberator was an Englishman?' inquired Ciceneros somewhat doubtingly.

'O, yes! yes! yes!' said Pepa; 'I shall never forget *el rubio Ingles*, (meaning the light-haired Englishman.) God bless his dear heart! They were just going to murder me! I must pray for him, my master, though he be a heretic!'

'Release the prisoner instantly,' cried the bandit; and the stranger stood before his stern foe with a lighter heart than had ever throbbed within his agitated breast.

'Sir Englishman,' said the marauder, taking the stranger by the hand, whilst his iron features were momentarily lighted by a benignant smile that flashed across his sullen visage, 'look at this woman! Give thanks to her for thy preservation; it is to her, and not to us, that thou owest thy life. This woman, stranger, is the mother of four of my bravest companions in misfortune, and whose hearts were never known to sorrow, till their aged parent here was torn from them by our dastardly enmities, and condemned to die by the hand of a revolted royalist. She is beholden to one of thy nation for her few remaining days. Our joy at her miraculous deliverance is great. We cheerfully remit the sentence which our solemn oaths had pronounced upon you. Stranger, thou art free! but divulge not what thou hast here beheld: or, by the saint whom I revere, thou wilt rue thy rashness!'

The stranger promised to obey the injunction. He saluted the generous robber, and joyfully bade a lasting farewell to the erratic tribe.

Many are the years that have witnessed the charms of nature since these marauders first infested the paths of the peaceful, and numbers of the ferocious band have expiated their offences at the shrine of justice; but the undaunted Ciceneros, to this day, pursues his task of infamy, feared by all and loved by none.

THE ARAB'S LAMENT FOR HIS STEED.

Now thy labours are o'er,

And the dark grave hath found thee—

I shall see thee no more,

The cold earth hath found thee;

The Arab's Lament for his Steed.

Thou art fallen at length ;
 No more shall I find thee,
 In the pride of thy strength,
 Fling the desert behind thee.

Oft have I been borne,
 Through the wilderness rushing,
 O'er my foemen in scorn,
 In their impotence crushing,
 The hosts that assail'd ;—
 Though in agony straining,
 Thy strength has prevail'd—
 'The sharp spear disdaining.

Oft I think on the time,
 When I view'd with delight
 Thy high summer prime
 Of beauty and might ;
 When away, far and wide,
 Thou hast gallantly bounded,
 And the snort of thy pride
 Through the desert resounded :

And I heave the deep sigh,
 For from me have departed
 The hopes bright and high
 Of the young and light-hearted.
 All quench'd is the fire
 That once burn'd in my blood,
 As we drove in our ire
 Through the field or the flood.

When my spirit hath sunk
 Neath sore wasting toil—
 When with agony drunk,
 I have reel'd o'er the soil,
 Whose looks of mute anguish
 Have made my lone heart bleed,
 And forbid me to languish ?—
 They were thine, O my lov'd steed !

'But thy strength is no more,
 And thy beauty is fled,
 And thy swift course is o'er—
 Thou, my lov'd steed, art dead !
 And a sign there is not,
 To the by-passer telling,
 Where is the sad spot
 Of thy last, lone, falling.

ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS IN INDIA.

No V.

[Concluded from the last Number, page 253.]

LETTER X.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c.—Comparison of his Measures with those of Buonaparte, and of all the Factions who have succeeded each other in France during the Revolution.

————— ‘I, demens, et savas curre per Alpes,
Ut pueris placeas, et declamatio fias.’—*Juv. Sat. x. l. 135.*

MY LORD,—The possession of unlimited power, under similar circumstances, will always produce similar effects on the ambitious mind. The factions that have succeeded each other during the French Revolution, the usurper who has supplanted them, and you, my Lord, in the eastern world, have all displayed a similar eagerness to establish despotism, and, like so many modern Alexander a boundless rage for conquest.

‘Unus Pellico juveni non sufficit orbis,
At tuat infelix angusto limite mundi.’

But none of you, excepting the Macedonian Madman, could have given full swing to your unbridled desires, until you had first muzzled that implacable enemy to injustice,—that appropriate scourge of human wickedness,—the Press. Alexander, indeed, had no free press to muzzle, and consequently not much freedom of any kind to destroy. He must, therefore, be acquitted in part of the atrocities so deliberately committed by his imitators in conquest. It remained for modern vandalism to adopt methodical plans—DIGESTED SYSTEMS—for replunging the world into darkness and barbarism. But my business is, at present, more especially with your Lordship.

The extraordinary restrictions laid upon the press in India are not alone worthy to be considered, as they are, a violation of the British Constitution: they also deserve our most serious attention, as their immediate effect is to re-establish despotism and increase ignorance throughout Asia; as they deprive the inhabitants of India of authentic information respecting the state of Europe, and the inhabitants of Europe of authentic information respecting the state of India; and, finally, as they concur with the impious views of Buonaparte, of establishing despotism, ignorance, and barbarism, over the face of the earth. It seems, indeed, as if there had been a certain emulation between you; and truly you have both been wonderfully successful. Could you have shaken hands across the Isthmus of Suez, what congratulations might have passed on the conclusive results of your respective achievements! The one had conquered

the liberty of the press in France, and almost in Europe; the other had extinguished it in Asia. (The annihilation of personal and every other freedom follows of course.) You might in future banish, imprison, or even behead, without any one daring to communicate the tidings to the public. You might render the *fortunate* and *great* people, over whose destinies you presided, as ignorant as your hearts could wish, or your purposes require. You might assume an active and positive, as well as a negative, control over the press.

Eulogiums upon your upright administration, benevolence, wisdom, integrity, and knowledge, being thus gravely and pompously transmitted to other nations, by your own pure vehicles of intelligence, how would the multitude gape and marvel at the prodigious talents of such mighty men!—Is it any wonder that this horrid system should produce the most deleterious effects upon your own minds?—The extravagant adulations of the French and Asiatic presses remind me of a powerful man of antiquity, who did not even find the incense too strong, when one of his parasites told him that the very turbot on his table had longed for the honour of being caught for his use—*Ipsæ capi voluit*: on which Juvenal makes a remark, not less applicable to modern than it was to ancient times:

———‘*Nihil est, quod credere de se*

Non possit, cum laudatur diis æqua potestas.’—*Sat. iv. l. 70.*

Without meaning you a compliment, I do think, my Lord, that you are not unworthy of being compared with Buonaparte. Although a trite, it is here a very apposite remark, that extremes meet. I will not be so unmannerly as to apply to a man of your rank the adage: *Stulti, dum fugiunt vitia, in contraria currunt*. But it has so happened that, although Buonaparte in his revolutionary, and you in your anti-revolutionary rage, have been travelling in opposite directions, you have at length met on the very summit of despotism.

Your apeing of royalty, when you caused a throne to be erected at Madras, for the purpose of receiving the ambassadors of the Native Princes, will not readily be forgotten by the officers of the coast, who are not so much accustomed to pomp and show, as those of Bengal, and despise effeminate and vainglorious parade. Such profusion as was practised on that occasion was never witnessed in India. When you meditated an excursion to Seringapatam, and determined to astonish the Natives by bringing the Governor and Council of Fort St. George in your train; when the road from Madras to Vellore was lined with troops for the splendid occasion, and thousands of paccalies* were daily employed to water the roads, you must have been truly in your element. What a pity that the delusion could not continue for ever! What a contrast with your silent and unnoticed landing in England! Can any thing more resemble these proceedings than the processions of Buona-

* Water-carriers with horses and leathern bags.

parte and Josephine through the degraded provinces of France, when the roads were watered and strewed with roses for their reception? Power has such similar intoxicating effects upon vain minds, that it would be difficult to say to which of you the following pompous communication belonged: 'As a mark of *my favourable acceptance* of your services, I have this day appointed you to be *one of my honorary aides-de-camp*; a *distinction* which I have reserved for such officers as have proved highly meritorious in the field, or in the conduct of negotiations with foreign states.' Upon reading this to a friend, he asked me, if it was not a translation from the 'Moniteur.'

When we consider these events, not merely as causes of regret to the world, but as matters of curious speculation, we are forced to acknowledge that our surprise and indignation are less powerfully excited by the despotism of a man educated in France, and inured to the discipline of armies, than by that of a man educated in Great Britain, and issuing from the very bosom of the British Senate. In grappling with the doctrines of Brissot, by which you mounted to the Government of India, I fear, my Lord, you insensibly became a zealot, and lost sight of that decency, which is due to the feelings of mankind. Even Buonaparte, while imposing shackles on the press of France, as strong as those which you have imposed on that of Asia deemed it too scandalous, by regulations duly transmitted to his Secretaries, to make an open avowal of his profligate tyranny. In not adding insult to injury, there is a merit, although of the negative kind.

It will be matter for the serious consideration of the people of this country, whether, if you are suffered to escape the punishment of your crimes, the next step will not be to procure you a seat in the Cabinet; and, if that unfortunate event should ever happen, I confess I, for one, should begin in earnest to despair of my country.

What security should we have, or what confidence could we feel, that a person of precisely the same despotic principles with Buonaparte, a person who has introduced banishment and slavery into India, on the very same footing that Buonaparte has introduced them into France, would not combine with him for the destruction of our freedom? It is at least exceedingly natural, that a man who hates freedom should endeavour to destroy it, that a man who has given the most unequivocal proofs of attachment to arbitrary principles, should rather wear gilded chains under the sway of a brother despot, than remain subject to the rude and unmannerly animadversions of a free press. The liberty of the press, it should never be forgotten, is the most powerful and the sole efficient friend of freedom, as it is the most powerful and the sole efficient enemy of despotism. It is, therefore, naturally detested of tyrants; for, 'while virtue is an enemy to Pygmalion, Pygmalion will be an enemy to virtue.'

But it was not alone the liberty of the press in India that was obnoxious to your Lordship. Did you not even endeavour to sup-

~~press~~ the circulation of newspapers from Europe, and with that view cause official notification to be made to certain officers of Indiamen at Saugor Roads? Could any thing be more precisely in unison with the measures of Buonaparte, when he prohibited the introduction of English newspapers into France? And were not your motives precisely the same, namely, to prevent the people under your respective Governments from perusing unmannerly strictures on your conduct?

We are even informed that a notice to the following effect was struck out of the proof-sheet of an Asiatic newspaper, by superior order, although the truth of it was confirmed by Lord Valentia:— 'By letters from Mocha, of the 28th of August last, we learn, that Seid Mohammed Akil had just arrived with the *Pigeon* of Bombay, which he had purchased at the Isle of France, loaded with lead, iron, sugar, &c. This is a new vent for the plunder of the enemy, and furnished a new proof, if any were wanting, of the rapidly increasing spirit and extent of the commerce of the Arabs. We understand, that, to the above, and several other fine ships, purchased by them at the Isle of France, they have lately added the *Upton Castle* of this port.' What might have been the evil tendency of this paragraph, seems very difficult for common penetration to discover; and I should be curious to hear your Secretary explain the moral or political danger that could result from its insertion. From this example we may judge of the manner in which the office of licenser of the press is executed in India: *ex uno disce omnes*.

Now, my Lord, I must reluctantly observe, that, although you have the merit of setting the example to Buonaparte, of annihilating the personal freedom of the subject, and extinguishing the liberty of the press, that you are both, in this respect, nothing more than mere imitators of those atrocious men, who succeeded each other in power and in crimes, during the terrible period of the French Revolution. Nor is it any praise of you and Buonaparte that you did not imitate Marat, Carrier, Robespierre, and Fouché, in those wholesale massacres which they perpetrated, from the mere wantonness of tyranny, and the absence of every moral restraint. By moral restraint, I mean publicity, and especially that species of publicity which depends upon the liberty of the press. What but the absence of this control could have enabled those monsters to carry their atrocious purposes into execution? The very first measure of every victorious faction was to denounce, as a crime against the State, every thing that was not written in their sense.

By silencing the press, they were enabled, not only to suppress all knowledge of their enormities, but to give for a moment even a colour of virtue to their crimes. Was not this the very course, with certain necessary limitations, adopted by you in India, and by Buonaparte in Europe? Did you not both go as far in the path of tyranny as you durst? When Buonaparte usurped the supreme

power in France, wholesale guillotining was, indeed, out of fashion; but imprisonment, banishment, transportation, assassination, and as is said, private torture, were freely applied to use. Yet there were men foolish enough to give credit to Buonaparte for not being so cruel as his predecessors, when that species of cruelty which they exercised was out of fashion, and he could not have been so without the certainty of immediate destruction. The usurper, however, being freed from the most powerful of all moral restraints, was enabled to indulge his criminal propensities, almost to the utmost extent of his wishes. Not satisfied with extinguishing all liberty of the press in France, he has converted it into a terrible engine of falsehood, to delude and to demoralise the world.

It is to this unfortunate state of the French press, this nefarious suppression of truth and intrepidity of falsehood, from almost the commencement of the Revolution to the present moment, that we owe all the calamities of France as well as of Europe; that many worthy men in all nations have been imposed upon, and still continue, to a certain degree, to be imposed upon, respecting the character and views of the French Government, by incessant torrents of the most audacious lies; that groundless animosities, jealousies, and divisions, are successfully sown between states, whose inclinations and interests would lead them to permanent amity and concert, and that the disorganisation and demoralisation of Europe proceed with such gigantic strides. 'Better, ten-thousand times better,' says Sir James Mackintosh, 'would it be that every press in the world were burnt, that the very use of letters were abolished, that we were returned to the honest ignorance of the rudest times—than that the results of civilisation should be made subservient to the purposes of barbarism—than that literature should be employed to teach a toleration for cruelty, to weaken moral hatred for guilt, to deprave and brutalise the human mind.'

I know that in what I am stating, at present, there is nothing new. But, when we still see the rumours fabricated at the Thuilleries gravely copied in the English Journals, as articles of intelligence, and sometimes even without stating accurately the polluted channel from which they are taken, it is impossible not to think that we are not yet sufficiently on our guard against the most fertile volcano of public deception, and human evil, that ever appeared in the world.

With respect to you, my Lord, I will not for one give you any credit for not rivalling Buonaparte in all his iniquities. If you had been so inclined, the dispositions and habits of British subjects would not have suffered you to proceed much farther than I myself know you to have gone. If you had thought it expedient to order private strangulation, poisoning, or beheading, you could not have got a man base or dastardly enough to have executed your orders. If you had attempted, like Buonaparte, to assume a positive, as well as a negative control over the press, you would not have

found a British Editor servile enough to insert your lucubrations. But, to do you justice, my Lord, you have advanced as far and as rapidly in the road of despotism, as you could, consistently with your immediate safety, have done, and infinitely farther than any man in England has the right to do.

LETTER XI.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c. On the Difficulties of reaching Asiatic Delinquencies.

'Impunitas peccandi maxima illecebra.'—Seneca.

MY LORD,—In all ages of the world, men in power have committed injustice with the less repugnance, on account of the difficulty of conviction and punishment. The oppressor being the strongest, the oppressed generally prefers submitting quietly to one injury to the risk of suffering many. Either party may die,* or, when a sea voyage is in question, be captured by the enemy, or drowned, or cast away. The chances of impunity are, in fact, numerous. The aggrieved party may labour under an ignorance of the laws and constitution of his country, a want of confidence, or resolution, or perseverance, or too great a facility of disposition; his resentments may be evanescent, his indolence predominant, or his sense of public duty dull; his papers may be lost, or his evidence imperfect; or, finally, some circumstance of prudence or of policy may induce him to submit in silence to his fate.—Your calculation of chances, in my case, my Lord, may have been rather too sanguine. Trusting to one or all of these casualties, you did not perhaps expect that I should ever rise up in evidence against you in Europe. But Providence, which presides over the destinies of man, has been pleased to order otherwise; and neither the length of your purse, nor the influence of your connections, shall deter me from renewing and continuing the contest, in that full confidence of success which is inspired by a good cause and an impartial tribunal.

If we peruse with attention the modern history of Great Britain, we shall find that this principle of impunity is peculiarly applicable to the delinquencies committed in our Asiatic provinces. It is an enormous and growing evil, to which a strong, and efficient, and speedy remedy, must be applied; otherwise, I do not hesitate to predict that, in a very few years, every sentiment that is valuable in this nation will be destroyed. When the question is, whether enormous delinquency is to be punished, or our Constitution to be undermined and to perish, are we to be prevented, by any circumstances of time, of distance, of inconveniency, or of expense, from entering into inquiries? If it should be necessary that every

* At the period of my expulsion from India, I was actually in a very bad state of health, and the chances of life and death seemed very equally balanced.

member of the Councils, every Secretray to the Government, every servant of the Company, in India, should be sent for and brought home to give evidence, at the Bar of the House of Commons; if it should be necessary to print every document relating to Asiatic affairs, even to the amount of a hundred thousand volumes;—is this expense, this inconvenience, and this labour to be avoided, and delinquency to remain eternally unpunished? Since the time of Mr. Hastings, the influence of Asia on Britain has increased, in a ten-fold degree, the importance of inquiry. Indeed, to such a degree has this importance arisen, that, unless immediate measures for an extensive and general inquiry be adopted, Britain will, in a short, a very short time, be nothing more than a back-shop, or, at the most, a mere counting-house, of her own Asiatic possessions; and we should then, indeed, justly merit the French reproach of *une nation boutique*.

The difficulties of inquiry on the subject of Asiatic delinquency, are no new matter of complaint. 'Whatever encomiums have been passed on the judicial provisions of the British Constitution, certain it is that they have notoriously failed in the attempt to apply them to persons returning from India. The Parliamentary prosecution of Lord Clive, by General Burgoyne, was easily defeated. The verdict of the Court of King's Bench against the persons who had imprisoned and occasioned the death of Lord Pigot, was such as to be considered, by the persons condemned, rather an object of merriment than a source of calamity. The Bill of Pains and Penalties, which was introduced into Parliament by Mr. Dundas in 1782, was found to be unfit for the purposes it had in view, and was given up by its author.'

It is worth while to inquire, how far these difficulties depend upon the nature of the subject, and how far upon less creditable circumstances. It will be recollected, that, in the case of Mr. Hastings, the Ministry for a long time defended him, and, until the public opinion rendered it expedient for them to alter their conduct, threw every obstacle in the way of the prosecution. On that memorable occasion, Mr. Fox, justly indignant at the repeated refusal of certain papers, which had been moved for in various forms, exclaimed: 'What a precious farce is daily acting within these walls! We see the friends of Mr. Hastings affecting to be eager that every paper, which is called for, should be granted. We see the King's Ministers rising to declare that nothing, which can properly be granted, shall on any account be refused. We hear other gentlemen, who call themselves independent men, saying: By all means, let the House know the whole, and be put in possession of every species of information; and yet we see the same men, all of them dividing together, to enforce a negative upon a motion for the most essential information, helping each other out with hints and whispers during the debate, and pointing to matters apposite to the argu-

ment on their side of the question,—just as I and my Right Honourable Friend would assist each other, when we are maintaining the same point, and arguing for the same purpose. Mr. Fox, in another place, expresses his opinions with great energy and truth: ‘In a word, by such a conduct as that which was now held (refusing papers), the Board of Control and the House of Commons would become answerable for having suffered the servants of the East India Company to believe, that they were secure from inquiry, and out of the reach of punishment. What was the tendency of the last vote, but to put it in the power of the Minister to interfere in every investigation, and by his single *veto* to defeat the aim of that House in the exercise of its first great constitutional character, that of the grand inquest of the nation? Armed with such a power, to what lengths might not a minister proceed? Every criminal, however notorious his delinquencies, however numerous his crimes, however injurious to the national honour, would only have to secure the protection of the Treasury to be able to laugh at accusation, and set conviction at defiance.’

Under all these delays, Mr. Burke complained of ‘the difficulties of keeping his witnesses together, some of whom were ill and could not remain in town without endangering their lives. What he had heard led him to fear that it was intended to quash the prosecution; for it was evident, from the language of Mr. Jenkinson, that one half of his accusations were gone already. It was struck with the dead palsy, and was to live no longer. He considered one arm of the business as lopped away; but, if he lost a leg, he would still persevere, and, even if reduced to the necessity, would fight, like Witherington, upon his stumps.’

Mr. Fox, in describing the difficulties Mr. Burke had experienced in his progress to that stage of the business, said, ‘that no man of inferior abilities would have surmounted them. As soon as he had brought forward the business in one shape, it was stated by the other side of the House that the form of proceeding was wrong, and that another must be adopted. Still new modes were proposed, new delays, invented, new artifices played off to confound, impede, and embarrass; but the House and the public must see through the whole.’

How far, in this respect, there is any similarity between your case and that of Mr. Hastings, the public will hereafter be better able to judge. In other respects there is certainly very little. And first as to their merits: During the administration of Mr. Hastings, it was very difficult, under the best management, to save India; while, during that of your Lordship, it would have been very difficult, under the worst management, to have lost it. The charges against Mr. Hastings were brought forward by a body of men formidable from number and from talents, and, like artillery of large calibre, capable of battering down every thing that opposed them.

whilst those against you are brought forward by individuals, not only not supported by party, but even liable to be thwarted in every stage of their progress. But, if there be this vast disproportion between the attacking powers, it is more than counterbalanced by the difference in the apparent criminality of the parties. The crimes imputed to Mr. Hastings were, in a legal and constitutional view, at least, dubious, whilst yours, my Lord, if my propositions be established, fill up such an immensity of space, that the most random shot cannot fail of hitting them. If every one of the twenty-two articles of charge brought against Mr. Hastings had been fully proved, they would not have formed a crime of such enormous magnitude, against the Constitution of this country, as that single one of having extinguished the liberty of the press, in a portion of the British Empire containing a hundred millions of inhabitants.

The disrepute into which, since the proceedings against Mr. Hastings, the trial by impeachment has unjustly fallen, has been, in some measure, obliterated by the celerity of the proceedings against Lord Melville. This effect I cannot better describe than in the words of the Speaker of the House of Commons, in giving the thanks of that House to the managers for the impeachment: 'Gentlemen, this House has, upon the result of a great and important inquiry respecting the administration of the expenditure of the public money, come to a resolution to enter upon the most grave and solemn of all its functions, and resort to its prerogative of impeachment against Henry Lord Viscount Melville. It is the power of impeachment which has enabled the Commons of this country, at all times, to lay open the misdeeds of the highest servants of the Crown, and to prevent, or punish, all inroads which may be made upon the liberty of the subjects of this realm. In the prosecution of this impeachment, the House has appointed you to prepare and arrange the proofs of the complicated transactions on which their charges were grounded. Their charges were against a noble person, whose rank and high consideration in the State must hold him forth as a signal example either of good or of evil. Throughout the progress of the trial, they have witnessed, with peculiar satisfaction, your great attention and despatch, which have rescued the trial by impeachment from the disgrace into which it had fallen, and restored it to its former strength and honour. They have witnessed in you an unwearied diligence in the discharge of the trust committed to you, a singular sagacity in discovering the proofs, a boldness which so properly belongs to the Commons of the United Kingdom, a strength of argument, and a power of eloquence, which threw the light of day upon dark, secret, and criminal transactions. The final issue of this trial now remains for another Body. It is before one of the highest of human tribunals: it is the House of Lords which is to determine ultimately for the condemnation or ac-

quittal of the person accused. Be the final issue what it may, you have done your duty. You have satisfied the expectations that the House had formed of you, and you have deserved their approbation and their thanks. I am ordered by the House to communicate to you the approbation and thanks of the House for the faithful management of the trust reposed in you.

LETTER XII.

To the Marquis of Wellesley, &c.—Conclusion.

IF, my Lord, we can be supposed to have arrived at that last stage of degradation, in which the question is, whether an individual, or the liberties and the Constitution of the country, shall prevail; if you are become a personage of such mighty importance, that, without reference to innocence or guilt, all public men shall range themselves as your friends or your enemies,—it may be necessary to consider you in another point of view. If the apparent success of your criminal exploits has so much dazzled the world; if the fame of meretricious talents and virtues, or the influence of immense wealth, has so far exalted you above the rest of your fellow-subjects, that you cannot be made amenable to the ordinary laws or tribunals of the country;—then we shall have to regret that the ancient law of ostracism, by which every citizen, however eminent, when his influence became formidable to the State, was, for that very reason, sent into exile, does not exist in Great Britain, as a last regular resource to the people against the encroachments of arbitrary power.

Let me now sum up my accusations against your Lordship.

In the preceding letters, it has been proved, that you protected a magistrate with the strong arm of power in unlawful and tyrannical proceedings; that you united, in your own person, the judicial with the executive authority; that you virtually asserted the principle, that an apology to a Governor is an atonement for offences, identifying yourself with the laws; that, in some cases, you made an enormous misapplication of the unconstitutional law respecting India, and violated it in others; that you acted upon the most ridiculous doctrines respecting the nature of offences, and displayed the utmost vanity respecting the terms in which you ought to be addressed; that you assumed the power of enforcing or dispensing with existing laws, according to your own interpretation of them, and of making new laws, at pleasure, annihilating the personal freedom of the subject, and establishing, in fact, an absolute despotism; that, by your mode of oppression, you virtually asserted the right of exercising a jurisdiction even beyond the territories you governed; that you extinguished the liberty of the press in India, and established an odious *inprimatur*; that you violated, in a most indecent manner, the principles of the British Constitution, by

openly laying previous restraints upon publications; that you even endeavoured to render ignorance more complete by discouraging the circulation of publications from Europe; that your general government was characterised by a despotic, tyrannical, and vexatious spirit; and that your measures resemble, as nearly as difference of circumstances would allow, those of Buonaparte, and of all the factions who succeeded each other in France during the Revolution.

Thus, by a chain of incontrovertible facts, it stands demonstrated that you have, generally and particularly, fundamentally and in detail, violated, in the most gross and scandalous manner, the best principles of our Constitution,—that you have taken away the very key-stone of the arch, and left the whole fabric to tumble into ruins.

But such monstrous proceedings, if submitted to, would entail misery, disgrace, and ruin upon mankind. Not to punish is to connive at them: *nil interest faveas sceleri, an illud facias*. It behoves every man, who has sufficient penetration to discern their consequences, to consider the awful responsibility which he takes upon himself, in not resisting them with all his energies. 'We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights which they have transmitted to our care; we owe it to our posterity not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed. But, if it were possible for us to be insensible of these sacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourselves, from which nothing can acquit us,—a personal interest which we cannot surrender. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much more enormous than suicide, as a life of civil security and freedom is superior to a bare existence; and, if life be the bounty of Heaven, we scornfully reject the noblest part of the gift, if we consent to surrender that certain rule of living, without which the condition of human nature is not only miserable but contemptible.'

Having now accomplished what I proposed, I shall conclude in the words of Cicero to the Roman Senate, respecting an atrocious delinquent of antiquity.

'If that sentence is passed upon him which his crimes deserve, your authority, fathers, will be venerable and sacred in the eyes of the public; but, if his great riches should bias you in his favour, I shall still gain one point; viz. to make it appear to all the world that what was wanting in this case was not a criminal or a prosecutor, but justice and punishment.*—I am, &c.

CHARLES MACLEAN.

* In the original: 'De quo, si vos severè religiosèque judicaveritis, auctoritas ea, quæ in vobis remanere debet, hærebit. Sin istius ingentes divitiæ judiciorum religionem veritatemque perfregerint, ego hoc tamen assequar, ut *judicium* potius *republicæ*, quam aut *reus* *judicibus*, aut *accusator* *reus*, *defuisse* videatur.'—Cic. in *Verrem*.

'EURUS, OR THE WRESTLING OF THE WINDS.

YEARS roll away and hopes unrealiz'd
 Decay and die, as fruits o'er-ripen'd hang
 Ungather'd, or when gather'd nothing worth :
 Or it may be the ideal appetite
 Pamper'd too long with its regenerant food,
 Scorns all the earth-fraught pageants once desir'd,
 And loathes the dull reality it gains.
 Come then, thou spanner of the invisible stars.
 Who veil to thee their fiery diadems,
 Imagination ! wanderer 'midst the spheres,
 Whose orbs before thy hallow'd ken are specks
 Strewn on Infinity's uncreated paths,
 Untrodden save by thee and Time and Jove !
 Soul of all life fore-knowing human thoughts,
 Or entering heart-deep into the mighty past,
 Imagination, come ! and on thy wings,
 Touch'd with fine passion, scornful of its wrongs,
 Bear from this earthly coil one swelling heart,
 Whose strongest bound hath ever leapt to thee.
 On a wild shore, half circled by the yawn
 Of the old sea, whose deep-enwomb'd calm
 At intervals low slumbrous murmurs sent,
 Then heav'd and sank, and all again was still,
 'Hippotas lay. Upon a slanted stone,
 Bedded in sand and hung with tassel'd weeds,
 Bulbous and dun, his aged limbs reclin'd,
 Near him the children of his earlier years,
 Whose clanging voices long had stunn'd his throne
 With welcome dissonance, were silent rang'd,
 Their dying father's last behest to hear,
 And from those solemn unrevoking lips,
 Which soon shall cease to parly with the night,
 The forest, and the ocean, learn whose brow
 Æolia's tempest-vassal'd crown should bear.

The trace of man was far away remov'd,
 His gatherings, his out-pourings, his heart's waste ;
 Fronting the sea, mountains and forests stood,
 Rampir'd behind with cloud-embattled walls,
 Enclosing thus Hippotas' wild domain ;
 While in the utmost distance snowy peaks
 And spiry pinnacles of ice shot up,
 Piercing grey heaven with pyramids of light ;
 Bas'd on the sand the inmost barrier vast

Of monarch crags, iron-vein'd like Pluto's throne,
Was form'd, and by a multitudinous range
Of granite rocks, within whose huge red flaws
Sea monsters sat ; their green and rolling orbs
Now full, now half-eclips'd, with coming sleep.

Beside the dying god, or e'er his soul
The splendrous heavens absorb'd unto themselves,
Stood Æolus, sage reasoner, by the change
And power conjoin'd of stellar influence ;
His first-born from a ravish'd goddess sprung,
Whose palace vast a thousand fathoms lay
Deep in the gorgous darkness of a mine.
There Auster stood, and Boreas, gaunt old king,
Whose rocky chariot leads the boisterous north,
Drawn by black lions tossing stormy manes.
Each with his deep-voic'd crowd, now silent spell'd,
Wild and uncouth rang'd round : some, huge of limb,
Strode naked, or were cover'd to the loins
In their own shaggy hair and spreading vane,
Such as would soar above the volvent earth,
Cleaving the sea of space, and braving oft
The elemental spirits of the waste,
Or bearded comets that make pale the moon.
Some gentler seem'd, and round their vermeil lips,
Glowing in secret love, did beauty float ;
Others, rough dwellers in the forest gloom,
Arm-folded stood with savage quietude,
Their swarth, hard bodies roll'd in matted hides,
Torn from grey wolves, on highest mountains prowling.
Eurus, the orient monarch, and his train
Of gorgeously-winged genii, eyed with fire,
Adorn'd the circle of these air-born powers :
Great was this king in memorable worth
And deeds of glory, noted by the sun
From his proud citadel, and straight consign'd
To the illimitable future. Rough
In visage, and demean, yet smiling bland,
Oppos'd to Auster's silver-tressed front,
Favonius stood ; mantled in coarse brown hair,
And vassal'd by a wild and restless throng,
In clouded robes of gold and azure woof,
Wrought by Aurora and a god o' the woods.

' O'er the interminable sands disperse,
Ye sons of heaven and earth,' Hippotas said, '
Slow rearing from the dark and weed-pall'd stone
His solemn head : ' mine empire and its sway
Fortune alone shall grant to him whose might

O'erwhelms his brothers in the combat strong,
 And strews their giant limbs beside the sea,
 While the hoar breakers mock their panting forms.
 Nor more he spake ; instant a fearful roar
 Burst silence, e'en as though death-foild revenge
 Stamp'd on a corse wherein a fiend had hous'd !
 The streams of adverse blast and sound of shells
 Whose chambers held tranc'd thunders ; the deep voices
 Of super-human forms and thronging waters,
 Now rampant and instinct with tempest,*rage ;
 The clouds and shadows in old brotherhood
 Deepening and hurrying to the exasperate war ;
 The unwieldy monsters from their granite rocks*
 With webbed feet descending, while their heads
 Back-writh'd, sent glances pregnant of their will :
 Such was the scene which now in uproar spread
 Over the trembling level of the shore.

A murky shade was circumfused, nor eye
 Of falcon or war-practis'd archer keen
 Could separate the individual forms.
 The contest held till from his flaming throne
 Hyperion, lighting on a mountain peak,
 Slow down the side strode smiling, and the stains
 Of golden light which on his foot-marks lay
 Grew gradual faint, and wan'd unto the shade.
 Now soon a throng from combat fierce withdrew,
 Hopeless of conquest, and, retiring far
 Beyond the confines of its echoing, sought
 Their zephyr loves. Oh, they indeed were fair,
 And deck'd in fragrant gems like heavenly spring
 Rob'd in her galaxy of myriad flowers :
 The odour of their breath was dizzy sweet,
 So that the sense strove to outreach itself,
 Tasting those lips divine ; yet of their eyes
 No mortal bard may sing, save in weird dreams,
 The liquid glittering ; 'twas like the cold stars
 That spin above the antarctic firmament.
 So numbers sped them, leaving to contend
 The five great kings who for Ihipotas' throne
 Yet strove amain and hurl'd their raging blasts.

Thrice was the Eastern monarch cast to earth,
 And thrice he rose against united ire :
 Rushing impetuously, his out-spread arms
 Seiz'd Auster with insufferable grasp,
 Crush'd forth his breath and hurl'd him to the waves !
 Favonius now he strongly tramples down
 Despite the writhing of colossal limbs,

And sunken low his buried body lies,
Like a dark hull in perilous quicksands chok'd.
But long his triumph held not : fierce combin'd
Came *Æolus*, and *Boreas* raving loud
As one who wars and hungers for a world :
Launching their streams of coaly blast, they rush'd
Insane for conquest, reckless of grim fate,
As tho' it's dragon-visage were a child's,
And, mingling close in wilful lust of death,
Drove *Eurus*, in the vortex of their rage,
Hard struggling, backward to the rifted rocks.
Meanwhile the sea-beasts, joining in the fray,
Fang each in turn from savage impulse blind,
Unweeting of the cause ; as oft appears
In populous cities midst the baser herd
Who war from hot bad blood ; till, smitten sore
By shafted storms, howling they speed away
Foaming with wounds and terror, but of shame
Unconscious. Now before conjoined might
Hath *Eurus* fallen ! and full quick they heap
Fragments of rock and stone, whence gnarled roots
Spread dark and snake-like from the gaping cracks,
Above his struggling form !—this done, as fierce
They turn'd upon each other ! Thund'rous gloom,
Hurl'd in slant streams, like lightning chang'd in hue
By horror of some necromahcer's prayers,
Now sped redoubled, and the quaking shore
Coming destruction felt ; till iron-eyed Fate
Hovering on forky pinions clos'd the strife,
And *Boreas* dropt unsinew'd to the earth.
Where old *Hippotas*, ere the fight began,
Reclin'd at noon-tide, sped the victor king,
Panting for breath, yet swelling more with pride.
The god was gone—but o'er that ponderous stone
The ebon shadow of a giant lay,
Whose limbs of gloom bore semblance to his form :
At *Æolus*' approach dilating wide,
It mingled with the circumfluous air ;
And, where the head had rested, stood a crown
Of rugged iron, like a mass of rock .
Fallen with an eagle's aerie clinging fast ;
O'er whose broad hoop the boisterous faces throng'd,
And uncouth figures burling stormy clouds.
This on his mighty head *Æolia*'s king
Plac'd firm, and gathering weighty thoughts of rule,
Order, tho' wild of act, dominion steep,
Edict, obedience, and enforc'd command,
Unto his cave-bewn palace slow retired.

Now from the earth where prostrate he was thrown,
 Boreas arose, and maddening at the shame,
 Ambition foil'd, honour and empire lost,
 And e'en revenge, more torturing to endure,
 Rent his great beard, and, whirling high his arms,
 Burst forth in passionate and fire-fraught speech :
 ' Smote down, smote down, oh, Boreas ! lost king !
 Thou who hast cleft swoln tempest to the womb,
 Acknowledged god-head ; who, through highest heaven,
 Hath wing'd thee, daring close to the morning sun,
 Newly attired in fire, such as might scorch
 The phoenix' crest at myriad miles, or melt
 The eagle's lordly eye ; thou hast gone forth
 To wrestle with the forest, mighty king !
 And strown its mast-like pines and cedars low
 As callow reeds ; great ships thou hast destroy'd—
 Toss'd them like insect-peopled shells and husks
 Dropt from a tree near some rude cataract :
 How art thou tarnish'd, conquer'd, and foredone !
 A vassal must I be to Æolus ?
 Rave at his beck, or, like a stone, sit mute,
 While cravens eye me into conscious shame,
 And weak souls mock the torrent of my grief ?
 A chain-bound slave ! Oh, swallow me, ye waves !
 My subjects many an hour of turmoil dire,
 As well the watch-worn mariner hath known ;
 O'erwhelm me, waves, and thou, all-palling night !
 Or rather let confounding ruin shake
 The poles unto the centre ! Come ; ye brood
 Of pregnant elements, each other mar !
 And let Despair, devoted to one grasp,
 Wrench off some temple's golden dome, and through
 Its spiry neck blow thunder to the stars :
 Crack, orb'd sun ! and let thy fountains gush,
 And drain their spouting fire, till the blank shell
 Drop blind and hollow into the yawn of space :
 Die, throned gods ! since fate hath crush'd the strong !'

Bounding he sprang through the receding air,
 And wing'd him headlong, raving as he flew,
 Over the rocks and mountains ; wildly then
 Wheel'd round the pinnacles of ice afar,
 Now tinged with gleamings of the day's last smile,
 And, plunging off into the distance void,
 E'en as a diver, dubious of his goal,
 Mingled with indistinguishable night.

But Eurus, king of morning's gold-plumed winds,
 Who soar amidst the splendour of the East,

Cleaving the beams of glory, or, supine
Upon their burning radiance, slumbering calm;
Why dost thou lay thus mute,—what potent spell
Still holds thy god-like body 'neath the rocks?
Voiceless he lay, his words were drown'd in woe,
And such great sorrow as the nobler soul,
Foil'd in the hope of power to work just deeds,
Feels in his aching bosom, unreveal'd;
Till, anger'd by these inward plaints, which seem'd
A murmuring 'gainst the unreversing stream
Of circling destiny, the Idalian gods
Straight sent a flame-wing'd messenger to bear
Their sudden-form'd decree. Into his ears
These words were pour'd: 'Son of the Orient, rise!
Since pain dissatisfied and gnawing grief
Urge thee to mourn thy lot, and question close
The will supreme, in sense perchance upbraiding;
Leave thine immortal body and thy state,
And nine revolving years walk through the earth,
In soul and form, feeling of heart and limb,
With all conditions common—as a man.'

Swift at the word the soul of Eurus left
Its mighty tenement, and fill'd a form
Of mortal man! As one awaken'd new,
Conscious of impress from some dream confused,
He gazed around, and smooth'd his dizzy brow;
While, 'neath the rocky pile, outstretch'd and cold,
His own dead form he saw, and, shook by fear,
Staring and pale he fled towards the sea.

The memory of his former state remain'd
Like a great vision seen by mortal eyes;
And busy thoughts now wander'd through the rack
Of slow-fang'd circumstance and evil chance,
Birth and blind wealth o'erleaping all desert,
Hope trampled, friends unmask'd, and coming pain,
Shame, and the bitter taunts of mean desire,
Who refuge seeks in its own consciousness,
Slandering the loftier claim: but soon his mind
Turn'd to his present state, and he beheld
The sickening scene more hideous as more base.
Power o'er an element, empyreal state,
The magnanimity of throned dominion,
Great in its mildness, the high-swelling flood
Of thought sublime, or, gushing from the heart
Into the universe, the exalted sense
Surpassing all, divine humanity;
Now dwindled, abject, prostrate—and deform'd

Unto such cares and miserable hopes
As strew, like worms, the flinty path of life.

He wander'd by the shore, and look'd abroad,
Like genius 'lorn companion'd by his mood,
Into the hungry world, seen in pain'd thought.
There Fortune laugh'd and poison'd in one breath—
Ambition strove to mount a precipice,
At top of which Death sat in patience grim—
Lust boiling o'er some object foul to see,
Mean Hope devouring offals, seeming rich,
The food and appetite were base alike ;—
There, too, ran Fear, imagining a fire,
Shrieking and tearing off her robes and hair,—
And coward Greatness, cuddling-in his soul,
Lest men should see and scoff their idol down,—
There Mind and Passion, strong of act and pure,
Smote on the air, the stony earth, the sea,
And found no echo ; cried unto the deaf
Or from a mountain leapt into the clouds !
None noted—for communion loves the tomb,
And praise turns dastard at its own demurs ;
While thousands, ardent in their fancied worth,
Shout louder still, and blazon surface-gaude,
Attracting many eyes ; thus o'er life's fields
Desire and desert wage unceasing war.
Sad Eurus, now reflecting on his state,
Moved by such scenes, bethought him of his change,
Till hunger, cold, and man's necessities
Drove his high hopes into the dens of want,
And earthly cravings thrust into his heart.
So, from this lonely desert of the Winds,
Slowly his way through those far rocks he took,
And journey'd o'er the mountains mute with thought.

Now silence blank and dim oblivious night
O'er this wild region hung ; nor far-off voice
From cave or waters wander'd through the air,
In homeless echoes faint ; nor sound of feet
Pacing invisibly the washy sands,
As often in these awe-deep thrilling hours
Grew audible to sense, had presence now :
Here rest was pillow'd ; nor of moving life
Did aught appear, save steamy slumbrous breath
From figures huge recumbent on the shore,
Deeply respired at hollow intervals,
Which slowly rose like phantoms dim, and floated
O'er the dim shadows of the iron sea.

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TO EGYPT.

CHAPTER XV.

Cairo and its Environs.

CAIRO, called, by the Turks, Myssyr, is the capital of Egypt, and the seat of government. This city was built in 970, by Moezzed-din-Allah, who, having by force of arms taken possession of old Cairo, gave to its new foundation the name of El Kahira, or the City of Victory. Situated at the distance of a quarter of a league from the right bank of the Nile, this city is large and populous, but dirty, and, generally speaking, destitute of splendour and elegance, with the exception of some few public edifices. Its population amounts to more than three hundred thousand inhabitants, of all nations, but principally Turks and Arabs, after which the Kopts, Greeks, Jews, and Franks, are the most numerous.

The Kopts are said to be of the race of the ancient Egyptians. They are, of all the inhabitants of Cairo, the best educated, and, from time immemorial, have carried on here all the professions which require skill and ability. All the offices of public writers, for example, are filled by them; it is they who are chosen to regulate the affairs of the beys, to hold the registers of the duties, and other financial departments. They possess an extraordinary facility for calculation; and yet this superiority in all the transactions of business, which is the result of their natural abilities, does not make them at all less honest in their principles. Their costume is composed of a robe or pelisse of blue cloth, under which is a tunic of stuff, silk, or cotton; they wear trowsers, stockings, and shoes, and bind a shawl around the waist in the manner of a sash, in which they fix a copper inkstand, as the Turks place their poignard. Their head-dress consists of a red cap, around which they twist a long band of blue muslin, which encircles the head several times. In this country, each nation or caste has its own peculiar costume, which gives an original character to the whole population, most interesting to the eye of a foreigner.

The streets of Cairo are extremely narrow, and the windows of the houses are not glazed, but pierced with several small apertures, through which the light is admitted. These apertures are made in such a manner, that those in the interior can see without being themselves visible; a precaution evidently taken against the women, whom the despotic jealousy of the Orientals seeks always to conceal from public view.

Certain quarters of the town, particularly the bazaars, are very

much frequented at all seasons ; but they are generally so narrow that the circulation is very much confined.

The only edifices which ornament the town of Cairo, are the mosques, of which there are said to be more than three hundred. The two finest are those of *Azhar* and *Ebu-Touloun*. Both of these enjoy a very large revenue. The last has a large hospital attached to it, the expenses of which are defrayed by it. This noble establishment is capable of containing as many as five hundred persons ; it is kept in excellent order, and the invalids are treated with the greatest possible care. On their quitting the hospital, they are furnished with a sum of money, to put them in a condition to return to their homes, and to supply their immediate wants. The two mosques, of which I am now speaking, are very large, and of an extremely fine architecture. The interior is completely open, but around each building is erected an open gallery, under which the faithful perform their devotions. The most devout offer up their prayers in the midst of the mosque, in the open air, and exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. In the interior are seen large basins, filled with water, for the ablutions which the law prescribes to all Musulmans before the commencement of their devotions.

The minarets which adorn these edifices are generally very high, and there are some of which the form is at once grand and elegant. The summit of these spires is crowned by a circular gallery, from whence the *mollahs*, or public criers, at stated hours, 'summon the believers to prayer. I confess that I experienced great pleasure in listening to these calls ; they are extremely imposing and melancholy, particularly during the night, when the sonorous voices of the *mollahs*, in the midst of the universal silence which then reigns, make the air resound with these solemn words : 'True believers, who hope for salvation, prayer is better than sleep. Awake ! praise God ; there is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet.'

The inhabitants of Cairo were much astonished to see our sepoy's go to the mosque to perform their devotion. It had, indeed, a singular appearance, to see English soldiers professing the faith of the Prophet ; but our Indian troops counted in their ranks a considerable number of Mohammedans.

The public baths at Cairo are very numerous, and, contrary to the general character of the country, are remarkably clean ; the charge for their use is, likewise, extremely reasonable. They are, for the most part, vapour baths. I found the use of them as convenient as it was agreeable. Men and women have each their stated days for frequenting these public baths ; and, as the doors are never fastened, and there is no guard or porter to secure the entrance, the inhabitants of both sexes respectively make it a point of duty to avoid the approach to them on those days on which they are not exclusively set apart for themselves. Although I was perfectly aware of this custom, it had for the moment escaped my recollection,

when I, one evening, took a fancy to go to the bath, and it unfortunately happened to be one of the very days reserved for the females. I had scarcely entered, when, overwhelmed by the general clamour, I became sensible of my mistake. Whether from surprise, or from a feeling of curiosity, (I scarcely know which,) as I did not immediately retire, a crowd of women rushed towards me, some entirely naked, others only half-dressed, showing me the door with one hand, and with the other endeavouring to conceal their faces from my view. Without any further delay, I effected my retreat, and fled with the greatest precipitation; too happy to have escaped the observation of any men, who would, no doubt, have made me pay dearly for what they would have called my audacity, but which was, after all, a mere inadvertency on my part.

Two of the gates of Cairo are remarkable for their architecture; they are those of *Bab-el-Fotoul* and *Bab-el-Nasr*. The latter was constructed by order of Moez-ed-din-Allah, in commemoration of a victory of which he wished to perpetuate the remembrance.

The citadel is built on the side of the mountain of Mokatam, which completely shields it on the south side; it is the work of Saladin. The approaches to it, from the town, are extremely easy, and the beautiful mosque which is built opposite to this fortress commands the entrance to it. These fortifications, although repaired by the French, are of no other use than to keep the population of Cairo in obedience. As for the other fortresses erected by the French, on the different heights which form the chain between Old and New Cairo and Boulac, they are no longer in a condition to repel European troops; they are barely strong enough to defend the town from an attack of the Bedouins or Mamelukes; they are, besides, much too numerous, and, consequently, require a very considerable force to defend them. The citadel contains some beautiful remains of the palaces of the ancient sultans, which sufficiently prove the splendour of those now fallen, but formerly so celebrated, eastern provinces.

From the top of this fortress there is a magnificent view, which embraces more than twelve leagues of country, and the variety of which delights the eye as much as its great extent strikes the imagination. As far as the eye can reach, are seen the waters of the Nile, winding through the plain, its banks carpeted with the richest verdure, and covered with numerous villages, which gracefully show themselves from amidst the clusters of date-trees by which they are surrounded. There are the mosques of Boulac, with their beautiful minarets; there, the port of old Cairo, covered with a forest of masts and rigging; further on, the great pyramids of Gyzeh, the sight of which recalls ages long past; and, still further, those of Saccarah and Dashour; and to this at once enchanting and majestic scene, the sands of the desert form a dazzling boundary.

What various reflections the first sight of this brilliant picture

gave rise to in my mind ! What had this classic soil of Egypt, the cradle of civilisation and the arts, become under the hands of barbarians ? What remained of the ancient religion, manners, and customs of this land, which had by turns seen those Pharaohs whose pride is recorded in our sacred writings ; of that dynasty of the Lagides, under the protection of which the literature and sciences of Greece so long flourished ; and of that kingly people so great in history, and whose empire was universal, but has now passed away. At a later period, the voluptuous court of the caliphs ; the warlike tent of the sultans, which shone resplendent here ; and, lastly, when the French armies had come to this illustrious soil to restore it, perhaps, to its former splendour, European policy opposed it, and replunged it into obscurity and barbarism. The peaceable inhabitants, happy on this head, at least, in their ignorance, never gave themselves up to these recollections ; but they appreciated the administration of the French, and never ceased to regret it.

Amongst the numerous canals which intersect the country, and add to its beauty, the most considerable is that which passes through Cairo, and afterwards fertilises the plain which extends to the east of Heliopolis. When the waters of the Nile are sufficiently high to flow into this canal, it is opened with great pomp. I remember having once been present at this ceremony, and having been exposed to the liability of paying dearly for the curiosity which had induced me to become a spectator of it. Scarcely were the dikes opened, when all the gun-boats on the river immediately commenced a general firing, in signal of rejoicing ; with astonishment we heard the balls whiz past us, as on a day of battle. This unforeseen danger, of which many of us with difficulty escaped being the victims, arose from a custom which is prevalent among the Turks, of never unloading their cartouches during the time of war. The Grand Vizier, who was present at the fête, in a mosque erected, for the occasion, on the borders of the canal, vainly endeavoured to repress these excesses. The tumultuous shouts of the crowd, and the incessant noise of the discharges, prevented his officers from making themselves heard ; and it was not until they had entirely exhausted their cartouches, that the soldiery ceased their destructive fire.

In looking towards the desert, in the direction of this canal, you perceive a vast space, filled with a prodigious number of mausoleums, which entirely cover the whole surface of the soil ; it is *the City of the Dead*, the spot consecrated to the reception of the remains of those believers who have paid the tribute of nature. The number of those funeral monuments, and the elegant variety of their forms, give to the whole an extremely picturesque appearance.

One of the many curiosities to be seen in Cairo is the famous *Joseph's Well*, hollowed in the rock, and of a very considerable depth. This well, which is enclosed within the citadel, and is suffi-

cient to supply it with water in case of a siege, is the work of the celebrated Saladin, whose first name (Yousouf) it still bears. I descended it by a winding stair, cut in the living rock, and which leads to its source; from thence my cicerone pointed out the opening to my notice, which, from that depth, looked like a mere speck, and had the appearance of a star, in the midst of the surrounding darkness. The water is raised to the summit by means of wheels moved by oxen, and from thence branches off into several small canals, by means of which it is distributed through the interior of the fortress.

Cairo is the general dépôt for all the merchandise of Europe, India, and Africa. The former is brought thither from Alexandria; the latter comes through Suez and Kossêir, and by caravans from Abyssinia and Darfour. The town itself possesses several manufactories of morocco, silks, and cloths of the most beautiful quality, besides numerous goldsmiths' shops.

The Government having reserved to itself an exclusive monopoly of grains, no individual enters into this commerce without an especial firman which authorises him to do so, and fixes the quantity he may be permitted to export. These firmans, from the exorbitant price which is demanded for them, form an abundant source of revenue to the Viceroy by whom they are granted.

The bazaars, or public markets, although very rich in merchandise of every description, contribute very little to the embellishment of the city, because they are in general badly lighted, and the eye in vain seeks for that elegant display of goods which is seen in our European warehouses. Taste, a quality so common in our country, is, generally speaking, scarcely ever to be met with among the Orientals; a state of civilisation infinitely more advanced than that which they have yet attained, being requisite to develop and render it in any degree universal.

I have frequently met, in the streets of Cairo, a procession, the appearance of which is, to a stranger, extremely gay and imposing; it is on the occasion of a marriage, which every Musulman in easy circumstances invariably celebrates with great pomp. The husband, mounted on a beautiful horse, opens the procession; next comes the bride, on foot, escorted by two other females, and all three swathed, like mummies, and scarcely retaining the semblance of human beings. The wife dressed in white, covered with jewels, and her head crowned with flowers, walks slowly in the midst of her accolytes, whose black robes, from head to foot, render their appearance sepulchral. Music, if such a name can be given to a discordant concert of drums and trumpets, is an indispensable part of the ceremony. If to this you add a dozen of absurd-looking figures, armed with sticks, who bring up the procession, and disperse the crowd by the prodigal distribution of their favours, you will have a

complete idea of a Turkish marriage, as it is celebrated on the shores of the Nile.

The climate of Cairo is very fine. The temperature rarely exceeds a moderate degree of heat, the sky always brilliant, and the air extremely healthy. It is equally rare here as throughout the rest of Egypt, to meet with old men whose sight has not suffered greatly; persons totally blind are very numerous, and those only retaining one eye, still more so. The strong reflection of the sun on the dazzling sands, the high temperature of the climate, and the habitual dryness of the air, sufficiently explain these frequent diseases of the eye. Our troops were attacked by ophthalmia, and, at a later period, brought this epidemic affection into England, which spread so quickly, and in such an alarming manner, that the Government found itself obliged to establish a hospital for the especial treatment of this disorder. A much more formidable disease, the plague, commits frequent ravages in Cairo; but it is a singular and extraordinary fact, that, on the 24th of June, St. John's Day, the Franks, who, until that period, carefully shut themselves up in their own particular quarter of the town, whilst this epidemic rages, open their doors, as though every motive of fear had ceased. The truth is, that, from this day, the plague appears to lose its malignity, and does not again break out with any violence until the commencement of winter. In order to withdraw, from this fact, what may, at the first view, appear to savour a little of the miraculous, it should be observed, that, this epoch of the 24th of June coinciding precisely with that of the overflowing of the Nile, the general inundation which results from it, has, no doubt, a beneficial influence on the atmosphere, and purifies it from all pestilential miasma.

There are no carriages seen at Cairo; but, in their stead, donkeys are stationed in every public place for the use of the inhabitants, in the same manner as hackney-coaches are in all our large towns. The pace of these animals is extremely agreeable, being a gentle trot; and the charge for their hire is remarkably moderate. The proprietor or keeper places himself behind his beast, which he holds by the tail with one hand, whilst, with the other, he spurs it with a kind of goad in order to accelerate its pace. Thus escorted, and seated on a very high saddle, you may make your visits, and transact your business, for a very trifling expense.

The caravansaries, or hotels for strangers, are scarcely less numerous here than the coffee-houses. These latter are constantly filled with a crowd of idlers, who go there to take sherbet, smoke their pipes, see the dancing of the *almeh*, and, above all, to hear, from the mouths of strolling improvisators, those marvellous histories of which the 'Thousand and One Nights' give an admirable idea, and the recital of which, always the same in substance, but varied in form, is the delight of Orientals of all ages, and constitutes their favourite pastime. The coffee which is served in these es-

tablishments, is not prepared at all according to the European custom, and may rather be called a solid than a fluid. The grain, instead of being ground as with us, is pounded in a mortar, after having been well torrifed,—the Turks believing this process to be less destructive to the bean, which opinion seems to have been confirmed by recent experiments made in Europe.

The caravans from Abyssinia and Darfour, bring annually to Cairo a great number of slaves of both sexes. I have sometimes visited the market in which these unfortunate beings are sold ; but the sight has always been most painful and revolting to my feelings. It is impossible to behold, without the deepest sentiment of pity, these unhappy creatures brought out from the caves in which they are confined, and exposed in the public bazaars like any common merchandise, the quality of which determines its price. These wretched victims of human cupidity are often so weary of the yoke which oppresses them, and the barbarity with which they are treated, that they with tears supplicate you to purchase them, hoping, at least, by changing their chains, to ameliorate in some degree their miserable condition. Add to this picture the hideous features of the dealers, their copper-coloured complexions, the filthy appearance of their hair, their frightful grimaces, and their disgusting language ; and you may then form some idea of these revolting scenes, which the recent disasters in the Greek Islands are unfortunately again making but too common.

The beauty of the Asiatic women, with which the harems of the East are filled, is a little exaggerated in Europe. There are, no doubt, some surpassingly beautiful, and in general there are more pretty females seen, in proportion to their numbers, than in our climates ; but the period of youth is with them of very short duration, and the freshness of that age lasts here but for a day. An excessive embonpoint, which is no doubt occasioned by their sedentary mode of life, tends at a very early age to weaken their charms, and destroy the elegance of their forms ; and they but ill understand that art, so judiciously exercised by our females,

‘ *De réparer des ans l’irréparable outrage.*’

The Egyptians retain the appearance of youth much longer ; their complexion is indeed rather faded ; but they have magnificent eyes, very white teeth, and are, generally speaking, very well made. Women in easy circumstances are scarcely ever seen on foot : they go out mounted on mules, and so completely covered, that it is impossible to discover the slightest resemblance to a human form : the eyes alone are visible.

Outside the walls of the town, and near the small arm of the Nile, which runs by the island of Roudah, opposite to old Cairo, is a beautiful plain, in which, during our stay, the Turks and Mamelukes performed the djerid exercise. The djerid is a kind of javelin without point ; and the skill in using it consists in throwing it at

your adversary, without striking yourself. This feat is always performed on horseback; and it is difficult to say which to admire most, the boldness and grace of the horsemen, or the astonishing docility of their chargers, which seem really to be endowed with wonderful instinct. Turks of a certain rank do not join in these trials of skill; but they honour them with their presence, and exercise a kind of patronage over them; and it is an object of great ambition amongst the subalterns to obtain the approbation of their chiefs, by the address which they display before them.

In the neighbourhood of Cairo, at the distance of about half a league, are two considerable towns, those of Old Cairo and Boulac. The public establishments of this latter town are numerous and large, particularly the custom-house; it is the depôt for all merchandise coming from Europe by way of Alexandria and Rosetta, as is the former for all that which is brought from Africa and Upper Egypt.

Old Cairo is almost as ancient as Alexandria, and succeeded to all the splendour of that city, when it usurped its place as the capital of Egypt, as the city of the Ptolemies itself had formerly dethroned the proud Memphis. The Greek princes of Byzantium still reigned within its walls, when, in the eleventh year of the Hegira, (633 after J. C.) it was taken, after a long siege, by Amrou-ben-Aas, who imposed on it the faith of the Prophet. The name of *Misr*, which it then bore, very emphatically signified *The Place, par excellence*, as Rome was formerly called *Urbs*, or the *City of Cities*, when the sun, according to the poets, saw nothing in its whole course so great as it.

Amongst the number of edifices which, in this fallen city, still attract attention, is a small chapel, which is religiously believed, by the Christians of the country, to have been raised on the spot in which was deposited the cradle of the infant Jesus, at the time of the flight of the holy family from Egypt; they also show a grotto which served as an asylum for the Virgin Mary. The chapel is shown by Kopt priests, who are maintained there by the piety of the Franks.

Joseph's Granaries are also included in the curiosities of Cairo. They are large buildings, in which is deposited by the Government all the corn set apart for commerce. Their construction is said to be of great antiquity.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Army receives an Order to proceed to Alexandria, a Detachment remains at Gyzeh—A detail of some of the Incidents which occurred in the Garrison up to the 7th of October—Pyramids of Gyzeh—Heliopolis.

On the 19th of August, the army received orders to proceed to Alexandria, which were immediately obeyed. A superior officer and some troopers were left at Gyzeh, to keep up the communication be-

tween Suez and Upper Egypt, and to correspond with the Grand Vizier and the authorities of Cairo. Brigadier-General Ramsay was charged with the command of this detachment. He retained under his orders two companies of the tenth regiment, two of the sixty-first, four hundred sepoys of the second battalion of the first Bombay regiment, a detachment of artillery, two twelve-pound pieces, an officer of engineers, sixteen sailors for keeping up the bridge, and, lastly, the troop of camels.

The house of Mourâd Bey which, as I have before said, had been fortified by the French, was made the place of head-quarters. The European troops were lodged in this house, which was large and very commodious; and posts were established in the town, and in the different avenues which led to it.

The garrison did not contain a single Turkish troop; thus, happily for Gyzeh, our tranquillity was not disturbed for a single moment, during our stay there of nine months.

The town of Gyzeh is large, and built on the left bank of the Nile, which is here extremely broad; it is distant about a league and a half from Cairo, and three leagues from the Pyramids. The house, which served us for head-quarters, and which was situated at the northern extremity of the town on a very fine quay, was surrounded by delicious gardens filled with orange-trees and flowers. The apartments were spacious, and the stables sufficiently large to accommodate three hundred horses. The sepoys had their barracks to the south within gunshot of the European troops.

The French had established large warehouses for artillery at Gyzeh, where we found a number of old Turkish cannons, stone-bullets, and other projectiles in iron.

The eastern expedition had greatly civilised this country, and given to its inhabitants a very exalted idea of our European Governments. In many places, they spoke a little French. The Kopts alone witnessed with pain the change in a state of things which assured to them the peaceful and lucrative monopoly of their skill and industry. They were, however, in some degree indemnified for their losses, by the various employments with which we charged them; and they soon became sensible of how much they owed to the English troops, whose presence preserved them from the outrages which the Turks would undoubtedly have committed against all those who evinced any devotion towards the French. Some were, it is true, in spite of our efforts, ill-treated; but their number was very small, and we succeeded in saving the mass of the people from a re-action, which would have been terrible in its effects.

Whilst the Indian army was advancing towards Alexandria, they learned that this place had surrendered, and that the garrison was on the point of returning to France.

The campaign, therefore, was now completely at an end. A great

portion of the English troops had already received orders to sail. They left,—the war was terminated; and the re-establishment of public security now permitted all persons to indulge their long-repressed curiosity without fear, or to seek for those pleasures from which they had so long been compelled to abstain. The desire to visit the Pyramids was, above all, general; people hastened to them in crowds, and thought they had never seen and admired them enough. It is worthy of remark, that the proportions of these gigantic works are so beautiful, that you are not, on first beholding them, sensible of their immense height, or of the enormous size of the stones of which they are constructed; and it is only on reaching their base that you are enabled to form an accurate judgment of all the magnificence of these prodigious masses. No words can give an idea of the astonishment and admiration with which this imposing object inspires the beholder.

I penetrated into the interior of the great pyramid of Cheops, the only one then open. (Another has, I believe, since been explored by Belzoni.) Finding it impossible to resist the ardent desire I felt to reach the summit, I made the attempt. It was not without great difficulty, however, that I succeeded in accomplishing my object; being perfectly exhausted with fatigue, and in a state of giddiness difficult to describe, I inscribed my name on the door of this pyramid amongst those of the travellers who had preceded me in visiting it.

On the 20th of September, we made an excursion by water to the city of Heliopolis, situated to the east of Cairo, in the desert. The beautiful obelisk of red granite which is still to be seen here, and which commemorates the time of the Roman dominion, was, at the period of our visiting it, in the midst of the general inundation.

On the 26th, we received a letter from the Grand Vizier, brought by M. Stefano, his dragoman. The purport of it was, to demand permission of our General to send one of his officers, with a Turkish Commission, to make a list of the guns and ammunition left behind by the French. The General gave his consent; and, a few days after, the Commission arrived, made the inventory, and carried away the pieces.

Mr. Hamilton, who belonged to the English embassy at Constantinople, Captain Leake of the Artillery, and Lieutenant Hayes of the Engineers, arrived about this time at Gyzeh, with the intention of making a voyage into Upper Egypt. For this purpose, they had a spacious djerme prepared for them, which we armed with several small cannon. These gentlemen left towards the end of September, taking with them a detachment of European soldiers, and some sepoys; amongst these latter, they selected principally Hindoos, from having observed, that, in passing through Denderah, the sepoys of this caste had recognised several of their divinities sculptured on the walls of the temple. They hoped from this circumstance to be

enabled to throw some light on the religion of the ancient Egyptians, and its connection with that of the Hindoos. They did not, however, obtain any satisfactory intelligence on this subject. The Expedition proceeded as far as the Cataracts, and even passed them. The officers who accompanied it made an extremely beautiful chart of the course of the Nile, and brought back with them a valuable collection of drawings of the various monuments they had visited.

On the 28th of September, the river was so much swollen as to cover the whole of the flat country. It is to this periodical inundation, and to the fecundating quality of the mud which it deposits, that Lower and Middle Egypt is indebted, as it is well known, for the extreme fertility of its soil,—as rain scarcely ever falls in this country; and, during the seventeen months of my stay there, I only once saw a very slight shower.

Still, however, the waters of the Nile continued to rise, and its course was becoming every day more impetuous; when, on the 7th of October, a part of the bridge of boats at Gyzeh gave way, and was carried by the current as far as Boulac, with the sepoy who was on duty there. We saw this unfortunate creature pass beneath our windows, still walking at his post, as though he were exposed to no risk. Our prompt assistance, however, released him from his dangerous situation.

The same day we felt, also, a slight earthquake. The shocks, although powerful, happily caused very little damage, and did not last more than a few seconds.

CHAPTER XVII.

Description of the Mamelukes and Beys, and their influence in Egypt—Their conduct at the time of the Conquest of this Country by the French Army—The Turks attempt to get rid of them by Treason—Massacre of the Mamelukes at Aboukir—Conduct of the English on this occasion—Account of this Revolution.

For many years the Beys, the masters of Egypt, which they had subjugated by their bravery, had divided amongst themselves the different provinces, and appropriated them to their own particular use. Under the sovereignty of the Porte, whose power they still recognised by name, they long continued to enjoy the real authority by means of an annual tribute to the Grand Signor, who never relaxed, however, in his endeavours to put them down, until he became sensible of the inutility of his efforts. The slaves brought from Circassia, Georgia, and other Asiatic provinces, conducted by skilful chiefs, who were chosen from among their own body, had invariably beaten the troops opposed to them, and, perpetuating their numbers by the recruits brought to them by slave-dealers, continued by their courage to maintain their position. They raised themselves from the lowest ranks of the militia to the highest honours. It

was, in fact, necessary to have been a slave, in order to become a bey.

I knew but one who had obtained this dignity without having sprung from that origin : he was the son of Ibrahim Bey. All the others had been bought, and had served at first as simple Mamelukes. Mohammed Bey, for instance, was only surnamed *Elfy*, which signifies *a thousand*, on account of his having been purchased for a thousand sequins.

The beauty of these men is not less remarkable than their prodigious strength and extreme bravery. They are excellent horsemen ; and, using their arms with astonishing dexterity, their sabre, which is of a finer temper than ours, becomes in their hands a formidable weapon. I saw Soliman Aga, one of their officers, strike off the head of a buffalo of three years with a single stroke of the scimitar.

At the time of the landing of the French army in Egypt, the Beys and their Mamelukes vigorously disputed the possession of the land. Their political existence, in fact, depended on it ; but the contending parties were too unequal, and European tactics conquered that which valour alone was unable to defend.

Among the heroic actions by which this sanguinary warfare was signalised, one in particular was related on the part of the vanquished, which had astonished even the French themselves, much as they are familiarised with every kind of heroism and disinterested valour. On the memorable day of the Battle of the Pyramids, a brother of Sélîm Abou-dâhab, despairing, after several repeated charges, of succeeding in cutting a passage through a square battalion, whose destructive fire was committing dreadful havoc amongst his Mamelukes, formed the generous resolution of sacrificing himself to the general safety. At the head of fifty of his men, who, inspired by his enthusiasm, had sworn to follow him to the last, he precipitated himself with fury on the enemy. Arrived in front of the ranks, a wall of iron stops them ; these brave men make their horses rear and descend on the bayonets, cut down with their scimitars the surrounding arms and weapons ; and, thus breaking through these formidable lines, they meet a glorious death in opening a passage to their fellow-soldiers. This exalted action, and many similar ones, of chivalrous bravery among the Mamelukes, were not, however, sufficient to prevent their defeat ; they might, however, in some degree, console them under it. The Battle of the Pyramids lost, they retired into Upper Egypt, as high as the cataracts, where the conquerors vainly pursued them. They were still there when the arrival of the English and the army of the Grand Vizier permitted them to quit the position they had so successfully maintained. They came to rejoin their allies, and again take possession of their property.

At first, nothing gave indication of the hostile intentions of the Turks towards them ; they seemed, on the contrary, to be particularly anxious to maintain the harmony which then existed between them ; but it was only the calm which precedes a storm. Weakened by the great losses they had sustained, the Mamelukes had, indeed, recruited their numbers, by slaves brought from Abyssinia and Georgia, and some French deserters, who appeared to be happy with them, if, indeed, it is possible to enjoy happiness after having sacrificed religion, honour, and country ; but these insufficient reinforcements were far from filling the enormous voids which the enemy's steel had made in their ranks. The moment, therefore, appeared favourable to the Turks striking the blow which should restore to them their ancient importance in Egypt, and this blow, of which they still delayed the execution, was to be nothing less than a general massacre of all the Beys ; this Machiavellian conception, worthy of the policy of the Divan, was encircled by so much mystery, and the secret so well kept, that not one of the intended victims entertained the slightest suspicion of the fate which awaited them. The Vizier and the Reis Effendi treated them in the most friendly manner, and made them frequent presents, seeking, by this means, to lull them into confidence, and they succeeded.

After the taking of Alexandria, the greatest number of the Beys thought it requisite to pay their respects to General Hutchinson. The army was on the point of quitting the country, and they were anxious to thank the chief before he left, for the assistance he had rendered them. They repaired, therefore, to the camp near Aboukir, where the Capitan Pasha was also encamped with a Turkish corps, not far from the fleet which was lying in the bay.

The English General having received them with every mark of distinction, the Ottoman Admiral, who was present, affected similar sentiments towards them, and showed an intention of giving a public testimony of his sincerity. For this purpose he invited them to a splendid breakfast, which he had, he said, prepared for them on board his own ship. The officers of the army, who were well acquainted with the perfidy of the Turks, and particularly of the personage who so suddenly evinced so much affability and condescension, vainly endeavoured to dissuade the Beys from accepting this equivocal invitation. They still persisted in going, and found on the shore the canoes belonging to the fleet, with a pretended guard of honour waiting to receive them. They departed, accompanied by the Capitan Pasha ; a packet-boat arrived ; the Capitan pretended to have received important despatches, and solicited permission to retire, for a few moments, to peruse their contents. He rowed off with the greatest speed, and, the moment he was no longer within pistol-shot, gave the signal for the general massacre. The Beys, surprised and exasperated, defended themselves with desperate courage. One of their officers, Soliman Aga, seized a Turk, and, using him as a

buckler, presented him to all the blows directed against himself, and thus saved his own life. But his brethren, overpowered by numbers, soon felt that all resistance was vain; they fell beneath the steel of the Osmanlies, and those who miraculously escaped the edge of the sabre, were conveyed on board the Admiral's vessel, and made prisoners.

The English troops, who had witnessed this frightful carnage, threatened the Ottoman camp with an attack, if they did not immediately restore the Beys either dead or alive. The Turks, intimidated, yielded to our demand; and the Pasha most reluctantly beheld his prey torn from him. It is impossible to describe the horror and indignation which this brutal massacre excited throughout our army; and it was with the greatest difficulty that the troops could be restrained from charging the Turks. The admiral, justly alarmed, saw himself compelled to restore even the dead bodies of the unfortunate Mamelukes who had fallen beneath the poignards of his followers. These sad remains were transported to our camp, where they were interred with all the honours of war.

Whilst the Osmanlies were assassinating at Aboukir, they were by no means idle at Cairo. They deceived the Beys by the most artful flatteries, distributing to them robes of honour, as a mark of distinction, and satisfaction for the services rendered by them during the war, and, when they imagined they had sufficiently lulled their vigilance, suddenly attacked and massacred them without pity. As we heard from Gyzeh a brisk firing, and could even distinguish the light of the shots which issued from the windows of Old Cairo, where every thing appeared to be in motion, and as we could discern horsemen pursuing each other, we concluded that some uproar had burst forth, of the cause of which we were ignorant, when M. Stefano, dragoman to the Grand Vizier, arrived, on the part of his master, with a message to General Ramsay, intreating him to stop Sêlim Abou-dâhab and his Mamelukes, if they presented themselves near our station; because, as he said, Sêlim, at the head of his people, had pillaged a Turkish caravan, journeying to Mecca.

At eleven in the evening, a detachment of Mamelukes arrived, and requested permission to place themselves under the protection of the English. Their wish was granted. These unfortunate creatures were in the most wretched condition; dying with hunger, overcome with fatigue, and covered with mud. Surprised by a body of Arnauts, they had only been able to find safety in flight; and even this they would have had little chance of accomplishing, had not their ferocious enemies been still more anxious for booty than for carnage, and thus lost the time that should have been employed in pursuing them, in disputing the possession of the spoils. The joy which they experienced at having escaped the fury

of the Turks, did not, however, calm the inquietude which the uncertain fate of Sèlim occasioned them. This Bey was not with them at the time of the unexpected attack, having been confined by the pain occasioned by a wound in the shoulder, received at the Battle of the Pyramids, which had re-opened.

General Ramsay, indignant at such a detestable plot, and the base calumny by which the Vizier had endeavoured to influence him, ordered me to depart immediately for Cairo, to announce the arrival of Selim's Mamelukes, under the command of Mohammed Aga, and to signify to the Grand Vizier, that he had taken them under his protection, until he should receive further orders from the Commander-in-chief.

I departed; but, on my arrival at Cairo, the Turks received me with a volley of muskets. Happily, however, I escaped them all. I proceeded to the house of M. Stefano, who immediately accompanied me to the Reis Effendi, and from thence to the Grand Vizier himself. This latter listened to my message, praised my expedition, and charged me to thank the General for the zeal he had evinced in this affair. He was happy, he added, that the Mamelukes had fallen into his hands, not doubting that he would receive an order to give them up to him. 'But the General,' said I, 'has taken them under his protection.' 'It is precisely that,' replied he, ironically, 'at which I am so much delighted;' and then, turning towards the dragoman, gave orders for his preparing to accompany me, as the bearer of a message from himself to the General.

The countenance of the Vizier did not deceive me. I easily perceived the fermentation which reigned amongst the Turks. All the avenues to the place were guarded, and numerous patrols paraded the street. The Government palace, as well as that of the Reis Effendi, was filled with troops.

I re-entered Gyzeh about seven in the morning, accompanied by M. Stefano, whom I immediately conducted to the house of the General, to whom I gave a circumstantial account of my mission.

The dragoman communicated to him the Grand Vizier's desire to obtain from him permission for the return of the Mamelukes to Cairo, under a solemn promise to forget their crimes, and not to treat them with any severity, exacting from them, nevertheless, the delivery of Selim into his hands. A positive refusal being the reply of the General to these terms, M. Stefano then demanded permission to see Mohammed Aga, which was granted. He tried, by the kindest and most conciliating expressions, to seduce him to his purpose, and to engage him to betray the retreat of Selim, but in vain. Mohammed replied, that he was ignorant of it. M. Stefano then used every endeavour to induce him to accompany him

to Cairo, and to persuade his Mamelukes to do the same : the Aga, however, only laughed at him.

General Ramsay, who did not in the least doubt the scene which had been described as taking place at Aboukir, immediately sent an account of it, as well as of every thing which had passed under his own observation, to the Commander-in-chief, and begged to receive orders from him as to the manner in which he was to proceed. Troops were immediately sent to Gyzeh to reinforce our garrison, which was scarcely strong enough to secure the place from an assault.

Sir John Stuart was ordered to depart for Cairo, for the purpose of compelling the Vizier to comply with the Commander-in-chief's demands in favour of the Mamelukes, and to induce him to release those whom he had retained prisoners at Cairo. General Ramsay's conduct throughout the whole affair was highly approved by Lord Hutchinson, who testified his satisfaction by a letter to him.

This approbation was the more flattering to the General, as he had acted from the impulse of his feelings, and without any instructions to guide him in this delicate affair.

The Vizier, however, who still continued to attach great importance to the possession of Selim, sent Stefano to us with a firman, which gave to this Bey perfect security, both for his own person and those of his followers, if he repaired to Cairo. M. Stefano left this firman at Gyzeh, in the hands of the Turkish messenger, charged him to deliver it to the Bey and to await his reply, and promised to return himself. He did not, however, again make his appearance ; and the messenger also left us on the following day, under the pretext that the dragoman was ill, and that he was consequently obliged to rejoin him. At length, on the morning of the 24th, a djerm arrived and stopped under our windows : it was Selim, who immediately sent one of his Mamelukes to General Ramsay to request the favour of an interview with him. The General deputed me to receive him and conduct him to his house. On entering the apartment, the Bey placed both his sabre and pistols on the table, and commanded his attendants to follow his example. He then advanced, and, with the greatest dignity, threw himself into the arms of the General, imploring his assistance against the Turks, who persecuted him and his followers, and at the same time declaring that he surrendered himself to the English. He hoped, he said, that his confidence would be the less likely to be betrayed, as, since the landing of the army, the conduct of the Mamelukes had certainly merited the benevolence and aid which they had solicited.

The General's first step was that which humanity dictated : he welcomed the fugitive with that kindness, so natural to him, and immediately restored him his arms, saying, at the same time, that

it was as a friend, and not as a prisoner, he wished to receive him. He then informed him that he had collected his Mamelukes together under the command of Mohammed Aga for some days previous, that they were all in good health, but very uneasy as to his fate. After having said this, he presented his hand to the Bey, who hastily seized, and pressed it with the warmest feelings of thankfulness. Selim was so much penetrated with gratitude at the kindness of this reception, that he always after gave the General the name of father, and myself, who had been the first to receive him, that of brother. He was perfectly exhausted with fatigue, and much weakened by fever, having been wandering in the deserts with a chief of the Bedouins of the tribe of the Ababdelis, who accompanied him to Gyzeh, and remained there until the departure of the Mamelukes. By thus reaching our quarters in safety, he fortunately escaped the Turks who were in pursuit of him.

The General then despatched a message to Mohammed Aga, who, with his Mamelukes, came to throw themselves at the feet of their beloved master. I never remember to have witnessed a more touching scene. The impression which it made on me will never be effaced from my recollection : it gave me a most exalted idea of the fidelity of these noble people, and moved every one present to tears.

This interview having lasted some time, the General invited the Bey to retire to an apartment which he had prepared for him above his own, in order to repose after his fatigues, and to take the refreshment of which he stood so much in need.

Selim Bey was a man of about fifty, possessing a handsome countenance and commanding figure. Time, which had already greyed his beard, had yet taken nothing from the vivacity of his hazel eyes. His bravery was almost unparalleled, and his strength prodigious. The French, who had fully proved this, had changed his name from *Abou-dâhab* to *Beau-diable*.

I was sent to announce the arrival of Selim to the Grand Vizier. I first presented myself to the Reis Effendi, who gave me a polite reception, entreated me not to communicate the intelligence to any one, (from the fear, no doubt, that it might come to the ears of the Mamelukes and defeat his projects,) and accompanied me himself to the house of the Grand Vizier, to which we were conducted by a numerous escort.

The chief minister received me with great politeness, and appeared satisfied, (or at least feigned to be so,) with the intelligence of Selim's being at Gyzeh. He begged that I would permit Byram Bey, one of his principal officers, and his dragoman, whom he had charged with a message to the General and to Selim, to accompany me. I, of course, consented, and we immediately returned to Gyzeh.

The Vizier was a handsome old man, and, for his age, still extremely active and vigorous. The accident by which he had been deprived of an eye, did not prevent his countenance from being very imposing; this event, unfortunate as it was, afforded him an opportunity of gaining a noble victory over his passions. One of his officers, performing in his presence the exercise of the djerid, had the awkwardness to direct his weapon against the Vizier, and the misfortune to strike his face. The officer believed himself lost, and instantly fled; the Vizier, however, caused him to be brought back into his presence, coolly admonished him on his imprudence, and, placing a purse in his hand, named him Governor of some distant town, with orders to quit Cairo immediately, fearing the spirit of revenge might take possession of him, and drive him to punish the man who had caused him so cruel a loss. This had happened several years before, at the period of my stay in Egypt; the officer still lived, and was in possession of his Government. Generally speaking, the Grand Vizier enjoyed an excellent reputation; and I am induced to believe, that, in the whole affair of the Beys, he had yielded more to circumstances, and the formal orders of his Government, than to his own inclinations. I have heard it said, by persons worthy of credit, that he was enjoined to have the Capitan Pasha beheaded, if that officer refused to obey his orders, and that the Capitan, in his turn, was authorised to get rid of the Vizier, if he saw him hesitate in executing the commands of the Porte.

The Reis Effendi was also a very fine man, and in the prime of life. The elegance of his manners, and the cultivation of his mind, however, ill disguised the violence of his character, at once despotic and artful; of which the Vizier himself suffered the yoke, without once suspecting it. I had known this diplomatist in London, where he had been sent by the Porte, in 1796; and this circumstance was by no means disadvantageous to me. Being at his house one morning, awaiting his reply to despatches of which I had been the bearer, my ears were assailed with the most horrible cries. I was seated at the moment near the Minister, who, remarking that I was approaching the window for the purpose of ascertaining the cause, said to me, "Sit down, it is nothing; these people cry out on the slightest occasion." Not wishing to appear incredulous, I returned to my seat; but, on quitting the house, I was shocked at the sight of six dead bodies on the threshold of the door. The heads of some were placed between their legs, of others under their arms; the former were Christians, the latter Mohammedans. I then understood what the *nothing* of the Reis Effendi signified.

I arrived at Gyzeli with Byram Bey, chief of the Albanians, and M. Stefano, and proceeded immediately to the house of General Ramsay, to whom I presented my two companions. M. Stefano said to the General, that, Byram being an intimate friend of Selim's, the Vizier had sent him, in the hope that he might be able to pre-

vail on him to return to Cairo, and, at the same time, again to thank the General for having communicated to him the arrival of the Bey.

I was then sent by the General to apprise Selim of the visit of Byram Bey, and to ask if he would receive him. Selim consented to admit him; and the Chief of the Albanians was accordingly introduced into his apartment. He spoke to him of the friendly intentions of the Vizier towards him; assured him, on his own behalf, of his protection and kindness; adding, that he would furnish him with every guarantee requisite for his security, if he would consent to return to Cairo.

Selim, who was confined to his bed by a high fever, listened to this long discourse with considerable impatience, and, when at length it became his turn to speak, declared, with the greatest firmness, that he was too well aware of the habitual treachery of the Turks to rely, for a single moment, on their promises. 'Never,' said he, 'will I be fool enough to permit myself to be taken thither; I will not quit Gyzeh, where I am under the protection of the English.' Byram Bey renewed his entreaties; he assured him, on his honour, that the Vizier would treat him with the greatest distinction, and restore him all his property. 'Restore it to me!' cried Selim, 'and have not your Albanians, whom he sent against me, robbed me of every thing? If the intentions of the Vizier towards me are such as you describe, why did he send five hundred men in pursuit of me? Was it to prove his friendship to me, or to revenge his pretended caravan? No, no, I am not to be deceived thus; I am here, and here I will remain.'

Still, however, Byram Bey continued to press his suit, and to entreat him to return to Cairo. 'It is useless,' replied Selim, 'nothing on earth can induce me to quit Gyzeh. Why should I go to Cairo? For what purpose? Am I not in the house of an ally of the Porte?' 'But,' replied Byram, 'the Beys, your brothers, are at Cairo, and have determined to undertake a journey to Constantinople, for the purpose of laying their claims at the feet of the Grand Signor. Would it not be better, both for them and yourself, that you should join them?' 'No,' answered Selim, 'when they depart, I will follow them; but until then, I remain here.'

Byram, finding that it was impossible to prevail on Selim to quit Gyzeh, bade him adieu, and returned to the General. He then, for the first time, laid aside the mask, and had the impudence to propose to him, that he should compel Selim to return to Cairo. The General revolted at the idea of such a proposition, and sent back the emissary with disdain and contempt.

Whilst this was taking place at Gyzeh, the Grand Vizier was endeavouring to persuade the Beys at Cairo that he was acting in concert with the English, and that every thing was decided as re-

garded them. These unhappy creatures believed him, and, in the hope of at least saving their heads, wrote and signed every thing he desired. It was by this means that a letter was extracted from them to the Grand Signor, in which they warmly praised the moderation of his Ministry, and solicited his Highness's permission to lay their homage at the foot of the imperial throne. An emissary was immediately despatched to Selim, to obtain his signature to the letter; but his suspicion had been excited against every thing that came from Cairo, and he positively refused to add his name to those of the other Beys. All these negotiations having failed, the Vizier had recourse to presents, which General Ransay returned with disdain. The Vizier next thought of addressing himself to the Commander-in-chief, and sent a deputation to him, consisting of M. Rosetti, Consul-General of Austria; a Mameluke officer, whom he had seduced over to his party; and a Turkish officer, charged to neglect nothing which might insure the success of the negotiation. They were to endeavour to persuade Lord Hutchinson that the Beys had determined on returning to Constantinople, and also on taking with them the letter of which they were to give him a copy; that they threw themselves on the justice of his Highness, and entirely relied on his decision. General Ransay, having been informed of this shameful deceit, sent an account of it to his Commander, and charged Rosetti with the despatch.

Rosetti had played a very important part in Egypt, where he had resided for many years. Acute, artful, and insinuating, he had first been Consul of Venice, his native country, before the political existence of that republic was destroyed, and afterwards of Austria and England, which double functions he at that time filled. He was applied to on all occasions of peculiar delicacy, and was especially charged with our communications with India, by way of Suez and Kossëir. Held in equal estimation by the Turks and Arabs, he often appeased their quarrels, and put an amicable termination to their differences. The Government, to whom he had rendered some important services, had given him the tenure of the village of Terrâneh, situated between Kahmânîeh and Cairo, on the left bank of the Nile.

Arrived at head-quarters, Rosetti presented himself to Lord Hutchinson, with the other members of the deputation; but a confidential letter from General Ransay had already preceded him, and put the Commander in possession of all the facts. He perused those of the Vizier and Mamelukes, and, then turning towards Rosetti, 'In what quality,' said he, 'do you present yourself before me?' 'As the bearer of despatches from the Vizier and the Beys.' 'Go, and take back with you these presents; I am not to be made the dupe of all these impostures.' Saying this, he tore the despatches, and threw the fragments at the feet of the Turks; at the same time, ordering the messengers to quit his quarters instantly,

under pain of being arrested. Then addressing Rosetti, 'As the emissary of the Vizier,' said he, 'I give you the same orders; but, as Consul-general of Austria, I am extremely happy to see you, and shall be glad for you to remain as long as may be agreeable to yourself.' All their stratagems having failed, they at length resolved on having recourse to force. We received information that they were preparing an attack, to carry off Selim and his Mamelukes; in consequence of which, we immediately began to take the necessary measures for our defence.

It was not long indeed before we received intelligence that six hundred Arnauts had crossed the river; the posts were consequently doubled, the troops put under arms, and the night passed on the *qui vive*.

Our garrison was extremely weak, and did not contain more than five hundred men, a portion of the European troops having been called to Alexandria. It was judged prudent, therefore, to remove the guns from the outer walls, and to concentrate our strength in the house of Mourâd Bey, where we had established our head-quarters. Two large boats, manned with sailors, were detached to keep a look-out on the Nile; and we held ourselves in readiness to march, after having first provided the Mamelukes, (amongst whom were several French deserters who had served in the Artillery,) with a piece of cannon, that they might be enabled to act in concert with us.

On the 31st, Colonel H—— of the Engineers, and Colonel H—— of the Artillery, both attached to the military embassy to the army of the Grand Vizier, arrived at Gyzeh, charged with a message to General Ramsay, the purport of which was, a renewal of the solicitation that he would consent to deliver up Selim to the Vizier. This the General again absolutely refused, and expressed to these gentlemen, in very strong terms, his astonishment at their lending themselves to such dishonourable negotiations.

During this conference, a Turkish officer was brought before the General, who was recognised to be the *hasnadar* or treasurer of the Vizier. He had been taken under the ramparts disguised as an Arab, and occupied in reconnoitring the strength of the Mamelukes: he had been seen to count the horses and horsemen who were encamped near the head-quarters. This Turk underwent a strict examination, and was then delivered up to Colonel H——, to be taken back by him to Cairo. The General signified to the Vizier his astonishment and indignation at such conduct, and also his determination that the first of his officers who should again be discovered making a similar attempt, should be hung. This circumstance caused us to redouble our precautions.

The Beys, who were still prisoners at Cairo, regained courage on finding that nothing could induce General Ramsay to deliver up

either Selim or his Mamelukes. They sent us a secret emissary to thank the General, and to entreat him to pay no attention to any communication which might be made to him in their name through the Vizier, since, being prisoners, they were compelled to yield to every thing that was exacted from them. They added that they had no hope but in the General, that he alone was able to save them.

We learnt, meanwhile, that the Vizier had caused the citadel to be stocked with provisions, and that every inhabitant capable of bearing arms, was ordered to enlist himself. This evidently hostile measure excited our suspicion, and from that time all Turks were prohibited from entering Gyzeh without permission.

On the 1st of November, we at length received, from General Baird, the despatch which we had been so impatiently expecting. The Commander-in-chief had added to it a letter to the Vizier, which General Ramsay, after having read, was to deliver himself immediately. It was written with great energy, and in French, and contained a formal demand that both the Beys and the Mamelukes should be restored to liberty and to their families, and reinstated in all their possessions.

The letter was couched in such strong terms, that General Ramsay, knowing a considerable body was on its march to reinforce the garrison of Gyzeh, thought it prudent to await its arrival before he delivered it.

Lieutenant Travers of the "86th, arrived at Gyzeh on the 3d, with another despatch, ordering General Ramsay to remain firm in refusing to give up Selim, and highly approving his noble conduct throughout the whole transaction. General Baird sent him at the same time an extremely flattering letter from Lord Hutchinson, who entreated him to accomplish what he had so well begun, and to unite himself with General Stuart, in order to compel the Vizier to release the Beys and the Mamelukes. Lieutenant Travers also informed us of the near approach of the troops, who were advancing in boats, and whom he had passed in the morning.

On the 4th, M. Stefano came to Gyzeh, with a message, on the part of the Vizier, to know if the General had not received a reply from the Commander-in-chief, to which the General returned a negative answer. M. Stefano thought this delay extremely singular: the Capitan Pasha, he said, had sent to inform the Vizier, that Lord Hutchinson had written to him; and he thought this letter must have arrived. The General replied, that he had not yet received either an answer or a letter for the Vizier, but that, the moment it arrived, it should be forwarded to him without delay.

M. Stefano was also charged to inform the General, how much the Vizier desired to see him at Cairo, and to beg, if it were impossible for him to go himself, that he would send an officer with

whom he could communicate confidentially. The General replied, that, being rather unwell, he could not comply with his Highness's request, but that he would send his chief staff-officer.

Major Harvey consequently set out for Cairo, a few minutes after, and presented himself to the Grand Vizier, who said to him, that, as far as regarded the massacre of the Beys by the Capitan Pasha, it was certainly very shocking; but that he was perfectly innocent of it, and that it was impossible for him to remedy the evil. 'I have been informed,' added he, 'that the Commander-in-chief, Lord Hutchinson, has written to me: no letter, however, has yet reached me!! What is it you require of me? I am desirous of terminating this unfortunate affair amicably, and of making General Ramsay a mediator between Lord Hutchinson and myself; for,' added he, 'if the Commander-in-chief persists in demanding the release of the Beys, I will not conceal from you that my troops are resolved to repel force by force.'

Major Harvey replied, that General Ramsay had just received the letter in question, and that he purposed delivering it in person on the following day, if his health permitted; that it was by no means his intention to present himself at Cairo with troops; and that he hoped matters might be arranged without such an alternative.

The eighty-sixth regiment having at length arrived, Lord Hutchinson's letter was immediately forwarded to the Vizier. It was to Major Harvey that this commission was again entrusted. He found the Vizier without his usual guards, having no one near him but the Reis Effendi, dragoman, and some other officers. On the approach of the Major, every one retired, with the exception of the Reis Effendi, who was to serve as an interpreter, although the Major spoke French extremely well.

The Vizier opened the despatch, and, after looking at the signature, handed it over to the Reis Effendi, who translated it word for word. He listened to the end with the greatest attention, and without uttering a single word. When the reading was finished, he clapped his hands; a pipe was brought to him which he began to smoke, then, turning towards the Major, he asked him, with some emotion, if General Ramsay had ever heard it said that he had massacred a single Bey since they had been in his power. 'No,' replied the Major, 'the General is, on the contrary, extremely astonished that such a report should have been made to Lord Hutchinson.' 'In that case,' answered the Vizier, 'the Commander-in-chief has been led into error. I am happy, nevertheless, at having received this letter: it is such a one as he ought to have written under such impressions; but he is ignorant of the truth. I have treated the Beys with all the kindness and consideration possible. They are satisfied, and as happy as is compatible with their situations. They have even written to the Grand Signor to this

effect, and to request his permission to go to Constantinople for the purpose of laying their allegiance at his feet. I regret much that General Ramsay should have been prevented from coming to-day, but beg him from me to indemnify me for this disappointment, to-morrow, if possible. I am anxious that all this should be arranged, and sincerely hope that I may succeed in my endeavours.'

'On the 6th, General Ramsay, finding that the Vizier was desirous of having an interview with him, thought it his duty, particularly after the courteous manner in which he had received the letter, to comply with his wish. He therefore proceeded to Cairo, accompanied only by the Major.

The Vizier was, as on the preceding day, alone with the Reis Effendi. In the course of the conversation, his Excellency entered into long details on the history of the Beys and the Mamelukes. Originally slaves, he said, they had usurped the government of Egypt and all its revenues; that already, for several years before the arrival of the French, they had in fact shaken off the Ottoman yoke; that, in spite of all the sacrifices made by the Porte in their favour, its sovereignty was odious to them; that the ingratitude of their conduct was most revolting, and that it was time to put some check to it. 'Still,' added he, 'I am well convinced of the sentiments entertained by my Court towards yours; and, my determination to maintain that friendship which now exists between them being friendly and openly declared, I cannot believe that you feel sufficient interest for the Beys, to disturb that harmony which subsists between us. My feelings would lead me to do every thing for your nation; but I find myself in a delicate situation as regards the demand made by the Commander-in-chief; for I have communicated the purport of his letter to the Beys, who have all declared that they would rather remain with the Turks than be handed over to the English; that the Ottomans are their natural masters, and that they will have no others. What then can I do? Can I force them against their will?' The Vizier concluded by begging the General to go and see them, and himself endeavour to persuade them to accede to Lord Hutchinson's wishes.

The General, who, on the day before, had received a message from Ibrahim, by which that Bey had announced to him the snare which was laid for him, gave a positive refusal to this proposal. He said, that he had no orders to treat with the Beys, that his instructions on this head were positive, and that he must strictly confine himself to them, and, adding that he should immediately communicate his Excellency's refusal to the Commander-in-chief, took his leave of the Vizier. On his arrival at Gyzeh, he sent off two sepoy to General Baird, to whom he forwarded an account of the interview he had had with the Vizier.

I have not preserved a copy of Lord Hutchinson's letter, which I regret exceedingly, as it did him great honour. The unfortunate

prisoners placed much dependence on the exertions of this generous and worthy commander in their behalf. The news of his departure, therefore, which was announced to us as being very near, seemed to augur ill for the issue of these negotiations, and greatly afflicted both the Beys and the army. If, at least, he had been replaced by General Stuart; but, unhappily for the Beys, this was not the case.

On the 13th, at one in the afternoon, General Stuart arrived from Alexandria, with an order from the Commander-in-Chief, that the Beys should be delivered up to him without delay. He immediately proceeded to the house of the Vizier, who again sought to gain time; but Sir John signified to him that his orders were positive, that he would grant him one day to determine, and that, that passed, he should then be obliged to act accordingly. The Vizier, seeing that he would listen to nothing, at length yielded, and gave the prisoners their liberty. They arrived at Gyzeh, and were received by the garrison with military honours. The Mamelukes, to the number of three thousand, were conducted by from ten to twelve Beys, at the head of whom was the venerable Ibrahim.

Before this resolution was taken, Captain Vincenzo Taberna, aid-de-camp to General Stuart, and performing the office of interpreter, was summoned by the Vizier, whose answer he had been sent to receive, to his presence. 'Vincenzio,' said he to him, 'we are old friends: look at these purses, (pointing to several which were lying on the table before him,) they are all yours; but answer me frankly, do you think, if I send the Beys to Salahieh,* the English will attack me?' Vincenzo eagerly dissuaded him from this scheme. 'As for your gold,' said he, 'I want it not; but, if I am to give you my advice, believe me, you have not a moment to lose: give up the Beys immediately, or our army will march against you. General Baird is advancing, and the artillery is already at Terrânen.' These words frightened the Vizier. He did not reflect on the inundation which covered the country, or he would have felt convinced that it was impossible for the army to make the slightest movement; and, had he once got the Beys to Salahieh, every thing would have been lost.

This Vincenzo Taberna had, in his youth, been made prisoner by the Barbaresques. He was, by birth, a Piedmontese, and had been sold as a slave to the celebrated Ali Bey. His probity, candour, and courage, gained him the esteem of his master, who made frequent efforts, but in vain, to convert him to the faith of the Koran. One day, Ali said to him, 'Taberna, I have a vessel at Rosetta, which I wish to send either to Leghorn or Genoa; I offer you the command: she bears a rich cargo; you will sell it, and bring me back in exchange the productions of your own country, and you will profit

* A town situated on the confines of the desert of Syria.

by the occasion, to see your family again; but can I place confidence in you, and will you engage to return?' Vincenzo accepted the proposition with gratitude and delight, promised to return, and was faithful to his word. He rejoined his master, and, in a few words, gave him an account of his proceedings: 'The sale has produced so much, I have spent so much, and here is the remainder.' This fidelity, so uncommon, only rendered him still dearer to Ali Bey. 'At the death of his patron, Taberna attached himself to the Mamelukes, fought with them against the French, and was wounded; and, when the English expedition landed on the shores of Egypt, he joined the army, was put on the staff, and rendered many important services. This man, whom a long residence amongst the Turks had enabled to study it to the bottom, understood the character of this people perfectly, and knew well how to take advantage of this knowledge.

On their arrival at Gyzeh, the Beys repaired to the house of General Ramsay, who had prepared refreshments for them. 'The Vizier had sent some Turkish officers with them, not yet despairing of being again able to seize his prey. He thought by the lesson he had given the Beys before they left Cairo, to prevail on them not to remain at Gyzeh, and even to persuade the English that it was their desire to return to him. As long as the Turks were present, they were most careful to restrain and dissimulate the joy they felt at being with us. Towards noon, the officers, seeing that they were in no hurry to return, reminded some of the Beys that it was time to depart. The proposal was communicated to General Stuart. 'Yes,' said he, 'indeed, the boat which awaits the Turks, has been ready for some time. As for the Beys, they remain with me.'

'The officers were quite dismayed at this decision, and dreaded the anger of the Vizier, who ought not, however, to have anticipated any other result.'

The djerme had scarcely quitted the shore, when the Beys gave themselves up to all the emotions which overpowered them. It was an explosion of joy, and exclamations of gratitude; they no longer put any bounds to the expression of their happiness; and their delight was still increased, when they saw themselves surrounded by those of their brethren who had escaped the massacre at Aboukir.

The remainder of the year was employed in negotiations with the Vizier, for the purpose of getting them reinstated in their privileges, and the possessions which belonged to them in Upper Egypt. But sometimes his Excellency promised, sometimes refused, and at others pretended to be awaiting a decision from Constantinople. General Stuart, wearied with all these pretexts, was beginning to give evidence of his impatience, when he learned the recall of Lord Elgin, to whom the negotiations with the Divan had been intrusted.

Another circumstance most adverse to the interests of the Beys also happened at this period. Unfortunately for them, General Hutchinson gave up the command of the army, which passed over to Lord Cavan.

Towards the commencement of the year 1802, Mr. Stratton, secretary to the English deputation at Constantinople, arrived at Alexandria from that capital, and announced himself as being invested with authority to empower Lord Elgin to recommence the negotiations relative to the affair of the Beys.

On the 19th of January, he landed at Gyzeh, accompanied by the new Commander-in-chief, and they were saluted on their arrival by the artillery of the garrison.

The Beys, who had been informed of Lord Cavan's arrival, solicited permission from Generals Stuart and Ramsay, to furnish a house for him; but, to their great regret, and from motives of which I am ignorant, he preferred residing at Cairo, which appeared to augur ill for the success of the negotiations he was going to open.

Lord Cavan and Mr. Stratton paid a visit to the Beys, and then immediately entered upon their conference with the Grand Vizier. The unhappy Beys had also the misfortune to see themselves deprived of the assistance of General Stuart, who had always shown himself their sincere friend. This worthy officer had done every thing in his power for their interests. At the moment of his being about to embark to cross the Nile, he received a kick from his horse, which obliged him to return to his house, and to keep his room for several days, and consequently prevented him from being present at the conferences, and defending the cause of the Beys. This accident also deprived Lord Cavan of the assistance of a man, who, being perfectly acquainted with the whole affair, and possessing a noble character, would have rendered him very great service.

Osman Bey Banlisy, Mohammed Bey Elfy, and Achmet Bey, all three amongst the number of those who had escaped the massacre of their comrades at Aboukir, arrived from Alexandria on the 21st, and encamped with their Mamelukes near the port of Embâbé, to the north of the town of Gyzeh.

On the 23d of January, the Beys began to feel how little reason they had to hope for a happy issue to the negotiations in their behalf, and to be fully sensible of the great ascendancy which the Vizier had gained. Of this they were fully assured after an interview which took place between Lord Cavan and Ibrahim, who immediately convoked a meeting of his brethren, and resolved with them on retiring into Upper Egypt.

General Stuart was greatly irritated at what had passed, and said to Lord Cavan, that, since things were going on so badly, he felt it his duty, as a man of honour, to inform the Beys of it, in order that

they might be prepared against any surprise. But their measures had been already taken. They left us, and went to encamp near the Pyramids. Never was a man more affected than General Stuart, at this unfortunate and unexpected issue. What motives could have induced the English commissioners to act in this manner? It is to me inexplicable; but of this I am certain, that the Beys and Mamelukes were cruelly deceived in their hopes. Lord Cavan and Mr. Stratton had no doubt received positive instructions from their Government, who must certainly, on this occasion, have been very much deceived as to the real state of things. I am confirmed in this opinion, from the circumstance of many attempts having been afterwards made to renew the negociation in favour of the Beys; attempts, however, which failed, as the Turks had obtained their end.

The whole garrison of Gyzeh participated in the grief of the General; and it was with the most lively emotions of pain that we saw these noble men depart. Nothing could be more affecting than our separation. From the month of October, we had lived constantly together in the most uninterrupted harmony. How superior were the Mamelukes to the Turks, frank, upright, generous and brave, every thing was in their favour. We looked on them almost as countrymen; the grief which we felt at their departure may therefore readily be imagined.

Before quitting Gyzeh, Selim Bey came to take leave of General Ramsay, and to express his gratitude for the uninterrupted kindness both he and his followers had received from him; he assured him, with tears in his eyes, that he should never cease to entertain the most grateful remembrance of him. Before taking leave of him, he begged the General to accept, as a feeble testimony of his friendship, a Roman medallion of gold, which he had had in his possession many years: 'Keep it,' said he, 'in remembrance of one who owes you every thing; it is the only thing I now possess, worthy of your acceptance.'

In the evening, the General returned his visit, and found him seated under a tree, surrounded by his Mamelukes. The Turks had not left them a single tent. The General seized with avidity the opportunity for offering Selim a present which was likely to be acceptable to him, and ordered me immediately to send him a dozen tents, of which he entreated his acceptance.

The Beys departed; having previously, however, announced to General Stuart, that, since they found themselves abandoned by Lord Cavan, they considered themselves free to act as they should think best; that out of deference to the English they would not attack the Turks before they reached Syout, that they would not stop until they had arrived there, but that they must repel force by force, if the Osmanlies should annoy them on the road.

THE SUNBEAM.*

THOU art no lingerer in monarch's hall,
 A joy thou art, and a wealth to all !
 A bearer of hope unto land and sea—
 Sunbeam ! what gift hath the world like thee ?

Thou art walking the billows, and ocean smiles—
 Thou hast touch'd with glory his thousand isles ;
 Thou hast lit up the ships, and the feathery foam,
 And gladden'd the sailor, like words from home.

To the solemn depths of the forest shades,
 Thou art streaming on through their green arcades,
 And the quivering leaves that have caught thy glow,
 Like fire-flies glance to the pools below.

I look'd on the mountains—a vapour lay
 Folding their heights in its dark array :
 Thou brakest forth—and the mist became
 A crown and a mantle of living flame.

I look'd on the peasant's lowly cot—
 Something of sadness had wrapt the spot ;—
 But a gleam of *thee* on its lattice fell,
 And it laugh'd into beauty at that bright spell.

To the earth's wild places a guest thou art,
 Flushing the waste like the rose's heart ;
 And thou scornest not from thy pomp to shed
 A tender smile on the ruin's head.

Thou tak'st through the dim church-aisle thy way,
 And its pillars from twilight flash forth to day,
 And its high pale tombs, with their trophies old,
 Are bath'd in a flood as of molten gold.

And thou turnest not from the humblest grave,
 Where a flower to the sighing winds may wave ;
 Thou scatterest its gloom like the dreams of rest,
 Thou sleepest in love on its grassy breast.

Sunbeam of summer ! oh ! what is like thee ?
 Hope of the wilderness, joy of the sea !—
 One thing is like thee to mortals given,
 The faith touching all things with hues of heaven !

* From Mrs. Hemans's volume of Poems, just published.

AN ORATION, DELIVERED BEFORE THE MEDICO-BOTANICAL
SOCIETY OF LONDON, OCT. 12, 1827.

By John Frost, F.A.S., F.L.S., F.H.S.

SEVEN years have now nearly elapsed since the foundation of the Medico-Botanical Society of London ; instituted in consequence of the almost total neglect of the study of botany by the members of the medical profession, and which, as a branch of science, has claims of the first importance on their attention. It can scarcely be credited, that, till January, 1821, there existed no institution for the sole purpose of ascertaining the qualities and properties of plants as applicable to medicine : till then, it was considered, that, if the systematic names of the plants, mentioned in the catalogue of the ' *Materia Medica*,' published by the Royal College of Physicians, were known to the student, he possessed a competent knowledge of botany.

To show that this superficial kind of botany had, in fact, no pretension to the science, and that it is necessary for the student in medicine to examine plants by stated rules, and arrange them according to a distinct system, was one of the objects of the founders of this Institution.

To demonstrate that the uses and effects of plants were imperfectly, and often erroneously described, and, of course, incorrectly known, and to remedy these defects, was another.

To promulgate, from time to time, by publication, such discoveries as are made with regard to the application of plants to the curing of diseases, is the *principal* object of your Society ; and, when it is considered, that it comprehends the medical botany of *all* countries, and, therefore, will convey important information to *every* nation, you must allow, with me, that it deserves the greatest encouragement. You are, in fact, Gentlemen, investigating an untrodden path, and one which is replete with new subjects, created for the glory of God and the service of the human race.

The medicinal virtues of the vegetables indigenous to this country, have never been studiously nor satisfactorily examined, and the properties of many are accidentally made known to individuals, who are incapable, by reason of their want of education and habits of life, to put forth their information to the world.

The traveller, in exploring new countries, finds herbs always resorted to by the natives as their medicines ; and, though living in the most uncivilized state, they employ them advantageously for the relief of those maladies to which they are subject. The brute creation are, by instinct, enabled to select certain plants as medicines, at particular seasons ; and the innumerable variety of vegetables,

which pervade every part of the world, excites the attention of the naturalist, and ought equally to attract the notice of the medical practitioner, who seems to think, that, when he has obtained his diploma, he has then acquired sufficient knowledge, and needs no further accession to his stock, as in his youth he only attended to such studies, certificates of having diligently followed which are required, either by the College of Surgeons or the Company of Apothecaries, before he could be admitted to an examination, to qualify him to practise the healing art. Your most excellent President, Gentlemen, last year, as I then stated, enacted a most desirable regulation, respecting the candidates to serve in the medical department of the army, which has made botany a *sine qua non* for that service. On inquiry, I find he has, as Lord Rector of Marischal College, instituted a similar wise rule there. It is to be hoped, that such a good example, set by Sir James M'Grigor, will be followed, both by the College of Surgeons and Company of Apothecaries, because medical botany is equally important to the surgeon and the apothecary. It may here be mentioned, that the universities of the Continent and Edinburgh have long insisted on the study of botany by graduates in medicine. Whatever charms or uses the science may have, or claims on the attention of the student in physic, it will never be followed, until it is made *imperative*, and then he will become acquainted with it as a matter of necessity, and, consequently, obtain a competent knowledge of it. the surgeon would be able to direct more desirable vegetable applications; and the apothecary understand better the preparation of those plants which are enumerated in the list of the *Materia Medica*, besides having it in his power to instruct the herbalist, as to the proper period for collecting herbs for medicinal purposes; and the medical practitioner would, in general, be able to command more suitable medicines than he can at present, because the field of *medical botany* has been so imperfectly explored. How little medical men and students know of this subject, may be discovered by conversing with them; and the errors they constantly commit, with regard to vegetable substances, need not any comment. It appeared desirable to lay so important an object, as the education of the rising generation of medical students in botany and its application to physic, before you, in order that some means might be devised, to procure a legislative enactment respecting it, or rather to point out, to the College of Surgeons and Company of Apothecaries, the necessity of making a regulation, requiring certificates of attendance on one or more courses of lectures on botany. By such a salutary rule, not only would a knowledge of the science be gained by every student, but he would be able afterwards to benefit his fellow-creatures thereby, and become an ornament to his profession. It certainly is the bounden duty of those whom the Legislature has intrusted with the education of the students in medicine, to see that they are acquainted with all those collateral branches of study which are

connected with it. Your President, Gentlemen, did not *recommend* candidates, for a qualification to practise in the army, to make themselves acquainted with botany; but he promulgated an *order* from the Board, of which he is the distinguished director, that no person should be admitted to an examination without due attendance thereon, and producing certificates thereof. He was well aware, that the *only* plan to render his views *really* useful, was to enforce them; as what is left to choice, especially in matters of study and application, is generally totally neglected. A familiar example of the truth of this observation, is to be found with respect to a boy at school, who would not learn the classics if he were not obliged, and who, in after-life, does not regret it, as he then finds the value of them; so it will prove to those medical students who have been *obliged* to qualify themselves so generally, as they will become the better practitioners, and, of course, be more successful in the treatment of diseases, and, therefore, render greater advantages to mankind: then they will feel and acknowledge the real value of Sir James M'Grigor's regulations with respect to the service. Many of them, destined to visit different parts, will have innumerable opportunities of calling their botanical knowledge into action, and become a credit to themselves and their country.

Here I would pause a moment, to offer a grateful tribute of respect to the memory of that illustrious member of the royal family, whose loss this nation, and the army in particular, deplore; I mean the excellent and ever-to-be-lamented Duke of York, a prince whose virtues and good actions have been excelled by none, and equalled by few. His Royal Highness took a deep interest in the objects of this Society, from a conviction of their *real* advantages to mankind, which, through the medium of the medical department of the army, were greatly to be advanced. Since our last annual commemoration, death has removed that amiable and noble Prince from us; that bereavement was especially severe to the Members of this Society, who felt that they had lost their august patron, who had lent his protecting arm to support the objects of the Medico-Botanical Society, because he foresaw the ultimate good that would result from the prosecution of them. The Society endeavoured to express their grief and deep sympathy in the universal feeling, by voting an address to our most sacred Sovereign, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to receive, as a humble tribute of the heartfelt sorrow of the Members of this Society. The memory of the Duke of York will long be cherished by every well-wisher to his country:

‘Si quaeris monumentum, circumspecte.’

Having endeavoured to discharge the melancholy duty to departed worth, I shall proceed to notice such particular events as have transpired during the past session, in the order in which they occurred. The readiness and condescending kindness with which his Royal

Highness, William Henry, Duke of Clarence, now Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, was pleased to become a Patron, and, subsequently, to supply the place of his late brother, must be highly gratifying to every Member of this Society. His Royal Highness would not have given his valuable countenance and support to this Institution, had he not been satisfied that its objects were of the first importance to the medical department of the royal navy, the officers of which, stationed at various parts of the coasts of the world, ought to be conversant with botany. The health of a crew, in many cases, would be materially preserved by the judicious employment of herbs : for the truth of this remark, in an extended sense, I would refer you to the introduction of that prepared vegetable called *sauerkraut*. All those important considerations, which are applicable to the medical department of the army, are equally so to that of the navy. What opportunities are not afforded to the officers of the latter service, to explore the native medicines of the places they may visit, and render them useful in the curing of diseases. How desirable it would be, that certificates of attendance on botany, should be required from candidates to practise in the medical department of the royal navy ; and the result of such an order, would, in a few years, prove its value, as the maladies incident to seamen would be more successfully treated. The benefit the navy has already experienced, by the revival of the distinguished office of Lord High Admiral, in the person of the Duke of Clarence, even during the short period his Royal Highness has discharged its arduous duties, is felt and acknowledged. It must be very gratifying to you to find, that this distinguished Prince has taken your Society under his protection ; and I trust, Gentlemen, you will, on all occasions, testify to his Royal Highness the high sense you entertain of this especial mark of his favour.

It will be pleasing to you to hear, that your President, Sir James M'Grigor, has suggested a most valuable plan for carrying into effect the noble object of collecting together the medicinal plants of every quarter of the globe, arranging them *geographically*, with their scientific and provincial names attached to them, together with their properties and doses ; and of allowing the medical officers of the navy and army to have access to them at proper hours, gratuitously, and to make themselves acquainted with the medical plants of any place, to which they may be bound *before* their departure. Sir James has thus given you a hint, which, if followed up, will be productive of the utmost service to those departments ; and it only remains for every Member to exert himself, to put into execution such a laudable design ; and it will act as a farther stimulus, to acquaint you, that Sir James M'Grigor has commenced the work by directing the officers, stationed in the different British Colonies to transmit the plants, used by the Natives as medicines, to the Society.

That justly-renowned hero, who has led on the British army so frequently to victory, and has rendered this country and the world such signal services, as must be ever gratefully remembered, and to whom his Majesty has confided the important office of Commander-in-chief, convinced of the utility of the Medico-Botanical Society, added his name to your list; and the handsome terms in which the Duke of Wellington expressed himself on that occasion, must be fresh in your recollection.

The benefits of your Institution are not *confined* to any nation or clime, but are calculated to diffuse themselves over the habitable regions of the globe. Nothing can be a stronger proof of the estimation in which your Society is held, than the flattering manner in which his Majesty the King of Bavaria, his Majesty the King of Württemberg, his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke of Tuscany, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Sussex, Cambridge, and Gloucester, and the Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, have severally added their illustrious names to your list. Such a splendid accession of noble personages, has rarely or never fallen to the lot of any Society, in the short period of one year; and it must afford the highest satisfaction to every Member, to hear of the countenance and support of such august patrons of science, in furthering the welfare of the Medico-Botanical Society; besides whom, several noblemen have been elected Fellows during the past session.

I have the heartfelt pleasure of informing you, that his Majesty's Secretaries of State for the Foreign and Colonial Departments, have signified their readiness to promote the objects of your Society, by affording you such assistance as their several offices can furnish, in respect to the transmission of your foreign correspondence. The Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury have promised to take into their consideration the remission of the duties, otherwise payable on importations for your Library and Museum.

The Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company have assured you, that they will 'instruct the local governments to furnish a free conveyance to any packages of seeds and plants which they may receive addressed to the Society;' and they will cause the prospectus of your valuable purposes to be generally circulated throughout their vast territory.

That highly respectable body, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, have offered to forward your views in that country, for the exclusive study and exploration of which they are incorporated.

The Société de Géographie of France, and the Royal Academy of Sciences of Dijon, have, through the able exertions of Mr. César Moreau, one of your most active Members, commenced a correspondence with your Society, which, it is to be hoped, will prove reciprocally advantageous, particularly as the former has most

handsomely undertaken to direct all those gentlemen who may visit remote climates under its auspices, to embrace the objects of your Society in their researches.* The Columbian Minister, *Señor Jose Manuel Hurtado*, has promised to send you the medicinal plants of that state. The Viscount de Itabayana, the Envoy Extraordinary of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil to the Court of London, has desired me to assure you, that he will be most happy to promote your designs, by procuring any seeds or plants you may desire from those parts.

The Governor of Demerara, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, one of your Vice-Presidents, has recently written to acquaint you with his constant readiness 'to obtain subjects from those in the colony who are able to furnish them,' and has evinced such tokens in favour of the cause of science in general, as show the deep interest he takes in whatever can tend to the welfare of the colony and the cause of humanity.

Sir Henry Willock, his Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at the Court of Persia, a country abounding with interesting articles of *Materia Medica*, has kindly promised to exert himself in behalf of your Society, and has undertaken to make some inquiry respecting that gum resinous exudation, myrrh; and, in order to ascertain the plant which affords that substance, and which has not yet been correctly established, although Bruce, in his travels in Abyssinia, after a laboured detail, pronounces the tree to be a species of *Mimosa* or *Acacia*; his opinion has never been corroborated, and he offers no decided proof as to the botanical characters of the tree.† The Royal College of Physicians of London have been at great pains to discover it, but without success, and it still remains *subjudice*. Your Council, at the suggestion of the Conservator of your Collection, very properly passed a resolution, 'offering a reward of five-and-twenty pounds, or a gold medal of equal value, to any person who shall satisfactorily describe the tree which affords the myrrh of commerce. The essay to be accompanied by dried specimens of the plant, wood, &c., with its botanical and commercial history. Candidates to send in their essays, without their names, on or before the 1st of January, 1829. Each essay is to have a motto or device prefixed, and is to be accompanied by a sealed

* The following gentlemen, who have lately been deputed by the Société de Géographie to visit the interesting regions of South America, have been furnished with instructions, relative to the objects of the Medico-Botanical Society: Mr. Peyrounenc, Mr. Tayellefer, Mr. Choris, who has often visited the American Continent, and Dr. Bertoro, Member of the Royal Academy of Turin, who proposes passing several years in Chili, for the exclusive purpose of studying the vegetable productions of that country.

† It has lately been supposed to be the produce of the '*Amyris Katal*,'
Edw. and Vav. Mat. Med

paper, containing the name and address of the author, and superscribed with a motto or device, corresponding with that attached to the essay.' The Council have recommended this plan to secure impartiality, and they have given sufficient time for this prize-question to be circulated in those countries from which myrrh is procured.

That anxious promoter of every branch of science, the late President of his Majesty's Supreme Council and Chief Judge of Ceylon, Sir Alexander Johnston, has politely promised to obtain for you the plants used by the Cingalese; and you must concede that botany will ever be under great obligations to him, for the establishment of a botanical garden in that colony.

A prospectus of your objects has been transmitted by a distinguished Member of the British senate, to General Bolivar, 'that he may have the opportunity of affording the Medico-Botanical Society that aid, which the interest of humanity commands, and which the New World can so largely supply.'

That indefatigable cultivator of science, Mr. Reeves, of Canton, is actively engaged in drawing up an account of the *Materia Medica* of the Chinese for you, which he will illustrate by dried specimens, and plates of the plants; and, as an earnest of his intentions, he has already sent you a communication on the subject, and three volumes of engravings of the plants used in China as medicines, which are deposited in your Library.

Mr. Hartshorne, of the Royal Hospital of Chelsea, communicated a statement of a new styptic, termed *matica*, which is used externally, by the natives of Peru, to stop hemorrhage from wounds. It appears to be a species of *piper*, and from the experiments, detailed in a letter sent to the Society, it would seem that the powdered foliage invariably proved successful. This is a new and interesting fact with regard to the *Materia Medica* of the Peruvians, and shows the necessity of having the *provincial* names attached to them.

Mr. Schenley, his Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul at Guatemala, has sent you an account of the *huaco* or *guaco*, which consists of two distinct species of *mikania*, both of which are used as antidotes for the bites of venomous serpents.

The desirable assistance, which the use of Mr. Battley's extensive chemico-pharmaceutical laboratory will afford you, is only to be equalled by the liberal and disinterested manner in which that acute and intelligent observer has proffered his valuable services, and through his persevering zeal, it is to be hoped, that important illustrations of the articles of the *Materia Medica* will, from time to time, be laid before you.

Mr. Edward Huggins, of the island of Nevis, has transmitted a considerable quantity of the seed of *argemone mexicana*, the ex-

pressed oil of which is stated by him to act as a milder purgative than the oil of *Croton Tiglium*: the results of the experiments thereon will, in due time, be brought under your notice.

Your Herbarium has received a valuable addition from the Island of St. Vincent's, through the instrumentality of your President. Lady Crichton, the amiable consort of your excellent and learned Vice-President, has presented a collection of dried specimens of plants, from the interior of South America; and, there being amongst them many undescribed species, one of your most distinguished Honorary Members, that celebrated botanist, Mr. Robert Brown, has undertaken to arrange them, and will shortly lay the result of his researches before you.

The Reverend John Smirnov, the Chaplain to the Legation of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, has sent you a considerable quantity of the dried plant of the *genistia tinctoria*, which he received from the Ukraine, where he states it is successfully used in relieving hydrophobia. How far it may succeed in this country remains to be proved, and your Council have taken measures to have it tried, in order that it may be reported on. The Right Honourable Sir George Rose has communicated an interesting account of it, which you will presently hear read. The Reverend Mr. Smirnov has also sent about twenty pounds of the seed of *genista tinctoria*, which will grow in the open air in this country, and the Council have resolved to distribute it amongst such Members of the Society as may be desirous of sowing it. Mr. Smirnov deserves your best thanks for this present. It has long been stated to relieve hydrophobia, and there will be an excellent opportunity of ascertaining its real merits.

Dr. George Williams, the Regius Professor of Botany in the University of Oxford, says, 'If it prove to be in my power to add any thing to the Society's Herbarium, I shall have particular satisfaction. Your objects are of a great and national importance: they are more immediately applicable to useful purposes than many others which have lately attracted so large a share of public favour. However, you have advanced rapidly and steadily, and I am glad to learn such decisive proofs of your flourishing condition.'

The Reverend John Stevens Henslow, M. A., F. L. S., Professor of Botany in the University of Cambridge, is actively engaged in collecting and arranging the plants indigenous to the county of Cambridge, and will thereby materially increase your Herbarium; and, indeed, he has often expressed his earnest desire to be in any way useful to your Society.

Your Library has, during the past session, been enriched by many valuable works, through the liberality of several of your Members; amongst which I would notice, Grew's '*Anatomy of Plants*,' a fine copy of '*Gerard's Herbal*,' '*Linnaei Amoenitatem Academicam*,' '*Mur-*

ray's *Apparatus Medicaminum*, 'Hortus Kewensis,' contributed by its learned author Mr. Aiton, Sir James Edward Smith's 'Spicilegium Botanicum,' presented by Sir John Scott Lillie; a copy of Dr. Whitelaw Ainslie's inestimable 'Materia Indica,' presented by the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company; 'The Transactions of the Geographical Society of France,' presented by that body; and a collection of fifty-one Medico-Botanical, Pharmaceutical, and other Dissertations, presented by that renowned traveller and botanist, Professor Thunberg, the successor to the Linnæan chair; 'The Transactions of the Royal Academy of Dijon,' 'The Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,' with many others, too numerous to mention here; not to forget a copy of Lord Bute's splendid work on Botany, only twelve copies of which were printed, and the plates then destroyed. With the exception of his Majesty's and the Banksian Libraries, I am not aware of any others possessing it.

The Council, ever anxious to extend the advantages and privileges of the Members, have it in contemplation to make arrangements for the delivery, annually, of two courses of lectures on Botany and Toxicology, by their respective professors; which will be delivered independently of the monthly meetings, and on such days, and at such hours, as shall best suit the convenience of the Members at large, who will have free admission thereto, with the privilege of introducing a friend to each lecture. In order more effectually to meliorate the medical departments of the navy, army, ordnance, and of the Honourable East India Company, their officers will have gratuitous admission, on presenting a recommendation from the heads of their several departments. These arrangements will not be carried into effect till the spring of the next year, when the Library and Herbarium will be opened for the use of the Members.

MAN'S FIRST LOVE.

He oped his eyes at first upon a land

That was surcharged with beauty—in the air,

And on the earth, all fragrant was and fair;

While with a sweet sound o'er the golden sand

Gush'd forth the living founts of Paradise;

And there were forms of blameless loveliness

Floating in light around him, who did bless

With the fond languor of their glancing eyes

His joy-bewilder'd spirit. Upon one

He turn'd his gaze, and passion's headlong power

Came, like a tempest, o'er him—neath the sun,

He valued nothing, save her beauty's dower,—

And this was bliss!—o'ercharged though this may seem,

Many have known the madness of such dream.

L.

HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY.

Lao-Tseu, Confucius, and Buddah.

[From a new French Journal, the 'Revue Trimestrielle.']

UNTIL the present time, we have received very little information on this subject. The missionaries, whose researches have almost always been wanting in impartiality, and to whom it was infinitely more important to know the actual state, than the history of opinions, have generally confined themselves to the examination of that philosophy which existed under the name of Confucius, without seeking to distinguish the different schools and variety of interpreters which have succeeded it. But, latterly, the infusion of a more philosophical spirit into all Oriental researches, the facility which has been given to the study of the Chinese language, and the labours of several learned men, especially those of M. Abel Rémusat, have begun to throw some light on this subject; so that it is already possible to draw a more satisfactory, although still very incomplete, picture of the order in which the different schools have succeeded each other, and the fate which has attended each.

At the present moment we see China divided by three different sects, or beliefs, unequally, no doubt, but still without persecuting each other: 1. The system founded by Confucius, long before our era, and on which have rested, for more than twelve centuries, the institutions by which, without resistance, the whole country is governed: to make use of a European expression, it may be called *the religion of the State*; 2. Bouddhism, which has yielded, after a long struggle, to the doctrine of Confucius, and which, banished to its numerous monasteries, and tolerated, but deprived of power, resigns itself to its fate, and even consents to enter into a diplomatic discussion with the Court of Peking, on the signs to be borne by the infant, the predestined heir to the soul of the Great Lama; and 3, and lastly, a sect of jugglers, magicians, and astrologers, who give themselves the pompous title of *Doctors of Reason*, and justify it, by a thousand extravagancies. Moreover, it is not rare, as will be seen further on, to meet with eclectics who profess all three beliefs, in uniting their practices and contiliating their doctrines.

But the last sect which we have mentioned, that of the Doctors of Reason, the least effective from its actual importance, is yet the most ancient of all, and is connected with the first philosophers who have left any traces of their precepts. Amongst these patriarchs of Chinese philosophy, Lao-Tseu is the best known, for which we are indebted to the researches of M. Abel Rémusat; and it is for this reason we have selected his name to characterise this early period.

The opinions then entertained present a singular phenomenon of

metaphysical subtlety, scarcely veiled by the thinnest and most transparent allegories. The philosophical element shows itself entirely free from all disguise, and such appears to have been the dawning of the human mind in China, whilst, in every other country, symbols and mythological legends are only divined by sagacity, and by means of traditions frequently very uncertain. The author of the article attributes this peculiarity to the total absence of priestly spirit, which everywhere, in antiquity, converted opinions into belief, and metaphysics into mythology. It remains to know what can have preserved China from the influence of priesthood, so powerful throughout the rest of Asia.

Be this as it may, we find, in the doctrines of this ancient school, a striking analogy with those professed by Pythagoras and Plato at a later period. It acknowledges *reason, the word*, an ineffable and uncreated being, who is the type of the universe, and has no type but himself. It is only to be doubted, if the philosophers who expressed themselves thus clearly distinguished God from the world he had formed, and the matter he had produced; if they were deists, rather than Spinosists.

Their psychology regarded human souls, as emanations from the ethereal substance to which they would, after death, be re-united. From the necessity of advancing and preparing this re-union on earth, was derived the dogma, so much advocated by Lao-Tseu, of philosophic inaction. Like Plato, they refused to the wicked the faculty of returning to the bosom of the universal soul. Like Pythagoras, they gave the names of numbers to the first principles of things; and their cosmogony was in some degree algebraic. They attached the chain of being to a great *One*, then to two, and afterwards to three, who made all things; and, for the height of singularity, called this mysterious trinity by a Hebrew name, scarcely altered; the very same name which, in our sacred writings, designates him who was, who is, and who shall be, *Jehovah* (J.H.V.).

M. Abel Rémusat does not believe this extraordinary resemblance to have been entirely accidental; he thinks that Lao-Tseu and his school held their doctrines either from the Jews of the ten tribes, which were dispersed through Asia by the conquest of Salmanazar, or from the apostles of some Phœnician sects, to which the masters and precursors of Pythagoras and Plato also belonged. It may be probable, likewise, that these doctrines came from Hindoostan, that ancient country of so many systems; but, whatever may have been their native soil, it is an accredited tradition in China that they are Aborigines.

Such, then, was the height to which Chinese philosophy had reached at this period; and if, in its synthetic obscurity, it sometimes happens that it is incomprehensible, it only submits to a condition imposed by ancient science; it has, at least, advantages as well as disadvantages; it presents 'a rational ensemble of ideas,

often ingenious, and sometimes sublime, on the constitution of the universe; and the action of the first and second causes on the nature of man and the principle of his duties.'

About five hundred years before Jesus Christ, Confucius appeared; and what did he substitute for that philosophy which had conceived so many pure and noble ideas on the great questions with which the human mind is eternally occupied? In considering his entire doctrine, it is impossible not to be astonished at the victory it has obtained, and the unheard of honours with which it has been for so many years encircled. To a system of theology and metaphysics equally incomplete, incoherent, and open to the most opposite interpretations, he unites a still weaker psychology; and, having reached morality, which seems to be his true title to glory, he interests himself but little on all the fundamental questions on the nature of man, and the various motives by which his conduct on earth may be regulated; it is only in the details, in the minor applications of this branch of the science, that the purity and wisdom of his opinions merit esteem. In a word, as a learned professor of the College of France has ingeniously remarked, he is a Socrates who has had no Plato.

And yet the doctrine of Confucius, taught and preached with ardour to princes and to men in power, *indifferent to beliefs, because it taught none*, adopting the ceremonies of ancient naturalism, and even the belief in household gods, in leaving to every one the right of attaching to his public or private acts the sense he chose, has had the fate of a reigning religion. Persecuted by tyrants, supported by the friends of order, this system has furnished the basis of those institutions on which, for 1,200 years, the whole social order of the country has reposed. From that time, the sectarians of the ancient philosophy, the Doctors of Reason, denied all public offices, deprived of all the advantages attached to literature, lost their ground in proportion as learning advanced, and, by degrees, fell into such a state of degradation, that the sublime name which they dishonoured by the lowest practices of jugglery, became a term of contempt, and, by an abuse easily to be understood, the idea of their present baseness was reflected back on their most ancient predecessors.

It was some centuries after the appearance of Confucius, and very near the commencement of our own era, and when the struggle between the two systems was but just concluded, that Buddhism was introduced into China, with its train of obscure mythology and religious practices, with its contemplative and figurative doctrines. Buddhism is so well known, that we will only urge two points: First, that mythological forms are in it only the veil of philosophy, as has always been the case in the greatest antiquity, which literature, the enemy of Buddhism, has always well understood; for it has never stopped to combat the absurdity of symbols, but has always directly attacked the philosophical system which they en-

velop, and the moral consequences of which alone merit attention. In the second place, the sense of the words attributed to Chakia-Morini, (or the historical personage who afterwards received the name of the god Buddha,) has been wrongly interpreted, *that every thing has arisen out of nothing, and that to nothing every thing must return; and that those who seek for the first principle of things out of nothingness, will deceive themselves.* It is evident, from the Buddhist texts, and according to the general sense of the doctrine, which denies this absurd doctrine of annihilation, that by the word *nothingness* must be understood the absolute Being of the Pantheists, who exists independently of all, and in whom all things exist; which places the sectarians of Buddha on a level with the Brahmins of the school of the Vedauts, Stons, Srofees, the most learned of the Musulmans, and some modern sects among the nations of the West. Amidst inextricable subtleties, the moral result of the whole doctrine is, that the union of matter with the soul being to the latter only a state of degradation, contemplation and enthusiasm are the means most favourable to advancement in the road of perfection; a dogma which, wherever it has prevailed, has favoured inaction, instituted numerous monasteries, introduced governments more or less theocratic, and extinguished all manly and active virtue. But the literary institutions of China have struggled with success against the action of this *dissolvent*, which has been exercised without any counteracting obstacle on the people of Tartary and Thibet. As we before observed, these three different systems are not considered, in China, absolutely contrary, nor is it thought necessary that the one should exclude the other. The emperors of the actual reigning dynasty profess all three, no doubt, because they admit, at the same time, the identity of principles, and the indifference of beliefs. All three, in fact, equally acknowledge a First Cause, eternal, and distinct from matter, but which is regarded by each in a different light. According to the *Doctors of Reason*, this first cause is above every thing, sovereignly intelligent. Confucius considers it the basis of order and moral good, and Buddhism principally insists on its superiority as regards matter, which it only looks on as a passing change of substance.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Confucian philosophy has remained in the state in which it was left by its founders. Amongst the innumerable interpreters, to which the necessity imposed on all aspirants to public offices of thoroughly understanding and being enabled to explain their ancient books has given birth, one has appeared more skilful and learned than all the others, who has entirely revised and disfigured the doctrines of the master. Tselm-hy, surnamed the *Prince of Letters*, forgotten in our biographies, nevertheless produced, himself alone, about the eleventh century, an important revolution in the opinions of the literati. In a long commentary on all the classic texts, he has forcibly brought back those texts which often contradict each other, to an identical sense and unity of doctrine; and, in a special and didactic treatise

he has explained the whole of his principles, which reduce themselves to an absolute materialism and atomistic philosophy, in every respect similar to Epicureanism. The simplicity of his doctrine, and the conveniency of a general explanation, and accordance of the innumerable contradictions contained in the Sacred Writings, have shut all eyes to the insufficiency both of the doctrine and the explanation;—they did not perceive that they absolutely denied the vague scepticism of Confucius, and chased from his doctrine all the rational and elevated solutions; and, believing they still followed the sage of ancient times, it is from the modern commentator that the literati have adopted all their fantasies. This explains the errors of certain Catholic missionaries, who, taking the opinions of a scholar of the Middle Ages for the belief of antiquity, have proclaimed, without any reserve, in spite of the ancient texts, in spite of official interpretations, which the Emperor himself has given, that Chinese Philosophy consecrated Materialism and Atheism.

Thus then, to recapitulate, we see what has been the progress of opinions, and the succession of schools. A doctrine, the analogy of which, with those illustrated by Pythagoras and Plato, at a later period, cannot be contested, which, at least, occupied itself with all the greatest questions, and decided them after its own manner, is replaced by an incomplete stoicism; which, making a universal dogma of order, being totally indifferent to beliefs, and not placing itself in hostility against any other, established on its principles a powerful monarchy. Next the Idealists of India, who have carried their allegorical idolatry into twenty nations, degrading some and civilising others, uselessly endeavoured to oppose its power against this victorious doctrine; and, lastly, from the bosom itself of the belief which remained alone in possession of power and honour, was born, to change and disfigure it, new Epicureans, who have never known either Democrates or Epicurus; such appears to be the frame to be filled up by the future researches of our savants.

Is his task reserved for Germany or France? The author of the article we have just analysed, regards it as properly belonging to the disciples of the Fichtes, Schellings, and Hegels. Let us hope that our country, which appears so long to have been destined to make China known to Europe, will be the first in philosophical researches, as it has been in philology, and that, although it is said so, it will not be from the north that we shall obtain this light.

ITALY,—A WAR SONG.

*Nos patriæ fines, et dulcia linquimus arva ;
Nos patriam fugimus.*—VIRG.

Al! when o'er our regions, forsaken,
Shall the day-spring of liberty waken?
And when, roused to vengeance, shall freedom once more
Lead her hosts to the fields, where they vanquish'd before?

Then her far-scatter'd children shall rally,
 From plain, and from mountain, and valley !
 And the tyrant shall quail : for the combat again,
 Proud eagle of fame, shalt thou plume thee, and men
 Shall tell how undaunted thou fliest
 Where the smoke of the battle rolls highest !

Though our legions are scatter'd and broken,
 In exile, or chains, and the token
 Of subjection is stamp'd on the brow, and our brave,
 And our noblest, have known the mean lot of the slave,
 Midst scenes which the sun never lighted,
 Where the pride of the spring but falls blighted ;
 Thou hast warriors yet left, and the sword in their hand
 Shall gleam when thy war-cry is heard o'er the land ;
 They shall tread the old fields of their glory,
 Which again shall be famous in story.

Shall the yoke of the stranger and foeman
 Be stretch'd o'er the neck of the Roman ?
 Ye who vanquish'd a world, shades of heroes long dead,
 Say, was it for this that ye battled—and bled ?
 Ye who struck down the old Carthaginian ?
 But we'll bow to no tyrant's dominion,
 Arise, sons of Italy ! on,—and strike home !
 For vengeance is ready, and glory's to come,
 And yet shall the oppressor lie lowly,
 For our cause is the just and the holy.

Here, glory, and freedom, and science,
 First beam'd in their sacred alliance,
 When the lights and lost arts of the Greeks of past time,
 Rose in splendour anew, in as lovely a clime,
 When learning her laurels replanted,
 And regain'd all the honours she vaunted.
 But the Austrian hath wither'd our pride, and our foes
 Insultingly tread where our mightiest arose ;
 But, though ages and nations may perish,
 Not so the high thoughts that they cherish.

Sons of Rome, a new era draws nigher,
 And the hope of the bondsman beats higher ;
 Lo ! Greece hath rekindled from heaven the high flame
 That glow'd in her heroes, and led them to fame !
 And Freedom ! the Lusian hath named it,
 And the wide western world hath proclaim'd it :
 A land your sires knew not, beyond the far sea,
 Hath told that yon sun was but made for the free ;
 On the flight of the slave it hath broken,
 And through Europe it yet shall be spoken !

PARIS GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

THIS Society is instituted for the purpose of contributing to the advancement of geographical sciences ; it promotes and encourages travels in unknown countries ; proposes and adjudges prizes ; corresponds with learned societies, travellers, and others engaged in geographical inquiries ; and publishes a collection of memoirs, original narratives, series of questions relative to science, and engraved maps.

Foreigners are admitted on the same footing as natives.

The number of members is unlimited. Every friend of science, at whatever distance, he may be from the place where the Society is established, may become a Member.

Subscribing Members must be introduced by two Members of the Society, and pay an annual contribution of thirty-six francs, exclusive of twenty-five francs payable on delivery of the diploma.

Honorary Members are received, who enjoy all the advantages of Subscribing Members, on payment of a sum, the *minimum* of which is fixed at 300 francs.

A Central Commission, composed of thirty-seven Members, named every five years, acts and directs in the name of the Society, and exercises the power of naming foreign correspondents, who are chosen from among those persons who have communicated memoirs, maps, charts, or other geographical works, and who have solicited the title of Correspondent. The number of these is limited to eighteen.

The Central Committee assembles twice a month ; and the Society holds two general meetings every year, (in the months of March and November,) in order to distribute adjudged prizes and to propose new ones ; to hear a report of the proceedings of the Society, and to pass the accounts.

All the Members of the Society may be present at the monthly meetings, where they have a deliberative voice, and communicate whatever they may have learnt in their travels, or in the learned Societies of which they are Members, relative to discoveries and the science of geography in general.

Every Member receives, free of expense, the *periodical bulletin*, intended to make known the proceedings of the Society, and the progress of discoveries ; they are also entitled to receive, at half price, the volumes of memoirs, and the maps published by the Society.

Members will also have the exclusive enjoyment of the Library, and of the Collections formed by the Society. They are all admitted as competitors for the prizes, excepting those who compose the

the Central Commission, or who made part of it at the time the prizes were proposed.

Members have the right of exhibiting, in a place belonging to the Society, such objects of curiosity as they may have collected in their travels, as well as works and maps of their own production. They have also the privilege of circulating advertisements of their works with the correspondence of the Society.

Commercial and nautical men, Members of the Society, who may wish to combine geographical researches with their private undertakings, will receive instructions and other assistance from the Society.

At its commencement, in 1821, the Society already consisted of nearly 300 Members, native and foreign, of every rank and condition. The highest legal powers of France, and of other countries, take pride in lending it their generous support. It solicits enlightened men, of every quarter of the globe, to co-operate in its labours, the ends of which are, at the same time, the advancement of geographical science, and the well-being of the human race. The Society entreats all friends to science to second its labours, as well by their correspondence, as by making known its proceedings through the medium of periodical works published at their respective places of residence, and to communicate to the Society such maps and unpublished narratives as may merit a place in its volumes of memoirs, or in its periodical bulletin.

In 1828, the Society proposes prizes to the amount of 18,400 francs, independent of the annual prize for the most important discovery, and the sum (10,025 francs) already collected for the encouragement of travels into the interior of Africa; for which subscriptions are open at the office of the Society at Paris, Rue Dauphine, No. 36.

PRIZES OFFERED FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF TRAVELS IN AFRICA.

Voyage to Timbuctoo, and the Interior of Africa.

To procure, 1st, positive and exact observations respecting the position of Timbuctoo, the course of the rivers that run in its neighbourhood, and the commerce of which it is the centre. 2nd, The most satisfactory accounts of the countries comprised between Timbuctoo and the lake Tchad, as well as of the direction and the heights of the mountains which form the basin of Soudan. The Society requires a manuscript narrative, with a geographical chart, founded on astronomical observations. The traveller will endeavour to study the country, with a view to the chief points connected with physical geography. He will observe the nature of the ground; the depth of the wells, their temperature, and that of their sources; the width and rapidity of the rivers; the colour and limpidity of their waters, and the productions of the countries which they irrigate.

He will make observations on the climate, and endeavour to determine, in different places, if possible, the declination and inclination of the magnetic needle. He will endeavour to observe the different races of animals, and to make some collections of natural history, especially of fossils, shells, and of plants. In his observations of the people, he will take care to examine their manners, ceremonies, costumes, arms, laws, religions, food, and diseases; the colour of their skin, their characteristic physiognomy, and nature of their hair; as well as the different objects of their commerce. It would be desirable also to compile a vocabulary of their idioms, compared with the French or some other European language; to take detailed drawings of their habitations, and the plans of towns, wherever it is in his power to do it. A sum of 9,025 francs, independent of the subscription open for the same object, will be given to the first traveller who shall penetrate to Timbuctoo by the way of Senegal, and fulfil the conditions above mentioned.

Travels to the West of Darfour.

The countries situated between Darfour and the central lake of Africa, or the lake Tchâd, may be considered as totally unknown to Europeans. A sum of 500 francs is offered as the foundation of a prize of encouragement in favour of the first traveller who, setting out from Darfour, shall penetrate to the banks of the Misselad, and determine the source and mouth of this river, and who shall describe with exactitude the mountains which are situated in the intermediate space.

A prize of equal amount will be given to the person who, setting out from the banks of the Misselad, or from the town of Ouara, the residence of the Sultan of Bargou, shall penetrate as far as the lake Tchâd, and who, having observed the principal rivers which run in this space, shall have procured information of the origin, course, importance, and general direction of these rivers, such as Bahr-Koulla, (or Goulla?) Bahr-Dago, Bahr-el-Ghazel, the branches or the presumed contributory streams of the river Shary.

Geography of Russia,—A Golden Medal of the value of 500 francs.

For an analysis of geographical works published in the Russian language, and which have not hitherto been translated into French. The author will be expected to select the statistical works of most recent publication patronised by the Government, and which relate to regions the least known; without, however, excluding any other sort of work, and especially memoirs relative to geography in Russia of the middle age.

The memoirs must be left at the office of the Central Commission, before the 31st of December, 1828.

Prize of encouragement for a Voyage of Discovery in the Interior of Guyan,—A Golden Medal of the value of 7000 francs.

To explore the unknown parts of French Guineæ; to determine the position of the sources of the river Maroni, and to extend the researches as far as possible to the west, in the direction of the second parallel of north latitude, and following the line of separation of the waters between the Guyanas and Brazil.

The traveller will ascertain the geographical positions and the level of the principal points, according to the most scientific methods, and will collect materials for a new and correct map. The Society also recommends to him to compile vocabularies of the different nations.

The work must be left at the office of the Central Commission, before the 31st of December, 1828.

Prize of encouragement for Travels in the Southern part of Caramania, a country of Asia Minor,—A Golden Medal of the value of 2,400 francs.

The Society understands, by the southern part of Caramania, those countries to the south of the chain of Mount Taurus, which formerly bore the names of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia. A description is required to be given of all the cities, towns, and villages, that may be found in the valleys formed by the *contre-forts* of Taurus. Many of these are very high: the traveller will measure their height barometrically, and penetrate into the chain of the Taurus which commands them, and of which it will be equally necessary to measure the highest summits. He will examine the nature of the ground, and ascertain if this chain of mountains does not consist of a succession of platforms, like those of the Cordilleras in America. He will also follow the course of the rivers, observing whether they have undergone much accretion at their mouths. The Society requires a manuscript and detailed relation, made by the author from personal observation, and accompanied with a geographical chart, on which he will trace his route.

The relation must be transmitted to the office of the Central Commission, before the 31st of December, 1828.

American Antiquities,—A Golden Medal of the value of 2,400 francs.

The object of this prize is to obtain a more complete and exact description than is at present possessed, of the ruins of the ancient city of Palenqué, situated to the north-west of the village of Santo-Domingo Palenqué, near the river Micol, in the country of Chiapa, ancient kingdom of Guatemala, and designated by the name of Casas de Piedras, in 'The Memoir of Captain Antonio del Rio,' addressed to the King of Spain, in the year 1787. The traveller will give pictorial views of the monuments, with plans, sections,

and principal details of the sculptures, and will notice particularly the bas-reliefs representing the adoration of the cross, as seen engraved in the work of Del Rio. It would likewise be important to observe the analogy between these different edifices, considered as productions of the same art and of the same people. With respect to geography, the Society demands, first, particular maps of the districts in which these ruins are situated, accompanied with topographical plans: these maps must be constructed according to the most correct principles; second, the real height of the principal points above the sea; third, remarks on the natural appearance and the productions of the country.

The Society also requires that researches should be made into the traditions relative to the ancient people to whom the erection of these monuments is attributed, with other observations on the habits and customs of the natives of the country, and a vocabulary of the ancient idioms. It will be necessary particularly to inquire into the traditions of the country relative to the age of these edifices, and to endeavour to discover, if it is well established, that the figures designed with a certain degree of correctness are anterior to the conquest.

The memoirs, maps, and drawings, must be left at the office of the Central Commission, before the 31st of December, 1829.

Oceania,—A Golden Medal of the value of 1,200 francs.

To discover the origin of the different people who are spread over the islands of the Great Ocean, situated to the south-east of the continent of Asia, by examining the difference and the points of resemblance that exist between them and other nations, with regard to configuration, physical constitution, habits, usages, civil and religious institutions, traditions, and monuments; by comparing the elements of the different languages, relative to the analogy of words and grammatical forms; and by taking into consideration the means of communication afforded by geographical positions, predominant winds, currents, and state of navigation.

The memoirs must be left at the office of the Central Commission, before the 31st of December, 1829.

Prize of encouragement for a Journey to Ancient Babylon and Chaldea,—A Golden Medal of the value of 2,400 francs.

To visit and describe the whole country which extends from the extremity of the Persian Gulf to the heights of Hit and Bagdad, along the course of the Euphrates and Tigris, between the mounts Zagros and the deserts of Arabia, and to prepare a map; in which the traveller's itinerary must be traced, indicating the distances passed over. The author will give such plans as may serve to illustrate his memoir, and add to his relation the particular delineations which may be calculated to make it intelligible: among others,

those of the old and new Bagdad, the ruins of Babylon, giving the dimensions of the principal monuments that still exist; as well as those of the ruins of Selaucie and of Ctesiphon, of the famous Pallacopas, and of the works constructed in the neighbourhood, together with drawings of the inscriptions.

It is also desired that he should survey the chain of mountains which run to the east of the Tigris, the height of the mountains in his route, the level of the course of the Euphrates and the Tigris, as well as their respective velocity.

The memoir, and documents relative thereto, must be left at the office of the Central Commission, before the 31st of December, 1829.

Annual Prize for the most Important Discovery,—A Golden Medal of the value of 1000 francs

Is offered to the traveller who shall have made and communicated to the Society, in the course of the year 1828, the most important discovery in geography.

He will besides receive the title of Perpetual Correspondent, if he is a foreigner, or that of a Member, if a Frenchman, and he will enjoy all the advantages which are attached to this title.

A discovery of this kind not being made, a medal of the value of 500 francs will be granted to the traveller who, during the same year, shall have addressed to the Society the most recent, and, at the same time, the most useful, notices or communications. If a foreigner, he will be inscribed on the list of candidates for the place of Correspondent.

The Society has offered many subjects of Prizes, of the value of 2,500 francs, for the Geography of France.—General Conditions of the Competitions.

The Society requests that the memoirs be written in French or Latin. Nevertheless, it allows to competitors the facility of writing their works in English, Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese.

The memoirs of competition for the prizes must be written in a clear and distinct manner.

The author must not name himself, either in the title or the body of the work.

Every memoir must be accompanied by a device, and a sealed letter, enclosing a copy of the device, and the name and the address of the author.

The memoirs will remain in the archives of the Society, but the authors will be permitted to take copies of them.

Every person who deposits a memoir for competition is invited to take a receipt for it.

All communications sent to the Society must be post-paid, and addressed, under cover, to M. le Président, à Paris, rue et passage Dauphine, No. 36.

THE KING'S JUDGES AND SUPREME COURT OF CALCUTTA

THE King's Court in Calcutta seems to be losing much of the confidence of the inhabitants in the City of Palaces, but naturally balances this loss of popular esteem by the more gratifying repute in which it unavoidably stands with the Local Government, and of course with the Board of Control, whose breath can make (and unmake or promote) Judges, as a breath has made and advanced them. These mutual feelings among all the parties, do not *altogether* appear to spring from the characters or qualifications of individual Judges. They rather seem to be the natural result of the events of the last few years—of the *current* which Lord Hastings and the free trade under the new charter set in motion originally, and which, in spite of all the efforts here and in India to stem and repress it, *sets*, slowly but strongly, and indeed irresistibly, towards more liberal institutions and freer intercourse with England. It is almost a matter of course that the existence of such a *current*, and of any tendencies or wishes towards a better order of things, will be stoutly denied by the blind and ignorant Government and *good* servants of the Company (*par excellence*) in India, and will be still more sturdily denied and echoed back between Leadenhall and Whitehall. All governments and all states in all past times have invariably pursued this line of policy, shutting their eyes—disbelieving or affecting to discredit—ridiculing and vilifying the warnings of colonial events, and of progressive symptoms of rising irritability—till these are painfully and irresistibly forced on their conviction. Public writers, like ourselves, who do but collect and echo what reaches us from abroad, are of course viewed with jealousy, suspicion, and vindictiveness, and always despised and disregarded, *for a sedson*, as so many political Cassandras. So it always has been, is, and will be, and we must lay our account with such treatment.

Nevertheless, there are usually to be found, in the worst of times, a few men who venture to think for themselves, and to mark the passing 'signs of the times.' To such we address ourselves; and their numbers will increase as events roll on, and, in respect to India, as the fatal epoch of 1833 approaches. Let us not, however, be mistaken, however sure we may feel of being misrepresented! Although we appeal by analogy to the remarkable colonial annals of England, Spain, France, and Portugal, we are far from meaning to set forth any thing so extravagant, as that India is in the ripe condition for separation which North America exhibited in 1776, or the colonies of the other European states at more recent periods. When that fulness of time shall indeed arrive, we trust, although we shall not live to see it, that the lessons of experience will not

have been thrown away on our posterity, and that the separation of any dependency from the parent state, will be effected without the foolish and fruitless embitterment of civil war and its rancorous consequences. But in regard to India, a century at least of colonial intercourse may be expected to elapse before that inevitable hour of maturity and separation shall arrive; nay, under a system of liberal relations, of prudent and cautious but willing, good-tempered relaxation of antiquated restraints, coupled with cheerful and ready disposition to improve old existing institutions, it is safe to predict that our connection with India, on mutually advantageous terms of intercourse, may endure even long beyond the period we have imagined. For where is there a country more open to amelioration of every sort, more capable of furnishing an inexhaustible and reciprocal market for exchange of productions with England, than the fair and fertile regions of India, under prudent and liberal management?

But we turn reluctantly from the vast and tempting field of discussion which this great question presents, and revert to the petty doings of the Indian Courts and Governments, that we may chronicle, among the passing signs of the times, the symptoms of dissatisfaction with the King's Judges, which we have gathered from some previous and fatal personal experience, and from more recent perusals of even gagged newspapers and pertinacious petitions and public documents, as well as from gleanings out of private correspondence with ourselves and others. It would seem that dissatisfaction with the Supreme Court began so far back as the days when the Marquis of Hastings, strong in conscious invulnerability, and in the vigour of his faculties, virtually threw open the Press, with a degree of tact and good sense which showed that he was not insensible to the signs of his times, and to the necessity of going along with the new order of things that followed the increased freedom of intercourse with England, under the new charter. One consequence of this enfranchisement of public opinion was, that the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and the characters and conduct of those who directed or figured in them, became matters of increased interest and freer comment. We are anxious to avoid unnecessary ripping up of old private sores, and therefore shall only here remind those who were on the spot in the days to which we allude, that there were unfortunate circumstances, in respect to the domestic character and affairs of an eminent personage, which excited a storm of public indignation against the whole society; and that the estimation in which he was held, was not improved by his supposed private appeal to the Head of the Government, to interpose the hand of arbitrary power for his protection, nor by the multiplication of patronage and places on the head of near relatives, nor by the jobbing and discreditable way in which offices in the Court were bestowed, and we understand continue to be disposed

of, among which may be particularly noticed that of Sheriff, as one in which the community have a near and especial interest. These disgusts were kept alive by the leanings supposed to be plainly enough testified by the Court on occasions when it was our misfortune to be committed in conflict with the depositories of power, or otherwise to be brought within the expected reach of the judicial lash. It is true that such is the bias of *all* Courts and all Judges under our vaunted English system ; but, in India, from the long-enthralled state of the press and public opinion, while the Honourable Company's monopoly was intact, such conflicts had not before occurred ; and when they did take place under men's eyes, they spoke for themselves, and with all the force of novelty. Next followed the celebrated interregnum in the Government and on the Bench, when an occasional and accidental Governor-General (Adam) found an occasional and accidental President of the Court (M'Naghten) able, as he was willing, to pass a law which completely and almost irrevocably gagged and bound the press, throwing it prostrate at the feet of the Bengal Government. Of this law we shall only here remark, that *legalised* though it now is, by the *illegal* confirmation of a picked political Privy Council, it has since been publicly spurned by an Indian Court, and privately repudiated by the other ; and that if it were now to be proposed to the Bengal Bench, feeble and courtly as that tribunal is now described to be, it would meet with no better fate. Of this we are assured by men who seem well acquainted with the characters and feelings of the present Judges.

But the circumstance connected with this famous and infamous stretch of power, which completed the measure of contempt and disgust, in as far as the Court was concerned, was the immunity secured to the Judges from the irksome restraint of public comments, and strictures on their public acts. There are no other restraints in India, but those of the press, on the Courts of Justice, as there are no legislative bodies, or corporations, or institutions of any kind, to temper the absolute power over person and property exercised by the Government. Let any candid high-flying Tory ask himself, what would be the state of our very best English Courts, if there were no free press among us, and, at the same time, no Parliament,—no London Common Council,—no provincial corporations,—no vestries,—no *right* to hold town, or county, or parish meetings ? Such was the state of England when the Stuarts reigned without Parliaments. Such is the state of India ; and it is not possible that Judges, acting under a system like this, can enjoy any great degree of respect for their judicial conduct ; least of all can they hope to possess the good opinion of their fellow-citizens, when they have themselves made the law which affords them the disgraceful protection by which they profit. Even when the dishonest Press Law had passed, it was in the power of a Bench, boasting of pretended independence, to have the scandalous clause

in the auxiliary press-regulation of Mr. Adam, which shelters themselves, withheld or expunged. A spirited protest, or even a stray private disclaimer, then, or at this hour, from the collective Bench, or any one individual and English-hearted Judge, could not have been resisted for one moment by the Bengal Government; and, even now, could not fail to produce the rescinding of the contempt-breeding clause. Till this shall be done, it is in vain to repeat, that Judges who hold their places, besides, during pleasure, should obtain any large portion of real respect from such individuals of the society to which they administer justice as are free to speak out, and possess even a moderate portion of intelligence and mental acquirements.

A period of two or three years appears to have elapsed without any very flagrant acts, on the part of the Calcutta Court, occurring to excite equally marked feelings of dislike and unpopularity with those caused by the Press Act. This period, however, was not wholly barren of events after the old fashion. The usual jobbings in Court places and good things, for the benefit of favourites and relatives, flourished, and, we understand, continue to flourish. Shrievalties were parcelled out in shares,—fat posts split, or proposed to be split, for the benefit of hungry candidates; but none of the dispensers of these legal benefices appear even to have wasted a thought on the public—or the suitors, who pay for all, in the varied shapes of poundages, per centages, and fees. It might have occurred to the venerable persons who preside in the seats of justice, that, if the profits of the places about Court (whether these sprang from fees, or increased litigation, or per-centages on property) exceeded reasonable measure for one holder, and might yield good livelihood for two, the surplus might better be returned to the community in the shape of diminished law charges. But such considerations do not occur frequently to Judges any where; and certainly not more so to Indian Judges than to the rest of their kind. In the mean time, death seems to have been busy with the Bengal Bench: two successive Chiefs died almost on their arrival, and that most important office was finally bestowed on Sir Charles Grey, another friend, we hear, of Mr. Wynn's, and Chief Justice at Madras, from which inferior station he was promoted,—a practice reprehensible, as applied to Judges equally with Bishops, and which has more than a tendency to maintain subserviency among both orders,—aggravated, indeed, in regard to Indian Judges, by the nature of their tenure, *durante beneplacito*.

A Chief Justice every where, though nominally only *primus inter pares*, engenders far more than the casting voice of a president. If he be a man of learning and talent, he contrives, in reality, to give the tone and colour of his own disposition to the subordinates over whom he is placed. In India, the Bench consists of three Judges only. Deaths, and resignations on the easily-earned pension, fre-

quently leave but two members present,—sometimes, as the Indian press, and we ourselves, have experienced to our cost, only one. In either case, the President of the Court is a majority in his own person, and rules without control.

The present Chief of the Bengal Court is described, by those who have had opportunities of observing him closely on the spot, and whose opinions we have heard assented to as probable by his friends in this country, as an accomplished gentleman and scholar, fonder of literature than of law or hard work. Shy, even to awkwardness, in his manners, most respectable and amiable in private life, with what the phrenologists might call the organs of (judicial) combativeness and pertinacity most strongly developed—not to speak of ‘veneration;’ which last, however powerfully exhibited in his leanings to the side of ‘authority,’ ought, perhaps, to be ascribed to the acquired bias of his caste and vocation, rather than to natural gift; for he is alleged to have Whiggish predilections, taking the much abused word Whiggism in its purest party sense, as indicating attachment rather to men than to measures. On the whole, he would seem to be a good indolent man, with a peculiar turn of mind to metaphysical hair-splitting niceties,—more fitted for the part of an acute advocate, than that of a dignified impartial Judge. Indeed, he is said to be all but inaccessible to argument from the moment he has formed an opinion; and not less hasty in forming, than careless in disclosing, and eager in advocating, his opinions. We use the word advocating advisedly, and few will dissent from the propriety of the phrase, who take the trouble, and have the opportunity, of perusing the report of the proceedings before this learned Judge, in the long battles which he fought for many successive days against the counsel for the Calcutta inhabitants, and in favour of the local Government and the Company, on the great question of the Stamp Act, which involved the far greater question of the East India Company’s powers of unbounded taxation.

Monstrous and appalling as were the doctrines then broached, and which went to the fearful extent of vesting the Indian Governments with the entire undefined prerogatives of the Great Mogul; in addition to the alleged power of statutory taxation, under the questionable and dormant clause of the 53d Geo. III.,—monstrous as this could not but sound in the ears of the appalled and unsuspecting taxees, the doctrines themselves were not so distressing and disgusting as the sight of the reporter’s chequered pages, which preserved little semblance of continued argument on the part of the advocate, and patient hearing on that of the Judge. The thing looks more like a catechism—regular question and answer—*interruption scarcely interrupted* by any interval of continuousness of speech,—and often degenerating into rejoinder and retort not courteous; or, if we must speak out irreverently, into absolutely indecent squabbling, as ever and anon the patience of

the advocates appears to have got the better of their habits of submission and the interests of their clients, when piqued and goaded at finding all their laborious preparation and research, their arguments, their logic, their arrangement, and subject matter, minced up and destroyed by the petulant and indomitable love of dialogue in their exalted and astute antagonists. "We confidently appeal to the reported proceedings in justification of that severity which, as Englishmen in *England*, and out of the reach of Indian Judge-made press-law, we have spoken, and have a right to speak, of those who administer our Indian Jurisprudence under the shelter of gagging acts. Had the Calcutta press dared to comment freely on, and check the conduct of, the Bench on the occasion to which we refer, we have a right to infer, that the conduct of which we complain, would have been very different from what it appears to have been. As it is, we doubt not that more interruptions actually took place, and even in a more indecorous manner, than the trembling pen of a *transportable* reporter ventures to record with the recollection of Mr. Fair's punishment before him. If this inference seem too severe on the venerable persons brought into question, let them lay the blame to their own press-gagging act; at least, it is a remarkable fact, that while private letters speak with abundant indignation of the deportment of the Bench during the Stamp Act discussions, not one solitary comment, or hint of dissatisfaction, have we met with in any of the Calcutta newspapers,—not even in that which gave so copious an account of the earlier pleadings, but which seems to have suddenly stopped short in the middle, for reasons not given, and which are left for conjecture to supply.

These things are managed better in England; no Judges, perhaps, hate the press more than our own, *at heart*; but they also fear that useful though odious remembrancer,—and, therefore, although the temper of some individual Ellenborough or Best does occasionally outrun their discreet habits, the great majority of our Judges always keep up appearances, at least, until the pleasing time arrives for summing up to a servile jury, or the still more assured opportunity afforded on pronouncing the glad sentence of fine or imprisonment. In Government prosecutions, particularly, prudence and habit have taught the practice of a marked and decorous bearing of impartiality; most of all, in Crown cases, the issue of which is to involve the dearest rights of the subject in *purse* or in person. That highest of high prerogative Judges, Lord Mansfield himself, was all grace and suavity on such occasions; but he lived in sensitive and salutary terror of Juniuses, Andrew Stuarts, Chathams, and Camdens. So *not* live the venerable men who are sent out to India,—in the present day at least, for it was not so always,—declaredly by statute, to protect our fellow-subjects from the arbitrary power of the New India Company's authorities, and who form the sole and single body in that colony independent of those Governments.

The decision and deportment of the Supreme Calcutta Court on the Stamp and Taxing question, appears to have set the seal to the growing dissatisfaction among observing men in India,—who are daily becoming more numerous,—with the proceedings of that tribunal; a dissatisfaction, however, balanced, in some degree, by the very opposite and independent part played by the *Bombay Court* on the press, police, and other *Government* questions, as well as in matters connected with the protection of suitors against legal rapacities of various kinds.

But the Stamp question is not the only point, of late, which seems to have annoyed the Indian public in respect to the Judges of Bengal. The chance discovery of Sir Hyde East's letters to his superiors in this country, and their judicious publication on the spot, which could not with any decency be stopped by authority, led those to whom he had administered justice so long, to contrast those open and decided private opinions, of which no one had ever suspected that learned person, with his subsequent apathy, and little creditable silence on the subject of such outrageous defects and grievances, as he had so touchingly depicted in those letters. Could such opposite lines of conduct in one Judge, combined with such indifference on the part of his and their masters, lead the unfortunate citizens of Calcutta to repose very *much* confidence, or entertain, inordinately, high expectations from other Judges similarly situated? There is but one answer to this question.

On other matters relating to the Calcutta Court, which would seem to have given rise to public displeasure, we speak with less confidence, from scantiness of information, and because these are a more technical and legal kind, with which profane laymen like ourselves are little conversant. But we are enabled briefly to mention a few, and shall gladly return to the subject when better enabled to do so.

The most important of these grievances is that which affects the condition of landed property in India, first touched in Parliament by Mr. R. C. Fergusson, who, we believe, is a considerable holder of real property in Calcutta, and, therefore, spoke feelingly on the subject. From the earliest times till the present day, we believe, *real property*, i. e. lands and houses, have been held, by frequent decisions of the King's Courts in India, subject to the owner's debts, and liable to be sold at all times by executors. Such also we understand to be the practice in other English dependencies, and for obvious reasons of natural justice, and of suitableness to the circumstances of a shifting population of adventurous and temporary settlers, such as Englishmen are constrained to be in India, particularly under our anti-colonising system. Could any thing more absurd or unfitting enter even the judicial wig of a living and reasoning lawyer, in the present day, than the crotchet of wishing to introduce and apply to real property in India any of the absurd conditions, incidents, and fictions, which England inherits from her feudal institutions, which are,

even here, offensive in the eyes of political economists, and of which our most enlightened Jurists are labouring to get us rid? But apart from considerations of equity, common sense, and plain policy, is it to be endured, that a new man, because he may entertain peculiar notions on a particular point of law, is to think himself justified in running counter to streams of precedents, and ruled cases? And, worse still, that when left in a minority by his more cautious brethren, he is to alarm every holder for his title, by intimating his intention to persevere in his own notions, and apparently to act on these the moment an opportunity is afforded, which may occur at any time by the concurrence of one Judge, or the want of a third on the Bench?

Similar doubts have also been stated, by the same happy subtlety of mind, in respect to lands held by *aliens*, or under titles derived by them; and this in the face of all usage and practice, in a settlement of which the motley population *abounds* in wealthy 'aliens' from every part of Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, and which owes so much of its prosperity to the fancied security with which those resorting strangers acquired and invested their wealth, in property of every description, happily ignorant of lurking dangers from new Judges, or from the quirks and quiddities of a code never designed to apply to such colonies or dependencies as those of England, in India! We do not wonder that the whole inhabitants roused themselves to petition Parliament against doctrines and practices which will shake every title in Calcutta, if, as we are assured, there is scarcely one which does not derive, at some stage or other of conveyance, from an executor or an alien! It is, indeed, fitting that such alarms be for ever quieted by declaratory statute; but was it fitting that any man's fancies should have had the power of raising such alarms by these re-actions of Judge-made-law, surpassing, we imagine, even the experience and conception of our illustrious Bentham, that unwearied enemy of all such pernicious absurdities?

Such occurrences do not seem likely to improve the declining popularity of our Eastern Judicial system. A Correspondent has mentioned certain curious facts, of the same *quality*, and proceeding from the same learned source, in the dispositions made by the Bengal Court for carrying into effect (after, we believe, some twenty or thirty years' delay of it in Chancery) the charitable bequest of General Martine, a French alien, and a Catholic, for endowing a Charity School, for both sexes, in Calcutta. We are not sufficiently informed, as yet, of the particulars of this curious decree, to venture any remark beyond one, which seems to float on the very surface, namely, that we are at a loss how to reconcile a strict *Church of England* Constitution for a Seminary in *Hindoostan*, with the just interpretation of the testator's intentions, he being an 'alien,' Frenchman, and a Roman Catholic, like thousands in India, and, as we learn, a (nominal) provision being at the same time

made for founders' kin, who may hardly be expected to be members of the Anglican Church.

We shall conclude this detail of judicial grievances in Calcutta, with the brief mention of one more point, of which we have been scantily informed from a different quarter; it relates to the sore subject of intolerable expenses and delays in the administration of the law and practice of the Court. Suitors and practitioners are apparently dissatisfied with the quantity of work gone through by the Judges in Court and chambers. Doubtless, where the disposition exists to fence and bandy arguments with the bar, some portion of time, valuable to the public, must be unprofitably wasted, as we have seen in our own angry and merry Court of Common Pleas. But the evils arising from relaxed, reluctant, or shortened attendance of Judges, whether in Court or in chambers, are evils of more serious magnitude, particularly in regard to chamber attendance during vacations. We are told, that it was usual formerly for a Judge to be found in chambers every day in vacation—and a salutary and necessary usage it must be in a country where the King's Judges, as Justices of the Peace, had accustomed the Native and poorer inhabitants to present petitions relating to personal wrongs as well as matters of property,—where, moreover, this single Court has the jurisdiction of our Chancery and Ecclesiastical Courts, in addition to that of the King's Bench, and must consequently be involved in a mass of technical business and details connected with its more formal proceedings in Court. Our readers will advert, besides, to the fact, that Calcutta Judges have no circuits to employ them during their many vacations, long and short; so that the public may not unreasonably expect the regular attendance of one Judge in chambers every lawful day that the Court does not sit *in banco*.

With regard to expenses of litigation, we do not learn that any thing has been done towards lessening these, or any disposition evinced to try what might be done in that way. Indeed, on the contrary, a suitor expresses considerable alarm at a recent indication of adding greatly both to expense and delay of equity business. Formerly, it appears to have been the practice, after a decision on the merits of an equity cause, for the Court to take certain necessary subsequent steps for giving effect to that decision on a mere *motion* from counsel. But the present Calcutta Bench, in this, as in other things, seems desirous of disregarding salutary precedents, and wishes to have the after proceedings to which we have referred brought anew before it on formal signed *petition*. The difference in costs to one, or both, or *all* parties,—for there may be a score in a Chancery suit,—is said to be very great between the two modes of procedure. Our legal readers will doubtless comprehend this matter much better than we can do; but we are likely to have a stronger feeling than they, of the wrong inflicted on our Indian fellow-sub-

jects, by any acts of their Courts, which are clearly prejudicial to the interests of the suitors, and can be profitable only to the practitioners. Against *all such* doings, and particularly in these abuse-reforming days, we must enter our humble and strong, though probably our useless, protest.

We are conscious that this article has been extended to a greater length than will be agreeable to the generality of our subscribers, in this country at least ; but we trust our Indian readers will not repine, as the subject touches their interests closely enough ; even now, it is not exhausted. The recent addition to the Calcutta Bench in the person of a Puisne Judge, who is highly spoken of (Sir Edward Ryan) as a man of independent habits of thinking and acting, may have some effect on the ways of that Court ; but if it have not, we must expect to be under the necessity of recording, on many future occasions, a repetition of that line of conduct which we have now thought it our duty to question,—which is at variance with the fundamental objects for which King's Judges were sent out to India originally, and which has had the tendency, we sincerely lament, of diminishing the reverence and esteem in which those Supreme Tribunals should always be held by the people, whose dearest interests, public and private, have been avowedly and solemnly intrusted to their guardianship.

HOPE.

CHILD of fair promise, gloriously bright,
 Girt with the dazzling hues of light and love,
 That, like a smiling angel from above,
 Dost scatter radiance o'er the paths of night,
 Winning us, by the magic of thy might,
 To tread those realms where gleamest thou afar
 The beacon of man's course, his guiding star !
 If he should find, when he hath gained the height,
 'Twas but a meteor lured him, and that grief
 And weariness reward his straining toil,
 That barrenness eats up the corrupt soil,
 Still blissful was the dream, tho' sadly brief.
 He finds his joy, when fruitless is the race,
 Was in the panting glory of the chase. L

A VISION OF LEADENHALL STREET.

A PACKET of peculiarly fine tea was lately passing through the hands of a clerk at the India House, who thought that he discovered some singular marks on the wrapper. He thereupon submitted it to certain learned Oriental scholars, who have ascertained it to be a genuine Chinese palm-press MS., or Codex Rescriptus, and, probably, the only one in existence. We have procured a translation of the document, which we hasten to publish, in the hope that we may hereafter be favoured with the comments and explanations of the erudite throughout Europe. The notes are from the pen of that distinguished interpreter of prophecy, and expounder of dark sayings, the Rev. Edward I——g, of the Caledonian Chapel, —— Street. This distinguished gentleman accounts for a certain similarity to the writings of St. John, perceptible in the style of the vision, by a connection which he undertakes to prove between the Hebrew and the Chinese language and mythology, and by the supposition which was long ago brought forward, of the existence of a Jewish colony in the heart of the Celestial Empire.

1. I looked, and behold there was a great city;* and its highways were of dust and water,† and its houses were sand and clay, and the air was filled with the smoke thereof, as it were with a cloud of locusts.

2. And therein was a habitation, tall and wide, and its name was written 'The Palace of Uncleanliness.‡

3. And in the Palace of Uncleanliness was a great throne, built of the living limbs of men. Some were black as is the shadow of the veil of the temple, and some white as the fleece of lambs at the feast of the Passover.

4. A beast sat upon the throne whose heads were twenty and four. Its body was as the body of a tiger and an ass, and on its heads were diadems, and turbans, and helmets; and on the twenty-fourth head, which grew in the midst of the heads, was a pointed bonnet, with paper of the kind called foolscap, ornamented with bells, and out of the heads grew horns.

* After much and sudorific thought, I apprehend the city here indicated to be the Babylon wherein we dwell, even London.

† A forthshowing, as I perpend, of the unscriptural and unchristian changes, which he named Macadam hath enforced in the nature and material of our causeways.

‡ I was sorely exercised in spirit to discover whether this is the playground of the devil, in the street of the ever-blessed St. James, or the fallen resort of Sin, the East Brunswick Theatre; I have at last concluded it to indicate the —— House in L——n——ll Street,

5. On the east of the throne was the Indus, and on the west the Ganges. On the north was the River Thames, and on the south was a river whose waters were green and black, and its names were written Hyson—and—Souchong.

6. Before the river, whose names are Hyson and Souchong, grew a Palm Tree,* and an Oak,† and on the Palm Tree was golden fruit.

7. And the beast smote them with its horns of brass and lead, and from the palm tree flowed blood, and from the oak tree flowed tears.

8. And the blood and the tears ran down, and were mingled with the rivers Hyson and Souchong. And the waters of the rivers, and the blood, and the tears became one.

9. And over the throne was written the number of the year, 1834;‡ and the beast roared with a loud voice as of innumerable armies,—and cried, and said, ‘I wait my time.’

10. And by its side was a purse of cotton and of silk, and the mouth of the purse was filled with gold, but within were ashes and pebbles.

11. And before the throne were many nations, even a great multitude, more than the sand of the sea in number.

12. And when the multitude sought to drink of the rivers Hyson and Souchong, which flowed before the throne, the beast smote them with his horns.

13. But whosoever gave gold into the purse that hung beside the beast, more than the just value of the waters of the river,§ to him the beast permitted to drink of the waters.

14. And whosoever had not wherewith to give gold into the purse of the beast, him the beast smote with its horns, and drove him from before the throne.|| And they who were driven by the

* The Palm Tree, even from old time, hath been known and received as the cognizance or symbol of the East.

† The Oak is a tree not well known to many of my dear brethren in the Lord; as not having been sown by the sower of all good seed among the pure and apostolical mountains of Scotland, to which have rather been vouchsafed the bramble and the thistle. It hath, however, been used by grave and godly writers as the fitting type of this realm of England; being, as it is, a tree fruitful in the food of swine.

‡ In this year, among other signs of the battle of Armageddon, will expire the charter of the Honourable Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.

§ I am instructed by her, who is the ruler of my house, even the helpmeet for me, that the price of the restoring and spiritual beverage tea, diminisheth the substance of the Lord's servants.

|| My esteemed friend in the Gospel and fellow-witness of the backslidings of the times, and of the judgments to come; he who hath been

horns of the beast from the waters of the river, were a great multitude, and they had not wherewith to quench their thirst.

15. And behold behind the throne also were a multitude; and they shouted continually, 'Honour to the beast, glory and immortality to it that sitteth upon the throne.'

16. And the beast took of the golden fruit of the palm tree, and gave to them that shouted.

17. And an angel stood before the throne, and his robe was of sackcloth, and his face was dark.

18. And there were ashes on his head, and chains upon his hands and upon his feet, and he rode upon an elephant.*

19. He stood and cried, 'I am for the east, and for the kingdoms thereof; and for the south, and the islands thereof.'

20. 'I lift up my voice against the throne; I take up my parable against the beast; I bear witness against the great abomination.'†

21. And he stood and cried, 'Woe, woe, woe!'

22. And the beast smote at him with his horns of brass and of lead, and it prevailed against him.

23. Behold, another angel stood up before the throne, and he rode upon a horse.

24. He held the book of the law in his right hand, and a dry and dusty cup was in his left, and an empty purse was at his girdle.

25. And he stood and cried, 'I am for the west, and for the nations thereof; and for the sea, and for the ships thereof.‡

26. 'I lift up my song against the evil ruler; I testify against the doer of dark deeds; I utter the thunders of righteousness against the throne, and against the beast that sitteth upon the throne.'

27. And he stood and cried, 'Destruction, and wrath, and lamentation! Woe, woe, woe!' §

went to weigh the shekels, and measure the in-gatherings of the righteous; the Honourable brother H—— D——, beareth testimony to me, that herein the Prophet hath well foreshown the trials and sorrows of these latter days.

* Herein the Prophet manifestly alludeth to the bound and sorrowing condition of the Eastern Kingdoms, now in bondage to England, even as Judea of old to Assyria and to Rome.

† The chartered traffickers and rulers of Asia; verily an abomination to the Lord, as having spared to root out idolatry from the land, with the goodly strength of fire and sword.

‡ The angel of the portion of the world wherein our lot is cast, even of this Sodom, this Gehennah, this Tophet, this land of sorrow, like plague-struck Egypt, Europe.

§ The woes predicted by the angel of the east, and by the angel of the west, are elucidated at large, with reference to their prophetic exhibition, in 'The Apocalypse'; and the spiritual reader will find my exposition in my introductory discourse, to my translation of B—— E——, and in my various published labours on these and cognate subjects.

28. And the beast smote with his horns against the angel, and it prevailed against him.

29. And the beast said, 'Let us make unto ourselves mightier weapons * wherewith to wage battle against the angels of the east and of the west.'

30. And the beast took lead and iron and clay, and made unto itself a stamp.

31. And the beast said, 'With this stamp will I stamp the fore-heads of the angels of the east and of the west, even as the wax of the beehive is stamped by a signet.'

32. And it smote the angels of the east and of the west, and made ready as if it would stamp them.

33. And even in that same hour, when the beast would have stamped † the angels, behold I saw a man!

34. His upper garment was of woollen cloth, and the vesture of his legs was of woollen cloth; upon his feet were sandals of leather, and leather wore he upon his hands; and round his neck was a band of silk; ‡

35. And in his right hand he carried a stick, and in his left a written paper, and the paper was written, 'The Times Newspaper.' §

36. And the name of the man was written, 'John Bull.'

37. And he stood and said, 'Nay, but thou shalt not stamp them. For, behold, thine hour is come! And thou, great beast, that wert the terror of nations, shalt be pulled down, and trampled under foot.'

38. And he brake the horns of the beast, and the stamp took he and ground it into powder.

39. And he smote the beast, so that it fell from off the throne, and darkness covered it.

40. And he released the angels of the east and of the west, and there was shouting, and triumph, and the exultation of a great deliverance.

41. And all people whom the beast had driven from the banks of the river Hyson and Souchong, came near and drank of the waters.

42. And great was the glory of them who thrust the beast from off the throne, and who freed the angels of the east and of the west and said unto the nations, 'Come near, and drink of the waters of the river Hyson and Souchong, and slake your thirst at them freely.'

* How manifest to the purified apprehension is the malignity of the beast, exerting itself to falsify my interpretation of these sacred mysteries.

† A cherished friend in the truth, and of a tender conscience, one whom men call Stock-Broker, informeth me that the design of the beast to stamp the angels of the east and west, is an allusion to the E. I. C., for imposing a Stamp Duty at Calcutta.

‡ This is the dress of many pious and holy men, in this day and city.
§ This Journal, I fear, is one of the scoffers, and given over, more than is fitting, to the cares of this world.

INDIAN JURIES AND COSTS OF LEGAL PROCEEDINGS.

AT the opening of the Calcutta criminal sessions, in December, it appears that the Judge, whose turn it was to charge the Grand Jury, was Sir E. Ryan, a gentleman, too recently sent out to have then lost the high-minded independence, and liberal principles in law, as in politics, which he carried with him from the society which he frequented in this country. In his charge, this learned Judge, to the surprise and delight of some, and the astonishment and alarm of others, thought fit, it appears, to address the Grand Jury on several topics of general interest connected with the administration of justice in India. In particular, he seems to have dwelt on two points, often and ably urged by men of more liberal minds than common in that country, but hitherto urged in vain,—namely, 1. The grand defect of Mr. Wynn's Native Jury Bill of 1826, which excludes Native gentlemen of education from the *Grand Jury*, on which they are as able as desirous to serve, and limits them to serve on Petty Juries, for which they are *not* so well qualified, and on which they will *not* serve, along with the secondary classes of society in India, white, black, or mixed; at least so long as they continue, whether from ignorance or pride on the part of Mr. Wynn's advisers, who helped him to frame his bill. The second great point touched by Sir E. Ryan, was the expediency of *now* realising a philanthropic and patriotic suggestion of the revered Sir W. Jones, more than thirty years ago—that the Judges should call to their aid, in *civil* cases of a particular kind, the use of Juries—now confined to *criminal* cases, under an arbitrary rule of Sir E. Impey and his fellows, the original and memorable Bench of 1774. This Rule was strenuously and vainly resisted at the time, by the Bar, the inhabitants, and even the Supreme Government of that day,—resisted by pleadings at Bar, and by petition to Parliament,—disapproved by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1783; (Burke's)—but sustained by the authorities in this country, partly from the *esprit de corps* influence of lawyers and Judges here, always greedy of power,—partly through the private instances of Impey with the then Southern Secretary of State, as he was called, (in Lord North's time,) who credited his wily suggestions, that the remonstrances from Calcutta were produced by a combination and cabal between the Council and inhabitants, to *spite* the Bench—partly by means of the plausible assurances of Impey, that there were not jurors enough to be had, although the jurors themselves had testified their willingness to undertake the labour.

No such arguments could be of avail *now* that the Jury list of Calcutta is said to contain 600 persons, and must daily increase. It is a remarkable and creditable coincidence, that both of the Judges in question, Sir W. Jones and Sir E. Ryan, should have urged this

point in their respective *first* charges, while yet warm with unsophisticated *English* feelings, and feeling uneasy, as honest men and young Judges, at finding themselves clothed with powers and responsibilities new to their notions of what was right, invidious, and only calculated to deprive their verdicts of public confidence, and to promote appeal litigation:

From that day to this, we believe, no intermediate Judge has ever expressed any wish to see himself or brethren divested of this odious and unwholesome power,—a power becoming every day more unsuited to the advancing state of society in India, and the greater frequency of actions for libel, defamation, and other matters of fact and damage; a power, therefore, which is becoming daily more connected, *indirectly*, with political and Government influence, as in the past and pending cases, stirred up by the notorious and pestilent priest, our old and rancorous antagonist, Dr. Bryce. Among all the suggestions contained in the curious secret despatches of Sir Hyde East, lately brought to light in so strange a manner in India, we do not recollect one solitary hint about Civil Juries!

The Grand Jury of Calcutta appear to have thought it became them to express their sentiments in reply with the same frankness with which the presiding Judge had honoured them; and, we may truly add, had thereby done honour to himself and the office he filled. They expressed, in a *most respectful* and plain, but well written, address, their entire and very hearty concurrence in *all* that had fallen from the Bench, and particularly the two points of Civic Juries and Native *Grand Juries*; and declaring their gratification at the anxiety shown for the pure and wholesome administration of justice, they went on to suggest, whether some relief to the numerous suitors, from the intolerable expences of law proceedings in India, might not possibly be attainable, by any such revision and reduction of the inordinate fees and per-centages, and poundages of the officers of the Courts, as that body might consider reasonable, and within its competence.

But the Grand Jury had not Sir E. Ryan alone, as it would seem, to deal with, when they came into Court with their address. Chief Justice Grey appears *then* to have presided, though whether his brethren were present does not appear. If they had been there, however, Sir E. Ryan would have found himself in the usual minority, we fear, as the second Judge, Mr. Justice Franks, is not described as a remarkable person for talent or self-confidence, though respectable as a technical lawyer, and respected as a man.

A spectator informs us, that the department of the Chief Judge gave the customary indications of dissatisfaction when the Jury's address was obtruded on his unwilling ears. Their wishes for Civil Juries excited only some ordinary manifestations of contempt; but his Lordship gave loose, we are told, to his ill-suppressed spleen, when the Jury had finished, in a reply of which we have only a brief reporter's note, in a Calcutta newspaper; but

which speaks for itself, and not more forcibly in respect to the Judge's precipitancy and intemperance, than as to his knowledge of the law, and the rules of his own Court,—the subject on which he fastened in his rebuke. It would seem that this ill-advised personage did really consider, or affected to consider, the respectful and moderate suggestions of the Jury, as to the excessive charges of law, and fees of his officers, as an attack on their *purity*. That nothing could be more gratuitous than this supposition, is plain to the meanest capacity, on perusal of the address, (which we sub-join,) and which distinctly suggests, that the emoluments of the officers should *not* be touched during the incumbency of the present holders,—a proposal utterly incompatible with any supposition of imputed corruption. Every other topic of the Jury's address, important as they *all* were, was passed over without remark, on a general plea of not being prepared to consider or discuss them; not so the attack on the sacred ark of professional emoluments, and the *sore place* of law charges; yet the learned Judge was in reality so ill prepared, as it would seem, for expounding the law and merits of *this* portion of the address, that he would have done more wisely to have availed himself in this also, of the general plea of being taken by surprise,—a plea, however, absurd in itself, because, we conclude, it was not imperative on the Judge to answer on the moment, or dissolve the Jury, whom he might have appointed to meet him and his brethren, in full Court, on any subsequent day.

But *that* course implied more wisdom and temper than appears to be possessed by the Calcutta Rhadamanthus, who classically makes castigation of grievances precede their fair hearing. The Jury were accordingly rebuked sharply for their presumption, and intrepidly told that they ought to have either preferred *charges* for specific misconduct, of which no one but his Lordship dreamed, or to have sought their remedy against any alleged grievances in the matter of fees and expenses, in the mode prescribed by the 37 Geo. III., namely—by petitioning the Court of Directors here, to move their Government there, and the Supreme Court, to consider the expediency of revision and retrenchment in the fees of the law offices.

Alas! for his Lordship's law! and '*alas! for poor human nature,*' as this learned person chose to say at a public meeting for a monument to Lord Hastings, some nine or ten months ago, in a speech designed to show that the proneness of human nature, when clothed in authority, is to err on the side of *over-leniency and goodness*, not as ordinary understandings have supposed, to sin the other way, by stretches of power! Perhaps it was this whimsical theory which led the venerable Judge of Calcutta on the present occasion to cover with the broad shield of his authority, functionaries gratuitously supposed by him to be accused of unjustly fattening at the expense of unfortunate suitors. Be this as it may, his Lordship appears to have been egregiously out in his law and his proposed remedy.

The complaint of the Grand Jury was preferred distinctly for the relief of *suitors*, and against fees. But the Act 37 Geo. III., to which his Lordship referred the complainants, has nothing on earth to do with *fees* or ease of *suitors*. The 13 Geo. III., constituting the Supreme Court, required the East India Company to pay certain fixed *salaries* to the officers of the New Court. Four-and-twenty years afterwards, the Company appears to have discovered that certain officers, in addition to their salaries, received large emoluments in the shape of *fees*. In happy India no one ever thinks of taking burdens off the tax payers. In happy England, which so disinterestedly rules that happy dependency, no one thinks of relieving suitors from law charges till absolutely compelled by public clamour; thousands of briefs would have started from their bags, and wigs from their blocks, in 1797, at the bare idea of touching what our venerable BENTHAM pithily calls the *fee-fed* system. The *Company*, therefore, sought and obtained, by the 37 Geo. III., relief to *their* treasury, in the matter of officers' salaries. Power was given to *them* to have *salaries* revised, expressly as the act declares, *because* the said officers paid themselves by fees. But the *fees* remained untouched, and rest to this day on their original authority, *the rules of the Court abroad*, as established by themselves, under their charter of the 13 Geo. III. By those rules the Court reserve the power of establishing '*and varying*' any such existing emoluments.

For the Judge, therefore, to taunt the Grand Jury, seeking relief to *suitors*, with their ignorance of a remedial statute, which grants relief exclusively to the East India Company treasury, which relates to *SALARIES* only, and not at all to *FEES*, must be allowed to have been a very ignorant proceeding on his part. We cannot suppose it to have been deliberate disingenuousness. The relief sought by the people of India, lay clearly and plainly within his own competence, and the directors have no more to do with it, than the man in the moon, unless we could suppose that philanthropic Body, or their servants, actuated, or capable of being actuated by the unheard of quixotism of sympathizing with our distant fellow subjects, over whom they rule with such silken sway. It is said that a small portion of this remarkable Jury declined concurring in this address, and that the minority consisted chiefly of Company's servants. The foreman, we observe, was Mr. Trotter, of that body; and it is certain that *he* at least refused to sanction or sign the address; a circumstance the less to be wondered at, if it be true, as rumour goes, that he has fallen under the rod of his Honourable masters and Mr. Wynn, for writing an anonymous letter in a Calcutta newspaper, displeasing to the Calcutta Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Financial Authorities. But the large majority of the Grand Jury, consisting of respectable gentlemen, not in the employment of the local Government, were not so easily intimidated or deterred. The notifiety of this division, however, among the Jurors, must have had so far an evil effect, as to encourage the

Judge in his intemperate proceeding; and the absence of the foreman's authentication of the address, by signature, gave his Lordship a handle to decry the paper, as wanting the form of a regular 'presentment,' of which he was quick enough to avail himself, and to compare the address contemptuously to that which, we doubt not, he very much dislikes and under-rates—a newspaper paragraph!

Nevertheless, the good is done, and the seed scattered in the earth. In fulness of time it will produce good fruits *there*, by the help, tardy and feeble as that is, of the Press *here*. In India, of course the Press is of no avail to the inhabitants, as the Judges are protected from all 'offensive remarks;' and it may pass the wit of man to show how any 'remarks' could be made on this singular proceeding which should *not* be 'offensive' to the wrong-doers. Judges would do well to remember that all such contests with grand juries are extremely unwise. If those venerable persons in India are accessible to motives of a higher order, they ought to show especial tenderness to their grand juries, for it is *only* by their organ that the people can speak aloud, and have any access for their opinions and complaints to reach the reluctant ears of authority. There is not in the whole of India any one other vestige of a free institution. But if better motives be not forthcoming, the Bench in India, as well as *here*, would be wiser did they always keep in mind their own helplessness against the real strength of a grand jury, or a series of grand juries, chosen by lot from the governed, speaking the sentiments of the body they represent, called into existence at short intervals of a few months, and demising as soon as they have given utterance to their opinions. Such a body is physically as well as legally beyond the reach of the most vindictive and passionate judge, were he a second Jeffries. *Indirectly*, it is possible that individual jurors might suffer, as we remember Sir George Barlow made them suffer at another Indian Presidency—his Supreme Court, we may infer, being nothing loth. But those times of atrocity and violence are past, and not likely soon to return, unless, indeed, the vague and sweeping order lately given to the Indian Governments, by Mr. Wynn, of refusing testimonials of good character to all who are suspected of being suspicious, may be convertible into an engine of secret vengeance.

One further remark occurs to us in this strange story—that a servant of the Company is no more fit to be foreman of an Indian jury, than to be Sheriff of an Indian court. We dare to say, as the privilege of electing their foreman is vested in the Calcutta Juries, they will look carefully to this matter the next time they assemble; and we can scarcely doubt but that the succeeding grand juries will show their opinion at once of the sentiments expressed, and treatment suffered by their predecessors, by again and again urging the like obnoxious sentiments. In time they must prevail—for truth is strong, and is on *their* side.

CURIQUS CORRESPONDENCE OF PARSEES AT BOMBAY.

THE most interesting thing we find in the files of the Bombay Papers, last received, is the following singular correspondence, which will interest many in England, as containing a picture of society quite new to them, and full of matter for reflection :

‘ *To the Editor of the Bombay Courier.*

‘ SIR,—It is with feelings of no small surprise we read, in your admirable paper of the 21st of July last, and that reprinted in “The Iris” newspaper of the 31st of the same month, a letter, signed by Eduljee Dorabjee Sanjana, and our other highly respectable brethren, the Members of a Committee of the Shersayan branch of the Parsees, in answer to a simple proposal made by us, the Qudmeean branch of the Parsees, and published in your paper of the 7th of July last, inviting them, if it be found agreeable to them, to refer the matter in dispute between us to ten enlightened and disinterested persons, under the sanction of Government, with a view to the dispassionate investigation of the point in difference, and by that means to come to the truth at once, and to save the Parsee community at large from that agitation and party feeling, which the incoherent, inflammatory, and abusive manner of discussion recently employed in the Native periodical papers were calculated to excite, and which, at one time, threatened to disturb the peace and safety of the Qudmeeans.

‘ The irritation which pervaded the whole of their said letter, in answer to this simple and reasonable proposal of ours, is, too conspicuous to merit a comment. The following, however, is intended as a reply to what they have asserted, and your giving it, Mr. Editor, a corner in your valuable paper will have a claim to our particular acknowledgment,

‘ To the public we owe apology, and hope that the vindication of our own conduct and principles, in making the proposal alluded to, will justify this intrusion.

‘ We are, Sir, your most obedient servants,

‘ Moola Firoz Bin Moola Cawas,
Cursetjee Ardaseerjee,
Jehanjeer Ardaseerjee,
Framjee Cawasjee,
Cursetjee Cawasjee Banajee,
Byramjee Cawasjee Banajee,
Hormuzjee Dorabjee,
Hormuzjee Dadabhoj,
Sorabjee Vacha Gandy,
Furdoonjee Limjee,
Muncherjee Eduljee,

‘ Dossabhoj Aspendeetarsee
Ruttonjeeeshaw,
Sapoorjee Nenservanjee,
Pestonjee Rustonjee,
Hormuzjee Muncherjee Kama,
Byramjee Rustomjee,
Framjee Jeevjee,
Hormojee Eduljee Kanajee,
Namdar Javed,
Khodabux Meherban,
Limjee Cawasjee,
Pestonjee Bhiconjee.’

• ‘Bombay, 29th August, 1827.’

'To Eduljee Dorabjee Sanjana and others, our worthy and highly respectable brethren, the Members of the Shersayan branch of the Committee of the Parsees of Bombay.

'DEAR AND BELOVED BRETHREN,—We should be really sorry that the tender published under our signatures in "The Bombay Courier," of the 7th of July last, for a reference of the point in dispute between us, the Shersayans and Qudmeeans, to the final decision of ten learned and disinterested persons, should have the effect of shocking you; and we do most solemnly confess that it was far from our intention that it should have that disagreeable effect upon your religious feelings, much less upon the feelings of the whole Parsee nation. To deny that it ever had such an effect upon you would be questioning your integrity, but to believe that it extended to the nation, is quite impossible; for there are, we hope and believe, many respectable Shersayans who would have embraced the opportunity with real cheerfulness, as the only means that could effectually remove the bone of contention in the nation. What surprises us most is, that, although the whole tenor and substance of your letter indicate a complete reluctance and apathy to the measure proposed, you assert that you would not decline it, but that you are "fearless as to whose hands the matter shall be submitted," and, in the very next line, you put upon our head, and on that of our latest posterity, "the submission to rest." What may we construe from these conflicting circumstances? Is it not a tacit denial, and at the same time a forced concession, of our proposal of reference? Perhaps there may be something else, that we could not possibly comprehend. There are *forty thousand, and a majority!!!* and why all these threats? Is it because we proposed the submission for a final and impartial decision of the dispute subsisting between us? Is it a crime, may we ask? May we appeal to your own candour, Gentlemen? Is it wrong to inquire, by the fairest and the most disinterested means, into an error that appears to have crept, most unaccountably, into the calculation of our time, within the course of those calamities and troubles incident to the earlier period of the emigration of our forefathers from Persia to Hindoostan? Is it, we ask, a crime to inquire into, correct, revise, and reform that error? And where then lies the burden of the arbitration? We leave to you, Gentlemen, to decide upon; but then, we say, why all these quibbles, equivocations, accusations, and threats of a majority, and the like? Does our simple proposal for arbitration, in "The Bombay Courier," of the 7th of July last, deserve it? Is there any thing in it that merits those warm and passionate expressions and recriminations with which your letter abounds? We do not complain, Gentlemen, of these expressions of warmth; the Qudmeeans were treated still more unaccountably in "The Ukhbara Kubeesia;" and it is with a view to silence those abuses, and bitter and undeserved invectives, and unjustifiable pre-

tensions, that we have been principally induced to propose the matter to arbitration and a fair and impartial investigation. We would say thus much, however, that we should be the last to expect such answer from so respectable and enlightened a body as you are, and still we could not bring ourselves to believe, that it comes wholly from you, but think we owe it partly to prejudice and a want of attention and discrimination on your part to the interesting and most important subject in dispute before you; but we owe it chiefly and in a great measure to those who think it their interest to keep you always in the dark and ignorance, and who are always averse to every kind of reform and improvement in society.

‘There are several circumstances in your letter which require but a brief explanation, such as that “an editorial and public remark in ‘The Bombay Summachar’ compelled him to compile the work.” To this we say, not only that the work was compiled and actually ready for the press a long time before the appearance of those remarks, but that there were several passages, in the communication alluded to, which alone provoked those remarks. As to “withholding refutation of the work through periodical papers,” there was not the least danger in a cool and temperate discussion; and you yourselves are perfectly aware, Gentlemen, and the very periodicals themselves are existing evidence of the reasonable and temperate manner in which the discussion was first conducted by our advocate until the opening of “The Akbarri Kubbeesai,” whose violence, absurdities, and intemperance, are sufficiently obvious to all who may have taken the pains to peruse them. “The misinterpretation of an old book,” is a charge upon our advocate, repeatedly brought forward in the public papers; but what that misinterpretation is, is never explained, to enable him to vindicate himself.

‘We think it alluded to the following circumstances: a certain old book, “The Tufhima Aboorban,” in possession of our advocate, written about 550 years and upwards ago, in treating about the Gahumbar, says, that it was the “division of a year made by Zurdusht without Kubbeesa.” A copy of the same work, though written about two years, in possession of one Moulvey Khodabairdee Bokharee, speaking upon the like subject, says, that it was the division of the years made by Zurdusht; so that in the latter work the words “without Kubbeesa” were not mentioned. The said Moulvey, therefore, inserted those words in the margin of his book, with his own hand; and this simple circumstance is since converted into a grave charge of misinterpretation. The interpretations are already before the public, and the old book itself is ready; and this charge shall be the first to be examined by the arbitrators.

‘As to refusing the production of the books, which our advocate previously offered to lend for perusal, to a distance of 2000 miles, we have only to say that the very bad use made by the Shersayan of a full copy, given to them by our advocate, of a certain document

in favour of the Qudmeens, was the chief cause of withholding the production of the other works: A mahajur or certificate, signed by several wise and learned Mohammedan and Armenian doctors, philosophers, and astronomers, certifying the Kubbeesa *not* to be a religious institution of the ancient Persians, is now in the possession of our advocate, a copy of which was given to you, Gentlemen, at your desire. You are aware, Gentlemen, that this mahajur was taken as the means of persuading the people that by this *very* document Kubbeesa is proved to be a religious institution of the ancient Persians. You yourselves were aware, by examining this document, that no such thing exists in it, but the reverse: but did you ever attempt to contradict this false and unjustifiable publication? Never: and is not this a sufficient reason to our advocate for withholding the production of other works? The principles of the doctrine we maintain, as regards the point in dispute between us and yourselves, are so simple, compact, and accessible to common sense, that it requires no deep research to comprehend them; and nothing but prejudice, and prejudice alone, has hitherto restrained its general diffusion and adoption among the Parsee nation at large in Hindoostan. It is a well known fact, and admitted, as you are perfectly aware, Gentlemen, on both sides, that before the last eighty years there existed no difference in the computation of time between us; we had the same reckoning as is now in use among you; our epoch and yours was at that time, as it is now, on the accession of Yezdegerd, our last Emperor, to the throne of Persia; our year consisted, as it does now, of twelve months, of thirty days each, and five days of *Guthaw* added at the close of the last month; so that the year consisted in all of not more nor less than 365 days.

At the period last mentioned, perhaps, by the opening of a more extensive intercourse between us and our brethren of Persia than it was before that time, it was discovered that we were a month backward in our use and computation of time, to that in use with our said brethren of Persia. This discovery led to an inquiry upon the subject, as the question was nearly connected with our religious rites and ceremonies.

As it was a mere matter of calculation, it was proved beyond a doubt that a month was really lost, some way or other, by our forefathers of Hindoostan, the cause of which could by no means be then accounted for. It would be needless to describe all the controversies which took place on the occasion: it will be enough to say, that your fathers and grandfathers corrected the error, and embraced the true month, the same that was in use among our brethren of Persia, who styled themselves Qudmees, while the Shersayans declined to correct that error, and this simple difference of one month constitutes, as you know, Gentlemen, the main point in the dispute now existing between the Qudmeean and Shersayan Parsees of India.

As the contention continued unrestrained, it was carried to such

extremities, at Broach, forty years ago, that several lives were lost, and the author of the book on Kubbeesa, lately published at Surat, had taken a very conspicuous part in the conflict. The author of the said book on Kubbeesa, published in Surat, in July, 1826, Dustoor Aspundiarjee Karadeenjee, the High Priest of the Shersayans at Broach, after a research of forty years upon this point in dispute, at last admitted in his book the existence of the error of one month; but then he had taken upon himself to explain the cause of that error, by attributing its origin to the neglect of the Kubbeesa.

The remarks of that ingenious Orientalist, Talib, upon this subject, show, in a more comprehensive manner, not only the correctness of our calculation of the mistake of one month alluded to, but the great probability there is of the entire inapplicability of the Kubbeesa as the origin of that mistake.

‘That Kubbeesa was an institution as ancient as the time of Jemshaid, our great Emperor of Persia, we do not mean to deny; but what was its real principle, and for what use, application, or purpose, it was originally instituted, is completely buried in the oblivion of time, and what remain of it are mere vague conjectures: we have only profane authors and astronomers to look to, who alone have taken any notice of this institution, and their statements are vague, imperfect, and contradictory, and subject to many doubts and objections. Some said that the ancient Kings of Persia intercalated a month every 120 years; others would fix it for every 130 years. This is not, however, the object of our animadversion; the question chiefly is, whether or not it is one of our religious institutions? and this question is so obvious, and easy of solution, that it is a source of regret to us it should have so entirely escaped your attention.

‘You are well aware, Gentlemen, and particularly all our Dustoors on both sides, and those who are conversant in the sacred language of the Zundavesta, that they could trace not a single line, nor even a word, in these sacred works, that can possibly imply a Kubbeesa, or an intercalation, or the year to consist of more than 365 days. The ingenious and learned Dustoor Aspundiarjee himself, seems to have taken no small pains, in his forty years labours in making up the book on Kubbeesa, in searching for a quotation to insert in his book from these sacred works upon the point, and was at last satisfied in saying that the word “Zeman” in a certain part of our prayers, implies or means to be a Kubbeesa, a kind of shifting too conspicuous to deserve a comment; as even this quotation, if it may be said to be one, is not either from the Zundavesta, but a common prayer or benediction composed by priests of after times. Here even the word “Zeman” is not of the Zend or Pahlavy origin, but Arabic and Persian, and means no more than “time” in the former, and “death” in the latter; language, while, on the contrary,

the Zundavesta shows most clearly that our religious year consists of no more than 365 days, and describes at large its parts, divisions, and subdivisions; and these are already before the public, with the text, its interpretations in the Pahalvey, and a Guzaratee translation.

‘ These, Gentlemen, are the principles we maintain, and we see, with no small regret, that, instead of correcting one error, of the existence of which you have now no longer a doubt, you are falling into another, and worse one, quite, repugnant to our religious, and contrary to the doctrines laid down in your religious, and sacred books. You will easily perceive, by taking the matter into a little further consideration, that, had the principle of the Kubbeesa been a religious institution, why should our religious and sacred books have been so completely silent upon that point, even while they had been so clear in describing the year and its several parts and divisions? and why should it have been neglected by our forefathers of Hindoostan, and even by our brethren of Persia, during the whole course of twelve centuries? This simple consideration brings home to our conviction the entire inapplicability of the Kubbeesa to our religion. Be aware, then, dear brethren, that, although the error which now exists, has been an occurrence of chance, unknown to, and beyond the control of our forefathers, yet, by embracing the Kubbeesa, you will err by choice.

‘ Having said thus much in our own vindication, and of the principle we maintain, we now come to the point. It seems clearly, by the tenor of your letter above alluded to, that you are reluctant and even shocked at our proposal of a reference. We most solemnly assure you, Gentlemen, and hope you will do us the justice to believe us, that nothing but the grossest and most ignominious abuse and calumny, which the editor of the “*Akhbaree Kubbeesa*” has hitherto unsparingly lavished, and is still lavishing, upon the Qud-meeans, has compelled us to this decisive measure, to come to the truth at once, and so put a stop to those unprovoked calumnies and unfounded criminations. Neither had our principal advocate, as you call him, any other intention in view, in coming forward from the earliest commencement of the discussion, but for your good,—to warn you, to guard you from falling into an error, which the author of the book on “*Kubbeesa*” had prepared for you, and to point out and explain to you the danger to which our holy religion was exposed by its adoption. He has done nothing but what he is in duty, as a pontiff, bound to do; and, thank God! that, in spite of all the party clamour of interested caval, his pious efforts have not been wholly unsuccessful. You have felt the force of his arguments, and have been roused to an inquiry upon the subject; and, though you do publicly profess to support the cause of the *Kubbeesa*, upon what ground we know not yet, professing it as you do, you have not yet adopted it.

‘ We say, then, that, as your answer to our proposal of a reference is not a plain one, but equivocal, we should be more explicit, and leave to your own choice, that, if it be your sincere wish and pleasure, and if you really entertain any serious doubts of our profession, and our objections against the Kubbeesa as a religious institution, and if you think it will be the best and only expedient means, as we believe it, to come to the truth, and a fair and satisfactory removal of all doubts and dissensions, then, and in that case alone, we nominate, on our behalf, our mutual friends, Messrs. Framjee Cawasjee, Hormuzjee Muncherjee, and Cursetjee Cawasjee; and desire you, likewise, to nominate, on your part, an equal number of your respectable members, who may be desired to appoint the time and place for their meeting, and inform our said friends of the same, that they may attend them; and that they should, with mutual cordiality and friendship, make all the preliminary arrangements preparatory to the intended submission; to nominate the arbitrators on both sides; to fix time and place for meeting; to prepare a petition; to select the umpires; and to do all that may be found expedient and necessary upon the subject; and to point out to each other the books and authorities upon which the point is to be decided; which must, of course, be no other than the Zundavesta, and calculation of the dates, in support of Dustoor Aspundearjee’s book on Kubbeesa on the one side, and on its refutation on the other side. However ironical your questions are on this point, we wish to be clear and precise. It is not a light matter to play with, but a serious question affecting our religion; and, with this view of the case, we confess that we are really serious in requesting of you this reference, and we wish, and desire, and trust, it will be your wish and desire too, that it shall be conducted with the utmost cordiality, and upon the most fair and equitable principles.

‘ Indeed, Gentlemen, we have no other aim in persisting in this reference, but only to bring the point in dispute to a fair and satisfactory conclusion. We, therefore, most earnestly request that you will take this letter in no other light but as coming from your best friends and well-wishers. We hope we have been sufficiently cautious in not allowing any expressions to escape us in this letter but the most respectful and conciliatory; and, in the course of vindicating ourselves, and the principles we maintain, if there be any thing that can be construed to convey the least cause of irritation, it may, we hope and beg, be attributed rather to the weakness of our pen, than to the most distant idea of offending you. We make this observation in order to remove all misconception of our intention, which, we assure you again and again, is, towards you, as sincere, friendly, and affectionate, as we bear to each other among ourselves. Let us, therefore, join with cordiality and affection in removing that cancer of discord, which has given rise to those correspondences, as disgusting to our own feelings as it may be disagreeable to yours.

'May God, the fountain of all wisdom and truth, guide us both in our pious undertakings! And may the result of the intended reference tend to cement the ties of our friendship upon a more solid foundation, and be the means of extirpating those clouds of prejudice and superstition which are the bane of society and all social improvement! Should you, however, be entirely disinclined and averse to the measure proposed, we shall, in that case, particularly regret the disappointment, in being deprived of the only practicable and the most efficient means of convincing you, Gentlemen, and our Shersayan brethren in general, of the justice of our cause; and we do beg to repeat, over and over again, that, although we have nothing to do with the Kubbeesa and its principles, we feel it a duty incumbent upon us, as fellow-religionists, with our Shersayan brethren, to say that Kubbeesa is a thing altogether unknown to our religion, and religious calculations of time, and that it is repugnant altogether, and contrary to the principles laid down in the *Zundavesta*; and we most earnestly remonstrate against its adoption among you, and desire, entreat, and expressly recommend, that you would examine the matter more closely, and with a more than ordinary attention, and consider and reconsider the important subject before you, and the various enumerable difficulties and dangers with which its adoption is pregnant; and may God and his blessed Zurdusht conduct you to the right path in your sacred career! These are, gentlemen, our most sincere wishes and prayers, with which we now take leave of you and the public. We are, Dear Brethren and Friends, your most humble servants,

'Moola Firqz Bin Moola Cawas.

Cursetjee Ardaseerjee.

Jehangeer Ardaseerjee.

Framjee Cawasjee.

Cursetjee Cawasjee Banajee.

Byramjee Cawasjee Banajee.

Hormusjee Dorabjee.

Hormusjee Doodabhooy.

Sorabjee Vachagamdy.

Furdoonjee Limjee.

Muncherjee Edaljee.

'Dossabhoy Aspendeearjee Ruston-
jeeshaw.

Sapoorjee Nesservanjee.

Pestonjee Rustonjee.

Hormusjee Muncherjee Kama.

Byramjee Rustonjee.

Framjee Jeevjee.

Hormusjee Eduljee Kanajee.

Namdar Javel.

Khodabux Meherban.

Limjee Cawasjee.

Pestonjee Bhicejee.'

'Bombay, 28th August, 1827.'

LETTER OF GENERAL NEWS FROM BENGAL.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

Calcutta, Dec. 28, 1827.

SIR,—Nothing of special public interest occurred here till last month, when, by dint of a repeated discussion, (as far as our Press Laws would allow,) we succeeded in producing a very general conviction, that it was high time to make the first move towards a more liberal system of intercourse between this country and England. It was evident to all capitalists here, and even to men who have no other interest in the subject of commerce and exchanges than the desire to have a tolerable rate of remittance for their savings, and the education and support of families at home, that *something* must be done to improve the commercial relations between England and India; and to find employment for disposable capitals as they accumulate in this country. At present, there is no profitable operation or export from India, but the one article of indigo; and even that is limited in its nature. We have already, *perhaps*, touched the maximum, yet it only employs *in* advances here about two millions sterling, or less, an amount quite insufficient; and, although that produce may be worth three, or even four millions, in England, it is no sufficient return for the exports made to us from thence; far less so for those which could be made, but for the disadvantageous remittances of proceeds in high-priced and doubtful articles, in specie sometimes, or in dear bills,—dear, because scarce—scarce, because the quantity in our money-market must necessarily be limited by the amount of interest-bills on the public debt payable in England, and by the amount of Indian consignments to England, against which the merchants here are enabled to draw their bills.

The conviction of this truth being established, it follows that they must, somehow or other, greatly increase the quantity of their profitable exports; and profitable they could only become by the *conjoint* operation of two means:—1st, England admitting Indian produce on equal terms with the like produce of other dependencies; 2d, Indian growers *improving the quality*, as well as increasing the quantity, of that produce; and these two objects being gained, of equal duties and improved quality. But the latter, it was plain, could only be obtained by European agency, which alone has created the great staple of indigo. European capital, skill, and industry, must have free scope. The cotton, sugar-cane, sugar manufacture, and silk, of India, are all of inferior quality, and must remain so, as well as its coffee, ginger, mulberry-trees, silk-worms, &c., till Europeans may fairly *buy or rent* lands, erect machinery, and addict themselves to agriculture. This they cannot do till the

code of tyrannical and absurd old-school restrictions is done away, —till Europeans may resort, with their talents and their capitals, to India,—till they are emboldened to invest their property in machinery and stock, without the constant risk of being banished, at the arbitrary fiat of the Company's servants, from the provinces, or transplanted from the metropolitan cities to England: in short, till the regime of known and equal laws, no matter how strict, if just, takes full place of the regime of absolute power; that, is to say, till Colonisation is freely allowed.

To you it would be a waste of paper to point out the disingenuousness or ignorance of those who suppose colonisation to mean a sudden emigration of paupers or labourers to India; far less, a forcible dispossession of property held now by Natives. The climate and the distance are natural and adequate obstacles to the former, so long as colonists have to come hither, and live, when here, at their own expense. As to the latter, there must be two parties to every bargain, and none but the *grossest* of John Bulls will surely suppose that there are neither laws, nor courts, nor justices of peace, or police, in our provinces; or that Indians are slow or reluctant to resort to tribunals. We only want the removal of restrictions on resort to, and residence in, British India,—no favours—no encouragements—no bounties—no privileges—only 'let us alone;' and it is scarcely within the imagination of man to predict the gradual, yet certain and rapid improvement, that will follow, of which not the least important feature will be, the security and confidence arising from the residence of industrious Englishmen, and their pure and mixed descendants, to balance the increasing numbers, intelligence, and wealth, of the Native monied and landed interest,* and the creation of a market of indefinite *extensibility* (to coin a suitable word) for English manufactures which, under the augmenting competition of rivals in Europe, require more and more every day the relief of such a vent.

By such reasonings, notwithstanding the bitter opposition of the partisans of the Company's interest, and the privileged aristocracy—their servants—this community has been brought, step by step, to see the necessity of a great and speedy change in the present system of their *business*-relations with 'the old country.' The perceptions of the good citizens of Calcutta have, at the same time, been not a little *quicken*ed by the obstinate and vindictive perseverance, of the Company, and its servants, in asserting and forcing on them their pretensions to burden the languishing commerce with taxes to any extent. In these, and many other recent dispositions evinced to vex and oppress their rivals, the Company has apparently been supported by the Board of Control, which must be

* See Sir E. H. East's correspondence with Lord Liverpool, lately disclosed.

identified with the Ministry. The King's Judges, too, have of late years forgotten their dignified station, placed, as they were in India, expressly to protect the weak against the power of the Company; and they have shown something so like a fixed bias to uphold the powers that be, on all occasions, and such disregard, not to say contempt, for the few privileges Europeans enjoy in India, that they are fast losing public confidence. They will continue to lose it, because they will continue to lean towards those who send them out to India, who can punish them by removal at pleasure, and reward them by means of the pernicious custom of promoting them to higher office, or to better paid and pensioned Presidencies in the nicely-graduated scale of judicial places, from the Recordership of Prince of Wales's Island up to the Chief-Justiceship of Bengal.

These feelings and considerations have led many to arrive at the conviction that the Company is placed in a natural and scarcely avoidable state of rivalry and hostility towards the mercantile and commercial interests, and the independent inhabitants. By some strange fatuity or blindness, too, the Company appears inclined to greater vexations and stretches of authority, as the charter verges towards its termination, instead of endeavouring to make friends, or at least *neutrals*, as that critical period approaches,—instead of showing a willingness to relax restrictions, and bonds, and exactions, as times change, and the 'march of general improvement' advances. Under these circumstances, and the hopelessness of impartiality on the part of the Board of Control, people in India are driven to look for support to Parliament, and to the middle classes of England, to its monied, mercantile, manufacturing towns and bodies, and to the moderate and thinking of all classes who have influence more or less on the proceedings of Parliament of late years, or rather within the last three or four years, I should say. To Parliament, accordingly, the Indians have directly addressed their petitions on the Stamp Act affair last July, notwithstanding all the sullenness and violence of the Government; and, having once learned the way to Westminster, it will not be their fault if they do not adhere to that channel of redress. In November, again, they met publicly—Government not thinking it prudent this time to prevent or intimidate them—and embodied, in petitions, the substance of the reasonings set forth above, submitting them respectfully, as suggestions only, for the consideration of the Legislature.

But the wily and vindictive Company are endeavouring to lay the axe to the root of their growing independence, (possibly in consequence of these first symptoms of recusancy on the taxation question,) as you will see by the enclosed scrap of a proclamation, just issued. I earnestly recommend this precious document to your particular attention, in which the new Whig Ministry are directly implicated, through the Board of Control, (as you will see by the date, 11th

July,*) in this odious and detestable attempt to intimidate every independent man in India. It has been a severe shock to the great majority of people here, who, in their joy at getting rid of the *ultras*, had been enthusiastic in favour of Mr. Canning and Lord Lansdown, and were quite sanguine in their hopes of a new and more liberal order of things in India as well as at home. The following is the document to which I refer :—

PORT WILLIAM.

General Department, the 29th November, 1827.

THE Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council is pleased to direct, that the following extract, (Paras, 18 to 20,) from a Public General Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated the 11th July, 1827, be published for general information. Certificates of the nature alluded to by the Honourable Court, in the Extract in question, will be granted to individuals proceeding to Europe, on their applying for the same to the Secretary to Government in the General Department.

' 18. Applications are from time to time made to us by parties who have returned from India for leave to proceed again to that country, for the purpose either of following the pursuits in which they originally embarked, or of settling the affairs which have grown out of their former engagements.

' 19. It frequently occurs, that parties in question are unable to produce any document, showing that their conduct has been *satisfactory* to the authorities under whom they have resided.

' 20. We, therefore, desire that you will take measures for announcing to all parties, who are residing under your Presidency, either with our permission, or with that of your Government, and who may return to Europe, that, in the event of their making applications for permission to proceed again to India, we shall require them to *produce proof* of their having conducted themselves to the *satisfaction of your Government.*'

By Order of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council.

E. MOLONY, *Act. Sec. to the Govt.*

It was bad enough to be in the power of the Court of Directors, in the matter of licenses, and in the power of the Supreme Council, which is strictly secret in all its proceedings, in the matter of withdrawing licenses, and banishment from India. But the odiousness of this latter prerogative, and the fear of the public of England, confined its exercise to very rare cases, and it worked chiefly by intimidation. But this new power pushes the Local Government into forcible contact, whether it will or no, with every man who is obliged to go hence for family affairs, health, business, or even to retire; for who can be certain of NEVER requiring to return to India? All will, therefore, ask for their 'tickets of character,' without which they are barred from ever applying at home, to come back hither. The Government must, by a vote in council, give or refuse the testimonial,—and a pretty disagreeable and angry cor-

* At that time, I think, Sir S. Macdonald was a Member.

respondence they will get into with any one whom they refuse, and who will insist on knowing *why* his character and prospects are to be secretly blasted. A man going home, at any rate, will keep no measures with the Company's councillors and secretaries, whose only *real* power over him depends on his wishing to remain in India. Then on what principle are the councillors to decide, by a majority, for or against a man's claim to have a testimonial of 'satisfaction' with his conduct? Is it to be his public or private conduct? Are the minutes of each member to state any grounds, or only the private arbitrary opinion of the councillor giving his vote? If the former, are the grounds to be such only as are on the records? Or is a door to be opened to the opinions of each member on *past* as well as present acts and thoughts,—to vague recollections, rumours, scandals, unvouched and unauthenticated? One only ground, we may be sure, *all* Government men here will be agreed on—that of being dissatisfied with any one who stirs to petition Parliament against the acts of the Executive here, and the Company at home. Will Parliament allow this restraint on access to it? Will it forget too, that the Company is the mercantile rival of every free trader in India, and cannot be 'satisfied' with private merchants who may have occasion to struggle with them, and perhaps defeat them in proceedings at law, which may be coloured as 'litigious'? We have seen such men as Sir George Barlow, before now, indirectly punish men for such things,—and we may see others do the same if Company's servants get hold of the reins here, as they have done, *inter-regnum*, as well as on the Coast, and at Bombay. Lushington, you are aware, is an old Madras Civilian.

Perhaps Mr. Wynn was taken by surprise, as this order professed to be only the revival of an old one, because obsolete; but the cause of its becoming obsolete was the odiousness, and almost impossibility, of carrying it into effect. The Government, I suspect, will not thank their friends at home for imposing such a duty on them. Surely, if Mr. Wynn has been surprised, he will at least wince, when he sees how artfully he has been made to enact the curtailment of his own powers, and the abandonment of a specific trust committed to him by the charter of 1813, as guardian of Englishmen's interests *against* the Company! I allude to his statutory power of licensing (on appeal,) without any restriction or qualification whatever, persons refused by the Company. I question his *right* even to sanction a proclaimed and published restriction on his powers, which publicly pledges him to reject certain *classes* of application.

We are in the thick of a furious controversy, with an angry, indolent, and incompetent Chief-Justice, about diminishing the extravagant charges of law, and in particular the inordinate amount of fees received by the swarm of officers, who fatten on suitors, and who are appointed by the Court. The Grand Jury respect-

fully remonstrated in favour of cheap justice, and have been *bullied* by the Judge in consequence. I have no doubt but that the Calcutta inhabitants will go to Parliament with these complaints, if, under the new regulation, any one shall be bold enough to take the lead, and set a going a petition against authority. See Mill, vol. iv, p. 299, and you will find how Judges here have an interest, in the fees and patronage of places: to this is to be attributed the jobbings among them in their line; and they continue in the same way till they have become quite disgusting. But they are sheltered, disgracefully sheltered, from the healthful influence of publicity and exposure, by a special clause of the Indian press regulations. With their scandalous acquiescence in this degrading protection, they cannot be too often, or too publicly, taunted. They have no claim to respect or confidence, while they submit to the insulting protection of Government, who forbids any of their acts to be commented on.

AN OLD CIVILIAN.

LETTER OF GENERAL NEWS FROM MADRAS.

To the Editor of the *Oriental Herald*.

SIR,

Madras, November 1st, 1827.

I FINISHED my last letter to you on the 17th ult., and despatched it by the ship *James Sibbald*; however, as she did not leave these roads for two days after, I am uncertain whether you may not have received later letters by her than mine; but I will take up my narrative from that date.

On the 17th of October, three ships from England appeared in the offing; two of them, the *Diadem* and *Childe Harold*, came to anchor that evening; the other ship, having got far to the southward, did not anchor in the roads till the following morning. She proved to be his Majesty's ship *Herald*, having our new Governor and suite on board. All was immediately bustle and confusion among the troops, and departments, &c. The town Major, Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor, and several others, proceeded on board, and, at ten o'clock, the whole party left the ship, under a salute, and landed at the Sea Gate of Fort St. George, where the Governor was received by all the public functionaries; and a salute fired from the battery. The party then proceeded to the Council Chamber, where, the commission of Government, appointing the Right Honourable Stephen Rumbold Lushington Governor of Fort St. George and its Dependencies, having been read, Mr. Lushington took the customary oaths, under a salute of nineteen guns, &c.; after which, the Governor walked across the fort square, through a street formed by his Majesty's eighty-ninth regiment and the Native troops on duty

there, to the gate leading to Government-house, accompanied by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and a long procession of other placemen. At the gate, carriages were in waiting to receive the party. I must not forget to mention our excellent Superintendent of Police, who, with his *band of belted peons*, was in attendance on the occasion, and helped to regulate all. It happened most fortunately that the Governor did land that forenoon; for, the following day, the monsoon set in fiercely, and it continued to rain heavily for several days after. This the Natives here interpret as highly favourable to Mr. Lushington's future Government, and augur, from this propitious omen, that it will be a happy and prosperous one. Time will show.

The day following the Governor's arrival, a General Order was issued from Government, notifying that Major Douglas, of the Royal Artillery, was appointed Military Secretary, and to act as Private Secretary to the Right Honourable the Governor, until further orders; Captain Hay, of his Majesty's seventy-third regiment, and Lieutenant Lushington, of the sixth regiment of Madras Light Cavalry, to be Aides-de-camp; Captain Watson, of the fourth regiment of Madras Native Infantry, (who had long been on Sir Thomas Munro's Staff, and is Military Pay-master at the Presidency,) and Cornet C. B. Lindsay, of the third regiment of Madras Light Cavalry, to be extra Aides-de-camp: Lieutenant-Colonel J. Carfrae, of the thirty-sixth regiment of Madras Native Infantry, to be honorary Aide-de-camp to the Right Honourable the Governor. This last gentleman had long been Secretary to Sir Thomas Munro, and had rendered himself otherwise useful in the late Governor's family. Major Douglas and Captain Hay accompanied the Governor from England. The clerk of the hampers, poor man! is fairly ousted from Government-house, and great is his despondency; but he ought to be contented. He has several good situations; but, like others, he is always looking for something better. I remarked him in church last Sunday; he did not take his usual nap so soundly as he was accustomed, but started up frequently. Perhaps dreams of future days came across his mind; and, if I am not much mistaken, his grey locks are become much thinner and whiter of late: he must yield to his lady's wishes, and adorn his scalp with a *handsome wig*.

The Governor issued a notice that he would hold his first levee on the 23rd; but a slight indisposition, and the inclemency of the weather, induced him to delay it till the 29th, when it took place at Government-house, and was very numerously attended. Mr. Lushington, whom I then saw for the first time since his arrival, is much altered from his former appearance. I knew him many years ago, as Collector at Tinevelly, when he had all the look of an old Indian; he is now more like a plain English gentleman, and has an active, intelligent appearance. A lady, who saw him in

church the Sunday after his arrival, remarked, he had much the appearance of *un operative*; but in this I cannot agree with her.

In the course of the last month, two fine young men, officers in the Honourable Company's Army, have fallen by the hands of their brother officers. One, a Lieutenant J. Frazer, of the eleventh regiment of Native Infantry, was killed in a duel, at Bellary, by an officer of his Majesty's forty-eighth regiment; the other, a Lieutenant S. Marshall, of the first Madras European regiment, was killed, by an Ensign Hull striking him a violent blow on the temple, with a billiard queue, in the billiard-room at Masulipatam. Courts of Inquiry have been ordered, by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, to investigate both matters; but the results are yet unknown.

The ship *Herald* only remained a few days here, when she sailed for Calcutta; it is said Lord Amherst and family are to return in her to England, and that they will embark very shortly. The ship, it is expected, will not be detained beyond ten or twelve days in the Bengal river.

An extraordinary circumstance occurred to the ship *Venilia*, Captain Walmsley, last month: she sailed from Madras on the 12th ult., with Colonel Fagan, (who had been appointed to command the northern division of the army, in room of General Nicolls, removed to Calcutta,) and several other passengers, for Masulipatam and the northern ports. It is said she encountered a series of very tempestuous weather after leaving the Roads, and was several days without an observation. At last, she found herself far to the southward of Madras, for which port she bore up, and relanded her passengers on the 28th. They have since addressed a letter to the captain, stating that they were fully satisfied with his conduct. I understand they were most thankful to get on shore, having been sadly blown about.

Accounts have been received, within the last two days, from the army assembled near Kolapore, stating, that the Rajah had surrendered all his fortresses and territories to the Honourable Company. No particulars are yet published, further than that it is stipulated that a British force shall occupy the capital, and that British authorities shall govern the country. The cholera had been raging violently in the camp; fortunately its victims were mostly camp-followers.

The long-expected ship, *Warren Hastings*, reached this on the night of the 30th ult.; she left England the middle of May, and had touched at Johanna. In consequence of her long passage, provisions and water had become scarce, and, as she had a number of recruits on board for his Majesty's regiments on this establishment, their privations were considerable; and they had, for some days previous to her reaching this port, been very troublesome. It is said, that some unpleasant occurrences took place, during the

voyage, amongst the passengers, and that a General Court-martial will immediately investigate and decide upon the conduct of one or two officers implicated.

A Lieutenant P. Mellish, of the 48th Regiment N. I., has been dismissed from the service, by sentence of a General Court-martial, during last month, for continued and habitual drunkenness—a vice in which he seems to have indulged to a most degrading extent.

The rains set in on the 19th, and continued very heavy for several days, completely refreshing the face of the earth,—a phenomenon of nature which struck me very forcibly on my first arrival in India—I observed it this season more remarkably than ever. It is well known to all who have ever been in this country, that, in less than twenty-four hours after the commencement of the periodical rains, the appearance of verdure may be distinctly perceived, whichever way the eye is directed around; and that considerable ponds are formed in every hollow place, often presenting a continued sheet of water, where there had been no appearance of moisture for months before. But the most singular circumstance that occurs is, that no sooner are these ponds formed, than they are found to be swarming with fishes, of such a size, as to be caught with nets, and used as food by man. I witnessed this during the late rains, on a spot of ground near my dwelling: it had previously been as hard and dry as the most public road here; but, in forty-eight hours after the rains set in, I saw above twenty persons fishing on it, and they all seemed successful.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

C. D.

Madras, December 4, 1827.

LITTLE of novelty has occurred here during the month of November. It is always the dulllest period of the year, being the very height of the monsoon; and a sad wet and squally month it has been, more than the usual quantity of rain having fallen; and for some days the weather was extremely boisterous. About the middle of the month, it was particularly so; and several vessels that remained in the roads put to sea, as a storm seemed approaching, the swell being extremely great, and the surf breaking at an unusual height with dreadful violence. However, no damage befel any of the shipping; but, on the night of the 26th, a very heavy fall of rain completely inundated Black Town, and a great part of its vicinity. Much damage was done to buildings; and in Popham's Broadway one house fell in about midnight, burying its unfortunate inmates amongst the ruins. A Mrs. Godferry (a country-born woman) and her three Native servants were killed by this accident. Their bodies were dug out the following morning in a sadly mutilated state. Accounts from the adjacent country represent the fall of rain as having been very great. Several tanks had burst their

bounds, carrying all before them. The Editor of 'The Madras Courier,' in his paper of this day, mentions the tank at Coonkaramy having overflowed, and in its devastation carried off *ten villages*. However, he tells us nothing of the poor inhabitants; and, I apprehend, he will, by and by, correct this piece of news, by informing us it was *ten villagers* that perished—not ten villages.

The forty-second Madras Government Lottery was drawn during last month. The prize of one lac of rupees fell to a brave and gallant soldier, Colonel Leslie Walker, C.B., of his Majesty's 54th regiment of foot.

In my last letter, I mentioned that there had been some disturbance among the passengers on board the Hon. Company's ship *Warren Hastings*, during her late tedious voyage from England. An officer, who came out in her, has been tried by a General Court-martial, of which I enclose you the particulars. I also send a rather singular General Order, issued by the Commander-in-Chief here, relative to the instrument used in flogging in the army, and affixing a standard for its regulation.*

The Right Honourable the Governor paid his first visit to the Nabob on the 3d, at Cheapauk Palace, which was returned by his Highness on the 5th, when he was received at the Government-house with the accustomed honours. The usual salutes from the Palace and Fort announced the arrival and departure of these august personages. The Right Honourable the Governor also honoured the monthly Assembly with his presence on the 5th. The ball and supper went off with considerable *éclat*, although the company was more select than numerous, and the ridiculous late hour of assembly, which is now introduced here, prevented the dancing from commencing till nearly midnight.

Captain Hay, of his Majesty's 73d regiment of foot, who came out with our Governor as his Aide-de-Camp, died on the 18th, exactly a month from his landing, after a short but severe illness.

The Right Honourable the Governor gave his first public entertainment—a ball and supper—at the Banqueting-room, Government-house, on the evening of the 30th, (St. Andrew's.) The company was very numerous, and all seemed pleased with the affability, kindness, and condescension of their host.

The free trader, *Hope*, Captain Mill, (formerly Captain Flint,) arrived here on the 30th, from England; having left Portsmouth the 7th of August: she has made a fair passage, considering the season. She returns direct from this port, and will probably be filled with passengers, as there are many waiting here, and she is a favourite ship.

* This will be found under the Military head.

As it will be interesting to many of your readers, I give you annexed the list of his Majesty's regiments on this Establishment, with their several stations at this time :

His Majesty's 13th Regiment of Light Dragoons..	Arcot.
2d Battalion of the 1st, or Royal Regiment.....	Bangalore.
30th Regiment of Foot.....	Trichinopoly.
41st Regiment of ditto.....	Doonab.
45th Regiment of ditto.....	Molenrein.
46th Regiment of ditto.....	Hyderabad.
48th Regiment of ditto.....	Bellary.
54th Regiment of ditto.....	Cananore.
89th Regiment of ditto.....	Fort St. George.

The Royal Regiment, the 41st, 45th, 54th, and 89th regiments, which were all employed in Asia during the late disastrous war, and suffered severely, have been filled up by recruits from Europe. As a proof of the number of casualties in these regiments, a reference to the Army-list will show that the senior captains of some of them only obtained that rank in these corps in 1822 ; so that in five years they have seen other ten captains carried off from above them.

A captain of a free-trader that arrived here, a few months ago, had purchased a young lion at the Cape of Good Hope, which he brought in here with him. He sold him to a neighbour of mine, a gentleman who is extremely fond of collecting all sorts of curiosities, and has a twopenny nail said to have been drawn out of the Ark ; and, though it is iron, toss it into a tub of water, and it will swim like a feather. However, my neighbour very soon became tired of his purchase : nothing could be more dreadful than the roaring of the lion during the night. This, disturbing all around, very soon induced the consisseur to dispose of him. The noble animal, on exchanging owners, became the property of an itinerant Scotch pedlar, notorious for his rambling over the interior of this Presidency, and who knew well to what market to carry his purchase. He got a long pedigree made out, written on parchment, tracing the lineage of this king of the forest through a regular descent from the lions that were in the den with the Prophet Daniel, and descending from them as connected with some of the race in every royal menagerie in Europe ; particularly noting its being connected as grandson with the celebrated lion called Pompey, that died in the Tower of London in 1760, and which was said to have had the sagacity of knowing when it was introduced into the presence of royalty, being always accustomed, when visited by any of the royal family, to stretch its body on the ground. Our pedlar having procured two Natives as keepers of this descendant of so illustrious a line of ancestors, and the animal being very docile, they taught him to throw himself prostrate on the earth when touched on a particular part of the body. Thus educated, the lion was conducted by its owners and keepers to the kingdom of Mysore, and care taken to communicate to his Highness the Rajah due notice

of its approach to the capital ; for the pedlar had before sold the Rajah a good many bargains, and, having a few friends at court, managed their matters well. His Highness, of course, became impatient to see, and, if possible, become purchaser of this extraordinary stranger that had arrived in his kingdom. Previously, however, to his being gratified with an interview, it was necessary that he should hear the pedigree of the noble beast, and to this he listened with great attention, remarking, of course, that, should the animal be such as represented, and possess the abilities of its forefathers, he would, on coming into his presence, instantly recognise royalty, and assuredly he did ; for, no sooner were these august personages introduced to each other, than the keepers tickled the lion on the right spot, and down he went. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and pleasure expressed by the silly monarch, who instantly begged the pedlar to name any sum he liked as the price of the lion ; and report says, he did get a very handsome remuneration.

More good continues to be effected by our zealous Superintendant of Police, who is most indefatigable in his efforts for the public weal. The monkey tribe have long been a sad annoyance to his Majesty's lieges in and about Madras : in fact, so very numerous were they become in Black Town, that their depredations were often equal to that of an organised gang of thieves. Some of them were to be met with in every quarter, and they seemed continually on the alert to lay hold of whatever might come in their way. They frequently enter dwelling-houses by any window or other aperture that may be open, and in a short time destroy and demolish every thing that comes in their way : China, glassware, and looking-glasses they smash with seemingly great satisfaction, and often have been known to get hold of a valuable watch and knock it to pieces on a stone, to ascertain from whence the sound within it proceeded. They frequently rob fruit-stalls, and sweetmeat-sellers are often sad sufferers from them : in fact, nothing seemed to come wrong to them,—and it was often astonishing to see them when they got at a quantity of any thing they liked : some would enter the room or enclosure where the booty was, others were stationed like sentinels outside, to give warning of an approaching danger, and there would be others to whom those inside threw-out whatever they wished to carry away, and thus formed a line to convey their pillage to some place of safety. So very dexterous and quick-sighted are they, that they seldom allow any thing to fall from them in thus transporting it ; and seldom or never is any thing recoverable, if they once get it into their mischievous fangs. Against this predatory class of quadrupeds are all the energies of our excellent police now at work ; but the lives of the offenders are spared, and rewards of half a rupee for a larger, and a quarter of a rupee for a small monkey, given to those who catch them. They are collected at the Police Office, and kept blind-folded for some days, when they are

transported to a jungle seventy miles distant; and, as they are conveyed in a state of blindness, there is little chance of their return. Natives here deem it unlucky to kill them, and it is on this account they are not at once extirpated.

There is a species of monkeys here known by the name of the Preacher. I know not to what creed they adhere; but their voice is remarkable and so very loud as to be heard at a great distance: naturalists mention them as having some peculiar conformation of the windpipe that augments the voice. Many of this class have, since the prohibition against the race was published, been observed to assemble together; and one of them, taking his station on some eminence, harangues the rest in a dismal howl. His audience seem perfectly sensible of his address, and remain profoundly silent for some time, when the whole body break out together, and join in chorus for some seconds, after which they very quietly break up. It is hard to say to what class of intruders the exertions of our police may next be directed; *mosquitoes* might afford the active man a fine field.

Your remarks, in a late number, on the very little ability displayed in editing the different newspapers here, are allowed to be very just; for it is scarcely possible there can be any thing worse than the selections that are made by our editors for filling up the columns of their respective journals; and, as many of the readers peruse English papers, they are often disgusted at meeting, perhaps months after, abridged scraps of matter which they have long before become acquainted with from English papers. Long dry Parliamentary debates, or silly stories, often occupy whole sheets, which, by a judicious selection from English periodical publications, might be rendered at once amusing and instructive to every class of readers. And as for Indian news, it is in vain to look for any thing of this description in Madras newspapers: I generally send those I take in to my friends in England, although, God knows, there is often not one item of Indian intelligence to be gained from them for months together. Surely our editors might manage to devote, were it but half a sheet weekly, to local or rather Indian affairs; and, if in that sheet were inserted, the births, marriages, and deaths, it could readily be sent home; whereas, by the present mode, what little local news can be gleaned, is scattered throughout a sheet which constitutes the paper, and three or four half sheets of Supplements, with, frequently, a slip of China paper attached, about the size of a Dubash's memorandum book; and this last containing, in addition to the price of rice, paddy, and grain, the only Indian news that may be worth transmitting to England. Then the sizes of the different pieces which constitute a week's paper, are so various, as to put the possibility of binding them out of any person's power: altogether, great reform and amendment is required in the conducting of the several newspapers published at Madras, before they can be named as above mediocrity. You are aware that

the Government Gazette is conveyed free of postage all over the dependencies of Fort St. George; all others pay postage, which is a drawback to their circulation. That eminent statesman, Mr. Pitt, contributed much to the general diffusion of knowledge and information throughout Great Britain, when he imposed the stamp duty upon newspapers, and allowed them free circulation by post over the kingdom. By this single act, he contributed, in fact, more than any former patron, or any advantage of events, to extend the whole of the literature of England, as far as such was in the nature of things possible, by mere newspapers and newspaper-matter. How far such measures could, with proportionate advantage, be adopted in India, I cannot say; but, were newspapers subject here to a stamp duty, and allowed free circulation by post, it is evident the preference would then be given to those papers that were conducted with the greatest ability, and not, as at present, from motives of economy, to the Government Gazette, the pages of which are seldom very bright.

I cannot finish the subject of newspapers without noticing the very ridiculous extra papers frequently issued here, on the arrival of a ship from England, and the consequent disappointment experienced by the public. I give you a copy of one that I happen to have preserved.

Madras ——— Extraordinary.

— February 18, —.

'We have the pleasure of announcing the arrival, yesterday, of the ship ———, Captain ———, from Portsmouth, 12th October.'

(Here follows a list of passengers.)

'By this arrival, we have received files of London papers, down to the 9th of October, and hasten to lay before our readers the following heads of intelligence:

'Stocks were steady.

'His Majesty continued well. A violent storm had dispersed the Royal party in Virginia Water. Lady Conyngham much alarmed.

'An unusual number of suicides in Wales.

'Another steam-vessel exploded. No lives lost; but the Captain and five of the crew mortally wounded.

'The Coast Preventive-Service had been very harassing. The smugglers extremely bold. Several sailors lost their lives, and some marines killed.

'Great riots in England, but not particularly mentioned where.

'We observe that Lord Egremont's hounds were to meet on the 7th of November, at Petworth, and continue in that neighbourhood during the month.

'The Maidenhead and Leatherhead hounds were also to assemble at High Wycombe, about the middle of the month.

'A cat, the property of the Professors of Natural History at Oxford, having lost its tail when young, had had a litter of kittens, all of which wanted tails.

'In our regular papers of next week, we hope to be able to follow up the foregoing important particulars by a fuller detail.'

Can there be a more odd production than this 'Heads of News'? The following is extracted from an old Madras paper:

'The Editor begs leave to mention, that a bundle, containing a num-

ber of valuable communications from correspondents in the interior, has been mislaid: consequently, their contents cannot now be published; but it is earnestly hoped, that this intimation will be deemed a sufficient apology for these productions not appearing in our columns.'

Our press here is rarely employed in issuing to the world any thing beyond newspapers, and now and then a work in the Native language, as the Army List and Almanack, with an occasional fresh edition of the 'Vepery Dispensary Drug List,' or a report of some charitable institution; and it is pleasing to say, that Madras abounds with establishments of this description, there being numerous benevolent asylums open for the relief of the destitute, as well as for the offspring of misery, conferring a high degree of credit on their originators, as well as on the people by whom they are supported, and amongst whom they flourish. The notice of the proceedings of public institutions, is always of consequence both to those bodies themselves, and to all who feel an interest in the proper management of their affairs; and I hear it frequently made a subject of conversation and regret in society here, that yearly accounts are not published of the funds, &c. of the different charitable institutions of Madras, not from any suspicion of mismanagement, but as a satisfaction to those who, by their liberal subscriptions, tend to support them. The same remark is applicable to several religious societies here, for whose support large subscriptions are often raised, but the appropriation of which remains hid, at least from such as do not make it their business to pry into the concern.

I recollect your noticing the subscription raised here in 1824, for the relief of the poor then suffering from famine. The accounts of that charity were long withheld from the public, and only given when called upon by some anonymous writer, in one of our Madras papers, being at last brought forth, accompanied by the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*.

I have lately conversed with an artillery officer, just returned from our new settlements on the Tenasserim Coast, of which he gives a sadly miserable account. The Europeans there are undergoing many privations, particularly the soldiers of his Majesty's 45th regiment, and their families, stationed at Molemain, the principal military station, which is said not to be at all a well chosen spot, the surrounding country yielding very scanty supplies, there being no Native population to cultivate what little soil there is that would bear crops of rice; consequently, the troops are frequently victualled on salt provisions, and a great part of the rice that is used is brought from Bengal. Few articles are procurable in the bazaars of any use to the European soldiery, who are much in want of shoes, wearing apparel, and cotton cloth, &c.; and, as for European articles of consumption, such as liquors, wines, cheese, or hams, the price of them far exceeds what a European subaltern officer can afford: indeed, it requires the entire pay of every officer under the rank of a captain to pay his mess-bill, with only a small

allowance of wine; and the mess-table has rarely any thing to boast of beyond some tasteless venison and worse buffalo beef, with now and then a solitary fowl or wild duck. The ingredients for the tea-table are equally inaccessible, but to such as can afford enormous prices; in fact, every comfort that Europeans require on such service is beyond their reach, and hence the number of casualties amongst them greatly exceeds that of the Native troops, as the latter manage pretty well where rice and water are attainable, while the former, from want of proper and wholesome nourishment, are daily falling off in dysenteries, bowel-complaints, &c. The deaths in his Majesty's 45th regiment, both of officers and men, have been very great. The force of Molemain is said to be about 2,000 men, Europeans and Natives; and, during late months, 500 men were generally off duty, either in hospitals or in the sick list. The barracks and officers' houses are composed of bamboos and thatch, affording little shelter either from the scorching heat or heavy monsoon.

JUNIOR UNITED SERVICE CLUB.

To the Editor of the Oriental Herald.

SIR, . . .

London, May, 25, 1828.

A LETTER having appeared in the last Number of 'The Oriental Herald,' under the Signature of 'A Subscriber,' accompanied by a Correspondence purporting to have taken place between a Member of the Junior United Service Club, and an Officer of the Indian Army, who had been rejected by that Club, the direct tendency of which is to create an impression on the minds of the Officers of the Hon. Company's Service, highly unfavourable to the character, for liberality, of the majority of the Officers of the King's service, connected with the United Service Club, and particularly with the Junior Club of that name,—I am confident that I have only to appeal to your sense of justice to ensure the insertion, in the next Number of your Journal, of a few remarks, having for their object to remove the feeling so likely to have been excited in the minds of your readers by the letter alluded to, which, as it appears to me, is calculated not only to subvert that union, which has latterly so happily subsisted between the Members of the two Services, but (and this is of still higher importance) which might, if suffered to remain uncontradicted, prove detrimental to the general interests of the public service itself.

With regard to the statement of your Correspondent respecting the late Sir Thomas Munro, who, it is asserted; 'narrowly escaped being blackballed,' on being balloted for by the United Service Club, I cannot, being wholly unacquainted with the fact, attempt a refutation of such statement. It appears, however, by your Correspondent's own showing, that Sir Thomas *did* escape, and when I inform you that, by the Rules of the United Service Club, it is provided, that 'no ballot shall be considered valid, unless fifty members actually ballot,' and that 'one blank-ball in ten shall exclude;'

I think you will agree with me, that your Correspondent's subsequent observations are hardly justified by the circumstances of the case, it being obvious that upwards of forty-five members must have voted for the admission of Sir Thomas Munro, supposing the minimum number of fifty, only, to have attended the ballot; and it being further to be borne in mind, that a considerable number of the Company's Officers are members of the Club, from whom (though I am far from asserting the probability of such a circumstance) the black-balls, if any actually appeared, might, by possibility, have proceeded.

But, Sir, if, in the preceding instance, I can only oppose general inferences (founded, however, upon incontrovertible data) to the case cited by your Correspondent, I am enabled to give the most unqualified and decisive contradiction to his assertion, that a determination exists, on the part of the Members of the *Junior United Service Club*, who are connected with the King's Service, to prevent any one else from joining the Club, and, by consequence, to refute at once the odium which it is attempted to throw upon that body.

By a careful examination of the Ballot Book, which is open to the inspection of every Member of the Club, I have ascertained that, although several cases are upon record of officers both of the King's Army and Navy having failed in their attempts to obtain admission, but one solitary instance has occurred of an officer of the Indian Army having been rejected; and to show, further, that this instance is not the commencement of a system of exclusion, I may state that several officers of the same Service have subsequently been admitted.

It is not my present object to defend the system of ballot, which is common, I believe, to all similar establishments; nor to deny that it affords the means of giving vent to private, and, perhaps in some instances, to unjustifiable personal prejudices against individual candidates. I am only anxious to show that no exclusive practice, in this respect, is established in the *Junior United Service Club*, and that, however painful its operation may have proved in the particular instance which has called forth the animadversions of your correspondent, yet that its general effect has not been such as to justify the severe remarks which have been applied by him, to a majority of the establishment. I have the honour to be,
 Sir, your very obedient servant,

A MEMBER OF THE JUNIOR UNITED SERVICE CLUB.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

WE have seen a correspondence and other documents in support of the statements contained in the above, which confirms us in our opinion, that the impression taken up by the Officer of the Indian Army in our last, however honestly entertained, was founded on erroneous information; and we trust that this explanation will have the effect intended and desired.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

At a Meeting of the Subscribers, held on Wednesday the 7th of May, 1828, at the house of the Royal Asiatic Society, his Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, in the chair, a communication from Mr Pettigrew was made to the Meeting, expressing his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex's regret that he was prevented, by indisposition, from taking the chair, as had been announced in the circular letter by which the Meeting was convened.

The Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., Chairman of the Oriental Translation Committee, read the Prospectus explanatory of the objects of the Subscribers and Committee, the names of the Patrons and Subscribers, and lists of the Committee, as originally selected by the Royal Asiatic Society, and as subsequently enlarged by the addition of the most eminent British Orientalists, in various parts of the world. He then read a Report of the proceedings of the Committee, from the date of its nomination to the present time, accompanied by a list of the Translations that have been offered to it for publication. The Chairman of the Committee then submitted to the consideration of the Subscribers the regulations which had been prepared, for the government of the Committee, in the administration of the Oriental Translation Fund.

It was then moved by the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Melville, seconded by Sir Edward Hyde East, Bart., M. P., and resolved unanimously, 'That the appointment of the Committee, named in the list submitted to this Meeting, be confirmed.'

Moved by the Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, M. P., seconded by Sir Edward Kerrison, Bart., M. P., and resolved unanimously, 'That the report of the Committee be adopted, and their proceedings approved and confirmed.'

Moved by the Right Honourable the Earl of Cassilis, seconded by George Watson Taylor, Esq., M. P., and resolved unanimously, 'That the regulations for the Oriental Translation Committee be confirmed.'

Moved by Sir Edward Kerrison, Bart., M. P., seconded by Sir J. Wathen Waller, Bart., and resolved unanimously, 'That Sir Hutton Cooper, Bart., M. P., be requested to accept the office of Auditor of the Oriental Translation Fund, for the ensuing year.'

Moved by Sir Alexander Johnstone, Knt., seconded by the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., and resolved unanimously, 'That the grateful thanks of this Meeting be returned to his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, for the zealous and efficient man-

ner in which his Royal Highness has promoted the establishment of the Oriental Translation Fund.'

Moved by Sir Edward Hyde East, Bart., M. P., seconded by Sir Hutton Cooper, Bart., M. P., and resolved unanimously, 'That Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence be requested to accept the office of Treasurer to the Oriental Translation Fund.'

Moved by the Right Honourable Earl Spencer, seconded by the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., and resolved unanimously, 'That the most grateful thanks of this Meeting be given to the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, for their liberality in promoting the views of the Subscribers to the Oriental Translation Fund, by granting them the use of their house and library, and by their splendid annual donation of one hundred guineas.'

Moved by Sir J. Wathen Waller, Bart., seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel William Blackburne, and resolved unanimously, 'That an account of this day's proceedings, accompanied by the report from the Committee, the prospectus, and the regulations, be printed for distribution.'

Moved by Admiral Sir Charles Morice Pole, Bart., seconded by the Right Honourable the Earl of Cassilis, and resolved unanimously, 'That the thanks of this Meeting be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, for his kind intention of presiding at this Meeting, which was solely prevented by his Royal Highness's lamented indisposition.'

Moved by the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., seconded by Sir Alexander Johnstone, Knt., and resolved unanimously, 'That the cordial thanks of this Meeting be given to Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence, for his great and successful exertions in favour of the Oriental Translation Fund.'

Moved by the Right Honourable Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, M. P., seconded by the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart., and carried by acclamation, 'That the Right Honourable Earl Spencer be added to the Vice-Patrons of the Oriental Translation Fund.'

His Royal Highness having left the chair, it was moved by the Right Honourable Earl Spencer, seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence, and resolved unanimously, 'That the warmest thanks of this Meeting be given to his Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, for his able and condescending conduct in the chair.'

WILLIAM HUTTMANN, Secretary.

DEBATE AT THE EAST INDIA HOUSE.

*Wednesday, May 28, 1828.*GRANT OF 200*l.* PER ANNUM TO MAJOR CUNNINGHAME.

A Special General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock was held this day, for the purpose of laying before the proprietors, for their approbation, a resolution of the Court of Directors of the 2d of April last, granting to Major George Cunninghame, of the Bengal retired list, an allowance of 200*l.* per annum, in addition to his present pay and allowance of 130*l.* per annum, on the grounds therein stated.

The CHAIRMAN, (W. Astell, Esq.,) having stated the purpose for which the Court had been summoned, the resolution of the Court of Directors was read, from which it appeared, that, in 1816, Major (then Captain) Cunninghame had greatly signalised himself in quelling a dangerous mutiny at Bareilly. In the course of an action with the insurgents, his horse was shot under him, and he fell on the hilt of his sword, by which he was severely wounded. He then proceeded to sea, for the benefit of his health, and returned to India in 1818; but, his health still continuing in a bad state, he was obliged again to go to sea. In 1819, he arrived in England, and in 1822, he represented to the Court of Directors the state of bodily suffering under which he laboured, and alluded, also, to the fact, that he had lost his private property by the failure of a house of agency. In January, 1823, he was permitted to retire on his half-pay of 173*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* per annum. A pension of 100*l.* was subsequently granted to him, and an addition of 30*l.* was afterwards made to that pension. The Court of Directors now recommended an additional pension of 200*l.* per annum, on the grounds of the important services rendered by Major Cunninghame at Bareilly, in 1816, and the injury which he had received at that critical period, by which his health had been greatly impaired.

The CHAIRMAN then moved, 'That the Court approve of the said resolution, subject to the confirmation of another General Court.'

Captain MAXFIELD had no wish to disturb the unanimity of the present vote, but there was a circumstance respecting Major Cunninghame, which ought to be generally known, namely, that he had been placed upon the retired list without solicitation. He knew it was the general opinion among the officers of India, that they might come to this country for the recovery of their health and return again to India; but, if it was the intention of the Directors to put all officers that came home on ill-health, on the retired list, it was a practice that should be notified to the officers in India.

Mr. TRANT rose with satisfaction to express his concurrence in the present vote. He had been at Bareilly at the time of the insurrection there, and the services of Major Cunninghame in its suppression were most important. There were peculiar circumstances attending the situation of Major Cunninghame, with respect to the corps which he commanded, which would place his conduct in a point of view unquestionably justifying every degree of consideration on the part of the Court towards that gallant officer. The corps commanded by Major Cunninghame, was composed entirely of Natives of Bareilly, and the relations and friends of these men endeavoured to induce them not to proceed against the insurgents; but, such were the excellent arrangements of Major Cunninghame, that not a soldier quitted his standard, with the exception

of one, who was shot in the act of desertion. A crisis more dangerous to the interests of British India than at that time had never occurred. With respect to the suffering of Major Cunningham he could speak, as that officer had passed some time at his house, after quelling the insurrection, and he could state, that the ill-health he laboured under was produced by the injuries he received in that action. Under these circumstances, and feeling the deepest gratitude to Major Cunningham for having preserved his life, and the lives of all the English at Bareilly, he should have agreed to a much larger grant, and he did hope that, as he had, in a great measure, recovered his health, some opportunity would be found of calling upon him to serve in India again.

Mr. RIGBY concurred in the propriety of the grant, but begged leave to observe, that, looking to the advertisement, it would appear that Major Cunningham would receive but 330*l.* a-year, whereas, including half-pay and his previous pension of 130*l.*, he would be in the annual receipt of 503*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* With that income, he hoped the gallant officer and his friends would be satisfied, and, if he felt any regret at what the hon. Proprietor, who last spoke, had said, it was for expressing some doubt, whether sufficient liberality had been shown by the Directors.

Mr. TRANT did not mean to say that enough had not been done under the circumstances of the case; but it was natural for him, under the peculiar feelings of gratitude which he felt towards Major Cunningham, to have been willing to concur in a larger vote.

Mr. GAHAGAN was of opinion that the amount of pension, &c., should have been more correctly stated.

AN HON. PROPRIETOR, who was in India at the time of the insurrection at Bareilly, bore testimony to the able conduct of Major Cunningham on that critical occasion.

General THORNTON approved of the motion, but wished, if there were any chance of Major Cunningham's being hereafter employed in the Company's service, that the words which had been added to the motion in Captain Buchanan's case, should be introduced in the present instance. Those words went to grant the pension unto the individual 'so long as he remained out of employment.' He thought too, it ought always to be a rule to add those words to grants of money, as in the case of Sir J. Malcolm, 1000*l.* per annum had been given, because it was stated, there was no chance of his being again employed; whereas, now he had received an office, and still continued to enjoy the 1000*l.* a year.

The CHAIRMAN observed, that the ground-work of the present recommendation was Major Cunningham's ill health, which was likely to continue all his life, and therefore, there was no hope of his being again employed. As to what had been said by the hon. proprietor (Captain Maxfield), he could assure him that the rules and regulations of the service were perfectly understood by the officers abroad. The Court of Directors had acted strictly up to the established rule on this occasion. That rule was prescribed by the Act of Parliament, which empowered them, where ill-health was proved by the certificate of an officer's medical attendant, to act as they had done in this instance.

The resolution was then agreed to unanimously.

Mr. RIGBY wished to mention a circumstance, which had not been stated by any Proprietor,—that the application of this gallant Officer was founded on the failure of the house in which he had invested his funds.

EAST INDIA DOCKS' BILL.

The CHAIRMAN then informed the Court, that it was made further special, for the purpose of laying before the Proprietors the draught of a Bill now before Parliament, entitled, 'A Bill to consolidate and amend several Acts for the further improvement of the Port of London, by making Docks and other works at Blackwall, for the accommodation of East India Shipping.'

Mr. GAHAGAN requested to know in what stage the Bill was.

The CHAIRMAN stated, that the Bill had been reported, but no notice had yet been given of the third reading.

Mr. GAHAGAN said, that, according to the bye-law, all papers affecting the interest of the Company, which were laid before Parliament, ought, at the next General Court, to be submitted to the Proprietors. Now Sir J. Mackintosh had moved for certain papers relative to the insolvency of Mr. Ricketts, and he hoped they would be laid on the table at the next General Court. The Hon. Proprietor then complained, that, though many of the Directors were Members of Parliament, they never opened their mouths in the House of Commons when questions of immense importance to the well-being and good government of India were debated there. When the question respecting insolvent debtors in India was brought under the notice of Parliament, by two most able men, Mr. Fergusson and Sir J. Mackintosh, he had never heard that a single Director had made one remark; and the same silence was preserved on a question introduced last Parliament with respect to the trade of India.

The CHAIRMAN said, that, in laying the draught of the present Bill before the Proprietors, the by-law had been complied with. The House of Commons, he knew, had ordered papers on the subject to which the hon. Proprietor had alluded, and when that order was fulfilled, the papers would be laid before the Proprietors. With respect to what the hon. Proprietor had said of the silence of Directors in Parliament, he contended that he and his colleagues who happened to be in Parliament, attended both to the interests of the public and of the East India Company, although they did not make speeches on every subject. Much more was frequently done by those who were silent than by those who indulged in declamation.

Mr. RIGBY wished to know what connection this Company had with the East India Dock Company, the compulsory clause in the Act of Parliament obliging the East India Company to send their vessels to the East India Docks having expired; and, also, how many Directors of the East India Company were Directors of the East India Dock Company.

The CHAIRMAN said, that this Bill was brought in by the East India Dock Company, in consequence of the compulsory clauses in the old Bill having expired. By these clauses the Company were bound for a certain number of years to send their ships to the East India Docks; but, that obligation being at an end, they might now send their ships where they pleased, with the exception of their large China ships, which could go no where else, the gates of the other Docks not being sufficiently large to admit them. With respect to the other question of the hon. Proprietor, he could inform him that three Directors of the East India Company were Directors of the East India Dock Company, and he (the Chairman) was one.

Mr. RIGBY and Mr. WEEDING expressed their conviction that the in-

terests of the East India Company had been carefully seen to in the Bill before Parliament.

An Hon. DIRECTOR thought the interests of a Director of the East India Dock Company, and of the East India Company, incompatible.

Captain MAXFIELD was of the same opinion.

The CHAIRMAN did not think a man, because he was a Director of the East India Company, was, therefore, incapacitated from being a Director of any other Company. For himself he could only say, that he had no fear of being able to discharge his duty to both Companies without having his character called in question.

ABUSE OF PATRONAGE.

THE CHAIRMAN acquainted the Court, that the Court of Directors had felt it to be their duty, in reference to recent proceedings which had taken place in the Court of King's Bench against certain parties, to lay before the Proprietors the whole of the papers relative to the case of Mr. E. D. Beck, and also to the case of Cadet Bayley, of the Madras service, who had been recalled, as his appointment appeared to have been improperly obtained.

Captain PRESCOTT only requested the Proprietors to examine strictly those papers, and, after so doing, if he should have lost their confidence, he did not wish to remain behind that bar. He wanted no favour or affection—he sought for nothing but honest, fair, and candid investigation. He had been, in the first place, tried by a jury of his country, and honourably acquitted; but, unless his acquittal came also from the Proprietors, he did not wish to keep his seat. (*Hear!*)

Captain MAXFIELD wished to know whether it was the intention of the Court of Directors to take any further steps respecting the cadetship mentioned, in the papers laid before the Court, as having been improperly obtained.

The CHAIRMAN answered, that the Court of Directors had done all that they were called on to do. They were convinced that the cadetship had been procured by corrupt means, and they therefore recalled the individual.

Captain PRESCOTT declared that he had given his patronage only to his friends, and he challenged the Court to examine, in what manner he had given away his appointments, whether civil or military. He had only given away eight appointments, and he repeated he had given them only to his friends. He could state their names, and they might be examined; but he would not be made the scape-goat of any one. (*Hear!*)

The Hon. H. LINDSAY said, he felt, when the circumstances of this case first came to his knowledge, that the Court of Directors were obliged to go into a most delicate and disagreeable investigation. He was compelled to bring forward the subject. He, and his Hon. Friend, Sir George Robinson, had this most disagreeable subject before them for several months; and they were anxious, painful as the duty was, to sift these nefarious practices, and to bring them before the Court of Directors. He had watched over the subject with deep anxiety, till the time arrived when it became his duty to lay it before the Court of Directors. He could not describe the feelings by which he was overwhelmed, when he found that a Director was implicated in such transactions. The Court of Directors, actuated by a just feeling of jealousy with respect to the appropriation of patronage, appointed a Select Committee, consisting of the two Chair/ and the Senior Member of three of

the Committees of that House, to investigate the facts. Having examined all the evidence they could discover, including two Directors, it ultimately became their painful duty to bring before the public all the parties concerned in this nefarious transaction. In doing this, they did not act on their own opinion, but on the opinion of the Attorney and Solicitor-General, as well as on the no less able opinion of their legal adviser, Mr. Serjeant Bosanquet. With these united opinions, the Select Committee came before the Court of Directors, who immediately said, 'Here is a certain number of persons who must be brought to trial for their conduct.' It was not until the actual moment of discovery, that he suspected that any Director was implicated in the business; but, having made that discovery, those who were intrusted with the investigation, could not lay claim to even the shadow of justice, if they had not acted as they did. When, on a former day, he left the short-hand notes of the trial before the Proprietors, he should have been acting wrong, if he had not congratulated the Court and the Hon. Director himself, on his acquittal by a jury of his country. (*Hear!*) It was, he thought, but justice to the late Court of Directors,—but justice to him,—but justice to the Select Committee,—that the Court of Directors should investigate those papers, and see whether the executive body were not right in exercising the discretion they had done in taking that very painful step,—namely, the bringing the case before a jury of the country.

Captain PRESCOTT said, he had no reason to complain of the hon. Director for the manner in which he had brought the case forward; indeed, if he had not brought it forward, he would not have been doing his duty. He asked the Proprietors to investigate the case. He had gone through the fiery ordeal of a court of justice, and was acquitted; but the Proprietors had placed him behind the bar; he had served them, man and boy, for 41 years; and he did not want to retain his seat if he had lost their confidence. Let them tell him so, and he would retire. He did not blame the hon. Director for bringing the business forward; but he did complain, that the delicacy which was due from one gentleman towards another, had not been observed towards him. He had been dragged before the Committee without any notice whatever having been given to him.

The Hon. H. LINDSAY said, he had no idea, till within a few hours of the discovery, that any Director was implicated; therefore, he had no time to make a communication. But he thought, even if he had time, he should have failed in his duty, if he had made such a communication to the hon. Director.

Mr. CARRUTHERS expressed his regret, as a Proprietor, at the conversation which had taken place, because enough had been said to show that a schism, an uncomfortable feeling, prevailed in the Court of Directors.

The Hon. H. LINDSAY moved, that all the papers which had been laid before the Court, on the subject of the case of Mr. E. D. Beck, and of Cadet Bayley, be printed for the use of the Proprietors.

Captain PRESCOTT seconded the motion.

An hon. DIRECTOR said, that, a question having been put to him by his friend on the right (Capt. Prescott), as to what was the impression of the Court with respect to a Director being guilty of an abuse of patronage, begged to state, there was a great unwillingness to believe the fact.

The Court then adjourned.

CIVIL AND MILITARY APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, AND CHANGES IN INDIA.

[B. signifies Bombay—M. Madras—and C. Calcutta.]

- Aldritt, J., Capt., returned to duty, removed from 1st to 3d Batt. of Artillery.—M. Dec. 8.
- Ardagh, N. S. F. J. R., Capt., and Dep. Judge Adv. Gen., 47th N.I., on leave to the Presidency.
- Arbutnot, G., Lieut. and Adj., 3d Light Cav., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 21.
- Arding, C., Lieut., 58th N.I., to rank, v. Baillie, retired.—C. Dec. 7.
- Addison, J., Capt., Invalid Batt., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 3.
- Affleck, R., Ens., 16th N.I., to be Lieut.—M. Dec. 12.
- Anderson, W. S., Surg., to be Staff Surg. to troops on coast of Tennasserim, v. Campbell.—M. Dec. 11.
- Budd, H., Ens., 3d reg., or P. L. I., on furlough to Presidency for health.—M. Dec. 15.
- Beagin, W. G., Ens., posted to 16th N. I.—M. Dec. 8.
- Briggs, H., Lieut., 2d L. Cav., to be Adj., v. Flayer, deceased.—M. Dec. 4.
- Barclay, P., Capt., 14th N. I., to be Major, v. Hatherley, prom.—M. Dec. 4.
- Bunton, J., Surg., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Nov. 27.
- Bryant, E. P., Ens., 49th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Douglas, prom.—C. Dec. 10.
- Barclay, J., Capt., 4th L. Cav., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 10.
- Batten, G. M., Mr., to be Assist. to the Commiss. at Dehlee.—C. Nov. 29.
- Braddon, R., Maj., 11th L. Inf., transferred to Invalid Estab., app. to Chittagong Prov. Batt.—C. Dec. 7.
- Barrett, T. C., Cadet of Inf., and prom. to Ens.—C. Dec. 7.
- Bird, W. C. L., Lieut.-Col., Inv. Estab., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 7.
- Blundell, G. S., Capt., 51st N. I., on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 7.
- Baseley, C., Lieut., 51st N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 14.
- Cheetham, J. E., Ens., 11th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Sewell, prom.—C. Dec. 7.
- Cheere, H., Ens., 6th Extra N. I., to be Lieut., v. Kennedy, dec.—C. Dec. 10.
- Campbell, C., Surg., to be Superintending Surg. on the Estab., v. Reddie, dec.—C. Dec. 3.
- Cookson, W., Cadet of Cav., prom. to Cornet.—C. Dec. 10.
- Cruickshank, J., Surg., rem. from 8th N. I. to 8th L. Cav.—M. Nov. 27.
- Carnegy, P. O., Mr., to be Dep. Sec. to the Government of Penang.
- Curling, C. S., Surg. to rank, v. Reddie, dec.—C. Dec. 7.
- Cartwright, C. R., Mr., to be 1st Assist. to Resident at Indore.—C. Dec. 14.
- Colvin, J. R., Mr., to be 2d Assist. to Resident at Hyderabad.—C. Dec. 14.
- Chippendale, S., Assist.-Surg., rem. from 1st Brig. Horse Artill. to 33d N. I.—M. Dec. 15.
- Coyle, H., Capt., 28th N. I., on leave to Neilgherry hills for health.—M. Dec. 15.
- Cozens, R., Capt., 49th N. I., on furl. to the Western Coast.—M. Dec. 10.
- Catten, G. S., 2d Lieut., lately arrived, posted to 3d batt. Artill.—M. Dec. 8.
- Campbell, J., Ens., posted to 42d N. I.—M. Dec. 8.
- Crawford, A., Capt., Commissary of Ordnance with the Force in Doonab, to visit the Western Coast for health.—M. Dec. 4.
- Curre, J., Sen. Eis., 8th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Hall, prom.—M. Nov. 30.
- Carfrae, J. Lieut.-Col., 36th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Nov. 27.
- Crompton, C. F., Ens. Infantry, to take rank.—M. Nov. 27.
- Cromelin, G. R., Lieut., 1st L. Cav., to be Capt. of a Troop, v. Stamford, res.—C. Dec. 7.
- Clerk, J., Capt., 22d N. I., to Command in the Northern Districts of Guzerat, v. Gillum.—B. Jan. 7.
- Cooper, F., Mr., admitted Assist.-Surg. at Fort George.—M. Dec. 18.
- Cotton, W., Lieut., 10th N. I., to be Adj., v. Kenny.—M. Dec. 18.

- Cole, R., Assist.-Surg., app. to do duty at St. Thomas's Mount.—M. Dec. 18.
 Campbell, J., Surg., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 14.
 Donaldson, D., Surg., app. to Garrison of Bellary v. Burton, on furl.—M. Nov. 27.
 Douglas, J. F., Lieut. 49th N. I., to be Capt. of a company v. Phillips, dec.—C. Dec. 10.
 Davidson, C. J., Mr., to be Superintend. of the Eastern or Narramunge Div. of Salt Chokies.—C. Nov. 30.
 Drew, J. Mr., to be Collector of Land Revenue and Customs at Dacca.—C. Nov. 30.
 Dickenson, T., Capt., to be Assist. to Commissioners in Arracan.—C. Dec. 14.
 Darke, F. C., Lieut. 4th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 3.
 Durack, F., Lieut. 24th reg., to act as Adj. to five Native companies of the Poonah Div. v. Woodburn.—B. Jan. 7.
 Fasberry, F., Capt. Inval. Estab., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Nov. 30.
 Fagan, Christopher, Lieut.-Col., Comm. 56th N. I., to be Adj. Gen. of the army, with a seat at the Military and Clothing Board v. Watson on furl.—C. Dec. 10.
 Fitton, P. B., Capt. 27th N. I., to rank, v. Axford retired.—C. Dec. 7.
 Forest, Assist.-Surg. 20th Foot, to have charge of Field Detachment Hospital at Satara.—B. Jan. 7.
 Francis, C. B., Assist.-Surg., to be Surg. v. Farquhar retired.—C. Dec. 7.
 Fyfe, W., Lieut. 52d N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Dec. 11.
 Gibb, W. E., Ens. 14th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Mathias, prom.—M. Dec. 4.
 Grote, F., Lieut. Artill., to be an Aid-de-camp., on personal staff of the Gov.-Gen. v. Crole on furl.—C. Dec. 7.
 Graham, H. G., Assist.-Surg., appointed to do duty at St. Thomas's Mount.—M. Dec. 18.
 Heythuysen, H. T. Van, Capt., rem. from 2d to 1st Batt. Pioneers.—M. Dec. 12.
 Horne, J., Lieut., rem. from 4th Batt. to 1st Brig. of Horse Artill.—M. Dec. 12.
 Hillyard, H. T., Ens., rem. from 43d to 14th N. I.—M. Dec. 5.
 Hay, W. R., Assist.-Surg., is attached to the principal Collector and Political Agent in the Southern Mahratta Country.—M. Nov. 30.
 Hele, P. S., Sen. Lieut. 8th N. I., to be Capt. v. Fasberry, Inval.—M. Nov. 30.
 Humfrays, S. J., Assist.-Surg. 5th Lt. Cav. on furl. to Neilgherry Hills for health.
 Hele, P. S., 8th N. I., transferred to Inval. Estab.—M. Dec. 11.
 Junior, W., Ens., posted to 16th N. I.—M. Dec. 8.
 Jacob, G. Le Grand, 2d Gren. N. I., on furl. to the Cape for health.—B. Jan. 2.
 King, T., Lieut.-Col., rem. from 14th to 44th N. I.—M. Dec. 11.
 Kirby, W. H., Lieut. 4th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—M. Dec. 7.
 Keillen, D. C., Lieut. 6th N. I., on furlough to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 10.
 Kerr, C. A., Lieut. 3d L. Cav., on furlough to Mysore for health.—M. Dec. 1.
 Ker, Capt., to act as Local Military Paymaster.—Penang.
 Kerr, Jas., Vet. Surg., perm. to resign.—C. Dec. 7.
 Kelso, Wm., Maj. 26th N. I., to be Comm.-Officer on Neilgherry Hills.—M. Dec. 11.
 Kenny, H. E., Lieut. 10th N. I., to be Quar.-Mast., Interp., and Paym. v. Cotton.—M. Dec. 18.
 Laing, J., Lieut., returned to duty.—M. Dec. 4.
 Lushington, Jas. S., Mr., app. private Secretary to the Right Hon. the Governor.—M. Dec. 4.
 Littlehales, W. B., Ens. 52d N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Nov. 27.
 Lushington, G. T., Mr., to be First Assist. to the Sec. to Gov. in the Secret and Political Department.—C. Nov. 30.
 Locke, T., Capt. 2d N. V. B., on furl. to the Presidency.—M. Dec. 1.
 Low, Jas. Capt., to be Deputy Super. of Lands.—Penang.
 Lomas, A., Capt. 1st N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 3.
 Liddle, R., Assist.-Surg., on furl. to Europe for health.—B. Jan. 3.
 Lewis, J. W., Lieut. Artill. to the temporary charge of the Ordnance Department at Baroda v. Watkins.—B. Jan. 3.

- Lushington M., Cadet of Inf., prom. to Ens.—C. Dec. 7.
- Lawrence, H., Brev. Capt. and Adj., perm. to resign Adjutancy of 2d Nusseree Batt.—C. Dec. 8.
- Leith, Jas., Maj.-Gen. of Inf., perm. to resign command of Southern Division.—M. Dec. 22.
- Leggatt, J., Capt. 3d Lt. Inf., on furl. to Europe.—M. Dec. 11.
- Macleod, A., Lieut. 5th Lt. Cav., leave extended to join his reg.—M. Dec. 15.
- M'Farland, J. M., Assist.-Surg., reaz. from 7th Lt. Cav. to 2d Batt. Artill., to take Med. charge.—M. Dec. 12.
- M'Dougall, D., Asst.-Surg., rem. from 21st N. I. to the D. Troop of 1st Bengal Horse Artill.—M. Dec. 12.
- Morgan, F. W., Capt. 1st N. I., on furlough to the Presidency for health.—M. Dec. 10.
- M'Leay, K. A., Lieut. 26th N. I., on furl. to the Presidency.—M. Dec. 10.
- Maxwell, G., Capt., rem. from 1st to 4th N. Vet. Batt.—M. Dec. 4.
- Mathias, V., Sen. Lieut. and Brev. Capt. 14th N. I., to be Capt. v. Hatherley, prom.—M. Dec. 4.
- M'Kenzie, Colin., Sen. Ens. 48th N. I., to be Lieut. v. Mellish, discharged. M. Nov. 27.
- M'Donnell, G. G., Lieut., 27th N. I., on furl. to Neilgherry Hills, for health.—M. Dec. 1.
- Murchison, Kenneth, Esq., to be Acting Resident Councillor of Prince of Wales' Island.—Penang.
- Mackenzie, R., Capt., 15th N. I., returned to duty.—C. Dec. 3.
- Maddock, T. H., Mr., to be Agent to Governor-General in Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.—C. Dec.
- Meldrum, F., Lieut. Queen's Royals, to act as Adjut. to a portion of the Poonah Division, v. Woodburn.—B. Jan. 7.
- M'Sherry, T., Lieut. 30th N. I., to be Capt., v. Shuldham, prom.—C. Dec. 7.
- Milner, J., Lieut. 9th Light Cavalry, on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 7.
- Malone, E., Lieut. 9th Light Cavalry, on furl. to Europe.—C. Dec. 7.
- Matthews, T. L., admitted Assist.-Surg. at Fort George.—M. Dec. 18.
- Moncrieff, J., Major, 20th N. I., on furl. to Europe.—M. Dec. 14.
- MacLaren, A., Major 51st N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 14.
- Nicholson, W., Lieut. 49th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Dec. 4.
- Nisbett, M., Assist.-Surgeon, (M.D.), Civil Station of Shahjehanpore, placed at disposal of the Com.-in-Chief.—C. Dec. 10.
- Oliver, W. C., Lieut.-Col., removed from 27th to 14th N. I.—M. Dec. 7.
- O'Donnoghue, J. J., Capt., Ass.-Quar.-Mast.-Gen. with the Force in the Doab, perm. to visit Bombay, for health.—M. Dec. 4.
- Phillipson, J., Veterin.-Surgeon 2d Light Cavalry, on furl. to the Presidency for health.—M. Dec. 10.
- Polwhele, T., Lieut. 42d N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 10.
- Prinsep, H. T., Mr., to be Secretary to Government in the General Department.—C. Dec. 7.
- Phipps, T., Lieut. 27th N. I., to rank, v. Fitton, promoted.—C. Dec. 7.
- Poett, J. J., Cadet, promoted to Ensign.—C. Dec. 7.
- Parker, N. A., Ens. 58th N. I., to be Lieut., v. Baillie, retired with rank.—C. Dec. 7.
- Patcu, T. L., Cadet, admitted to Inf., and prom. to Ens.—M. Dec. 11.
- Polwhele, R. G., Capt. Artillery, on furl. to Europe.—M. Dec. 21.
- Prescott, S., Lieut., 5th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 11.
- Ross, J., Lieut., 15th N. I., on furl. to the Presidency.—M. Dec. 10.
- Ralston, J. C., Vet. Surg., posted to 1st Brig. Horse Artill.—M. Dec. 8.
- Reid, Geo., Cornet 1st Lieut. Cav., to be Lieut. v. Cromelin, prom.—C. Dec. 7.
- Richards, W. H., Surg., rem. 8th Lt. Cav. to 8th N. I.—M. Nov. 24.
- Ravenshaw, E. C., Mr., to be first Assist. to Resident at Hyderabad.—C. Dec. 14.
- Ramsay, J. S., Lieut., to act as Quar. Mast. to 4th N. I., v. Thornbury, on duty at Vingorla.—B. Jan. 7.

- Roberts, Abraham, Capt. 27th N. I., to be Maj. v. Baines, prom.—C. Dec. 7.
 Strange, W. R., Sen. Cornet 2d L. Cav., to be Lieut. v. Flower, deceased.
 —M. Dec. 4.
 Stevenson, James, Lieut., 12th N. I., returned to duty.—M. Dec. 4.
 Seagar, J., Ens., to take rank in Inf.—M. Nov. 24., posted to 8th N. I.
 —M. Nov. 28.
 Sanders, E., Lieut., late Exer. Eng. Purneah Division, on furl.—C. Dec. 10.
 Scott, D. G., Capt. 11th N. I., to be Major v. Braddon invalided.—C. Dec. 7.
 Sewell, Thomas, Lieut., 11th N. I., to be Capt. of a Company, v. Scott, prom.
 —C. Dec. 7.
 Shener, G. M., Lieut., 57th N. I., app. to superintend the works at Sulkea, v.
 Jenkins.—C. Dec. 10.
 Swinton, G. M., to be Chief Secretary to Government.—C. Dec. 7.
 Searle, C., Assist.-Surg. Med. Depart., on furl. to the Presidency for health.
 —M. Dec. 1.
 Scott, A., Surg., to rank v. Cocke, dec.—C. Dec. 7.
 Stewart, C. A., Lieut. 16th N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 3.
 Slight, S., Lieut. Engin., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 4.
 Stevens, S. J., Lieut., to act as Adj. to the 20th N. I., in the absence of Lieut.
 Prior.—B. Jan. 7.
 Shuldham, A., Capt., 30th N. I., to be Major, v. Lloyd, prom.—C. Dec. 7.
 Sutherland, E., Lieut., 27th N. I., to be Capt., v. Roberts, prom.—C. Dec. 7.
 Stainforth, F. J. Capt., 1st L. Cav. perm. to resign.—C. Dec. 7.
 Smith, F., Lieut., 25th N. I., perm. to resign.—M. Dec. 18.
 Tait, C. M., Admitted Cadet, and prom. to Ens.—C. Dec. 10.
 Turnbull, W., Surg., rem. from 11th N. I. to 2d Eur. Reg.—M. Nov. 24.
 Thomson, G., Assist.-Surg., posted to 11th N. I.—M. Nov. 24.
 Turner, J., Surg., to rank, v. Farquhar, retired.—C. Dec. 7.
 Taylor, W., Surg. 18th N. I., on furl. to Europe for health.—B. Jan. 3.
 Thomson, W., Capt. 17th Mad. N. I., on furl. to Eur. for health.—B. Jan. 3.
 Tweedy, G., Major 8th N. I., Guicavar Subsidiary Force, v. Whitehill, on furl.
 —B. Jan. 7.
 Teasdale, H. C., Lieut., to act as Adj. to details of 25th M. N. I., left at Sattara.
 —B. Jan. 7.
 Turnbull, H., Surg., on furl. to Europe for health.—M. Dec. 11.
 Underwood J. G., Capt. Superin. Engin., on furl. to the Presidency.—M. Dec. 4.
 Wheeler, F. M. H., Capt., rem. from 1st to 2d Batt. Pioneers.—M. Dec. 12.
 Watkins, H., Lieut., rem. from 1st Brig. to 4th Batt. Artill.—M. Dec. 12.
 Wallace, J., Lieut. 23d Reg. or W. L. I., on furl. to Belgium.—M. Dec. 10.
 Western, J., Vet.-Surg., posted to 5th L. Cav.—M. Dec. 8.
 Watson, W. L., Lieut.-Col. (C. B.) 27th N. I., and Adj. of the Army, on furl.
 to Europe.—C. Dec. 10.
 Wright, R. M. adm. Cadet, and prom. to Ens.—C. Nov. 29.
 Wood, A., Surg., to rank, v. Crawford, retired.—C. Dec. 7.
 Wray, O., Surg., to rank, v. Stephens, dec.—C. Dec. 7.
 Whitehill, S., Lieut.-Col. 3d Light Cav., on furl. to Europe for health.—B. Jan. 4.
 Wilkinson, H., Ens. 30th N. I., to be Lieut.—C. Dec. 7.
 Wilson, M., Ens. 27th N. I., to be Lieut., Ensign R. Crawford having resigned,
 v. Sutherland, prom.—C. Dec. 7.
 Wiggins, C. H., Lieut. Artill., on furl. to Europe for health.—C. Dec. 14.
 Yates, R. H., Lieut.-Col.-Com., (late prom. v. Newal, dec.) posted to 49th N. I.
 —M. Dec. 7.
 Young, C. W., Lieut. 14th N. I., to be Adj., v. Mathias, prom.—M. Dec. 11.

General Orders by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

Head-quarters, Choultry Plain, 14th November, 1827.

THE Commander-in-Chief, having had under his consideration the difference existing in the instruments with which Corporal punishments are inflicted in the regiments on this establishment, directs that the un-

dermentioned description of Cat be used in future, in all Corps, European and Native:—Length of the wooden handle, 18 inches; length of the cords, 24 inches; number of cords, 9; number of knots upon each cord, 3; quality of the materials of which the cords are made, thin Europe whip-cord.

‘ 19th November, 1827.

‘ THE following extracts from the confirmed proceedings of an European General Court Martial, held at Fort St. George, on Monday, the 5th of November, 1827, by virtue of a warrant of authority from his Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir G. T. Walker, G. C. B., and K. C. T. S., Commander-in-Chief, are published to the army.

‘ *Charges*.—Lieut. John Edwards, of his Majesty’s 46th Regiment of Foot, placed in arrest by me, upon the following charges.

‘ 1st, For conduct unbecoming an officer and gentleman, in having, at sea, on board the Honourable Company’s ship, *Warren Hastings*, on the evening of the 20th of September, 1827, grossly insulted Mrs. Marian Rose, a passenger in the same ship.

‘ 2d, For conduct subversive of good order and military discipline at the same place and on the same evening, in refusing to obey the orders of his Commanding Officer, Captain James Skirrow, of his Majesty’s 48th regiment of Foot, to go below, and in continuing in high altercation with Captain Mason, Commanding-Officer of the same ship.

‘ 3d, For conduct subversive of good order and military discipline at sea, in the cuddy of the Honourable Company’s ship *Warren Hastings*, on the 4th of September, 1827, in saying, that “the Commanding Officer of the troops had neither the character nor dress of a gentleman;” and that “if he, the Commanding Officer, had spoken to him, the prisoner, in the way he had done to another officer, he would have kicked him off the quarter-deck,” or words to that effect.

(Signed)

‘ J. SKIRROW,
Captain His Majesty’s 48th Regt.

‘ Fort St. George, 5th Nov., 1827.

‘ The Court having most maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence brought forward in support of the prosecution, as well as what the prisoner, Lieutenant John Edwards, of his Majesty’s 46th regt. of Foot, hath urged in his defence, and the evidence in support thereof, is of opinion:

‘ Finding, on the first charge—That the Prisoner is Not Guilty on the first charge.

‘ Finding, on the second charge—That the Prisoner is Not Guilty on the second charge.

‘ Finding, on the third charge—That the Prisoner is Guilty of the third charge.

‘ *Sentence*.—The Court, having found the prisoner Guilty to the extent above stated, doth sentence him, the said Lieutenant John Edwards, of his Majesty’s 46th regt. of Foot, to be placed at the bottom of the list of Lieutenants of the regiment to which he belongs, as they stand at this date, the 14th of November, 1827.

(Signed)

‘ W. G. PEARSE,
Lieut.-Col. and President.

(Signed) ‘ H. P. HIGHLY,
Judge-Adv. Gen. of the Army.

‘ Approved and Confirmed.

(Signed)

G. T. WALKER,
Lieut.-Gen. and Com.-in-Chief.

' It must be always a subject of considerable regret to him, when the Lieutenant-General feels it his duty to decline acceding to the recommendation of a Court Martial; but although he has, in this instance, officially approved and confirmed the finding and sentence of the Court, in the hope that the risk to which the prisoner has been subjected by the trial, and the lenient punishment awarded to him may be found sufficient to deter him and others from similar conduct in future, the Lieutenant-General is yet bound to say, that on the first charge the prisoner was acquitted in the face of the most positive evidence of three respectable witnesses, supported, even in essential points, by two adduced on behalf of the defence. Now, although the Lieutenant-General admits that there may be some reason, from part of the evidence on the defence, to think that this insult to a lady was not the gross and premeditated one it at first appeared to be, yet it is so clearly proved, that the lady in question was *actually insulted by the prisoner*, that the Lieutenant-General is obliged to recal to the remembrance of this Court, and trusts that it may be impressed upon the minds of the Members of all future Courts Martial, that they are under solemn oath to judge only of *the facts* charged by the *evidence before them*; and if, in pursuance of this, it becomes their painful duty to sentence to a severe punishment, a recommendation, founded on any alleviating circumstances, may very properly be forwarded, together with the finding and sentence; but in no case is the finding to be dependent but on actual evidence of the facts charged.

' On the second charge, among conflicting evidence, it may be fair that the Court should lean to the lenient side; but where, on the third charge, of which the prisoner is convicted, the Court recommends him to mercy, "*in consideration of the peculiar circumstances under which the expressions were made use of by him,*" when the expressions charged were uttered in the *public cuddy of the ship*, before the very servants; whence they might be, and probably were, repeated, even to the soldiers under Captain Skirrows command; under what circumstances, then, unless actually on parade, could they have been more criminally uttered? As to whether this evidence was brought forward vindictively, or not, however it may affect the character of the reporter, it can in no manner alter the case of the prisoner.

' Adverting, then, to the evidence on the first charge, and the untenable ground taken for the recommendation of the Court, it must not create surprise that the Lieutenant-General desires that the sentence may be carried into execution; and Lieutenant Edwards may think himself most fortunate, under all the circumstances of the case, that he has been subjected to a Court so leniently disposed.

(Signed)

' G. T. WALKER,
' Lieut.-Gen. and Com.-in-Chief.'

BIRTHS.

Angelo, the lady of Lieut. F., Light Cav., of a son, at Kurnaul, Oct. 31.

Allport, the lady of R., Esq., of a son, Calcutta, Dec. 20.

Burney, the lady of Capt. H., late Envoy to Siam, of a son, at Tavoy, Oct. 24.

Bird, the lady of John, Esq., of a son, Madras, Nov. 18.

Bax, the lady of John, Esq., of a son, Bombay, Dec. 5.

Crommelin, the lady of Lieut. G. R., of a daughter, at Mirzapore, Nov. 18.

Dundas, the lady of Capt. G. G., of Artil., of a son, at Dum Dum, Dec. 4.

Denniss, the lady of Capt. George G., of Artil., of a son, Dum Dum. Dec. 4.

- Dickson, the lady of Capt., 60th Regt., of a son, at Meerut. Dec. 4.
 Durant, the lady of F. W., Esq., of a son, near Kishnaghur. Dec. 22.
 Fleming, the lady of R., Esq., Surg., of a son, Calcutta, Dec. 15.
 Ford, the lady of Henry S., Esq., Madras Artill., of a daughter, at Jaulnah, Dec. 1.
 Garrett, the lady of W. N., Esq., Civ. Serv., of a daughter, at Burrisaul, Nov. 21.
 Henderson, the lady of J., Esq., M.D., Surg., 39th regt., at Fort George, Dec. 17.
 Hailes, the lady of Capt., of the Hon. Company's Stud, of a son, at Poonah, Nov. 12.
 Hewitt, the lady of Lieut. P. T., Niram's Service, of a son, Calcutta, Dec. 12.
 James, the lady of Capt., C. B., Act.-Sec. to Milit. Board, of a son, at Mazagon. Dec. 7.
 Johnson, the lady of Capt., Commis. at Bittoor, of a son, at Cawnpore, Dec. 7.
 Law, the lady of Capt., Artill., of a son, Bombay, Dec. 2.
 Lind, the lady of A. F., Esq., Civ. Serv., of a daughter, still-born, at Futtehpore, Dec. 14.
 Lyons, the lady of Capt. H., of a daughter, at Prospect Lodge, Bombay, Dec. 7.
 Marrett, the lady of Major, 11th N. I., of a daughter, at Bellary, Dec. 11.
 Macpherson, the lady of G. G., Esq., of a daughter, at Bauleah, Nov. 24.
 Nott, the lady of Lieut.-Col., Comm. the 43d Reg., of a son, in Camp, at Kurrah, Nov. 26.
 Nicholson, the lady of S., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 6.
 Oliver, the lady of Capt. J., Sub.-Assist. to the Hon. C.'s Stud, of a daughter, at Berhampore, Nov. 19.
 O'Gormann, the lady of Lieut., 31st Foot, at Meerut, Dec. 11.
 Probyn, the lady of Lieut. T., Pioneers, of a daughter, at Poonah, Dec. 11.
 Robinson, the lady of Capt. Hugh, Paymaster, Nizam's Service, of a daughter, at Ellichpore, Nov. 30.
 Robinson, the lady of the Rev. Thos., Chaplain to the Gov.-Gen., at Chowringhee, Nov. 27.
 Smallpage, the lady of Capt. J., Brig. Maj., of a daughter, at Lucknow, Nov. 18.
 Scott, the lady of Lieut. J. A., 1st Light Cav., of a son, at Mirzapore, Nov. 18.
 Smyth, the lady of D. Carmichael, Esq., Civil Service, of a daughter, at Calcutta, Nov. 27.
 Snodgrass, the lady of Major, Assist.-Com.-Gen., of a daughter, at Poonah, Nov. 13.
 Stuart, the lady of Charles, Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Dec. 3.
 Satchwell, the lady of Capt., Assist.-Com.-Gen., of a son, at Barcilly, Dec. 5.
 Vincent, the lady of John, Esq., 16th Queen's Lancers, of a son, at Meerut, Dec. 17.
 Vibart, the lady of John, Esq., H. C. C. S., of a son, at Ahmedabad, Nov. 18.
 Vignon, the lady of G., Esq., of a daughter, at Calcutta, Dec. 25.
 Wise, the lady of George, Esq., of a daughter, at Sulken, Nov. 3.
 Wonder, the lady of W., Esq., of a son, at Calcutta, Nov. 21.
 Webber, the lady of Major M., 34th reg., of a daughter, at Seetapore, Oude, Nov. 11.
 Whitlock, the lady of G. S., Esq., 30th Foot, of a son, at Calcutta, Dec. 5.
 Welland, the lady of Capt., 23d reg., of a daughter, at Dharwar, Dec. 21.

MARRIAGES.

- Bond, A. M., Esq., Civ. Serv., to Miss M. Salmond, daughter of Capt. J. Salmond, at Penang, Oct. 17.
 Biddle, Capt. Artill., to Miss Purton, at Bangalore, Dec. 5.

- Brightman, J., Esq., to Harriett Emily, second daughter of the late Major J. Gerrard, Beng. N. I., at Calcutta, Dec. 26.
- Copp, H. W., Esq., to Medie, daughter of the late R. Staunton, Esq., Surg. Beng. Estab., at Calcutta, Dec. 29.
- Cumberlege, Lieut., 6th Extra N. I., to Miss Lucy Cave, eldest daughter of Lieut.-Col. J. H. Cave, at Mullio, Nov. 17.
- Edwards, Ens. W., 5th N. I., to Miss Caroline Roome, eldest daughter of Major F. Roome, at Bombay, Nov. 20.
- Gribble, H., Esq., Civ. Serv., to Miss Maria Marshall, daughter of the late Ralph Marshall, Esq., County of Kerry, Ireland, at Calcutta, Dec. 5.
- Kirkland, Nugent, Esq., Civ. Serv., to Eliz. S. W. Wood, fifth daughter of Stair Wood, Esq., near Southampton, at Bombay, Nov. 27.
- Kirkpatrick, Rev. W., to Miss A. Fenwick, both of Howrah, at Calcutta, Nov. 21.
- Lardner, Lieut. and Adj. H. W., 50th Mad. N. I., to Miss Louisa Hart, at Mangalore, Nov. 21.
- Lewis, W. T., Esq., Civ. Serv., to Miss Neubonner, at Malacca, Nov. 6.
- M'Leod, Donald, Esq., to Miss Sarah M. Adams, at Calcutta, Dec. 28.
- Macdonald, J. A., Lieut., 3d Mad. L. Cav., to Sophia, third daughter of the late Thomas Cotton, Esq., of Chase Lodge, Enfield, at Madras, Dec. 19.
- Pattullo, John, Esq., of the Penang Civ. Serv., to Miss Hare, eldest daughter of Dr. James Hare, Beng. Estab., at Singapore, Oct. 9.
- Ronald, James, Esq., Assist.-Surg., to Miss Agnes M'Nair, youngest daughter of the late John M'Nair, Esq., of Glasgow, at Calcutta, Jan. 1.

DEATHS.

- Arrow, Lieut. Chas., Brig. Maj., Nizam's Army, at Ellichpore.
- Ashhurst, Lieut. Nathan, 46th Foot, at Secunderabad, Nov. 20.
- Bush, Assist.-Surg., 46th Foot, at Secunderabad, Dec. 7.
- Black, Capt. T. M., 58th N. I., at Secmanec, in Marwar, Nov. 16.
- Cook, J. R., Esq., at Scrampore, Dec. 3.
- Christian, Rev. Thos., app. by the Bishop Heber to a Mission among the Mountaineers, at Bhagulpore, Dec. 16.
- D'Souza, T., Esq., at Calcutta, Dec. 9.
- Downes, Clara Frances, wife of Thos., Esq., of Kishnagur, Assist.-Surg., at Penang, Nov. 3.
- Dunlop, Ens. W., 5th N. I., at Jubbulpore, Nov. 13.
- Dorin, W., Esq., Civ. Serv. at Calcutta, Dec. 26.
- Irvine, Lieut. G. N., 29th N. I., near Neemuch, Dec. 2.
- Kennedy, Lieut. W. D. 6th Ext. N. I., at Calcutta, Dec. 3.
- Manak, G., Esq., aged 52, at Batavia, Oct. 2.
- Macdonald, Lieut.-Col. A., (K. B.,) Adj. Gen. of I.M.'s Forces in India, aged 45, at Mirzapore, Nov. 24.
- Michie, H., Esq., Assist.-Surg., Bombay Estab., at sea, May 10.
- Newton, Capt. H., Prov. Maj. of Brig. to the Surat Div. of the Army, at Surat, Nov. 17.
- Neale, Daniel, Esq., Solicitor in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Madras, Dec. 8.
- Piercy, Ens. J. R., 5th Ext. N. I., at Jubbulpore, Nov. 17.
- Somerville, N., Esq., of Edinburgh, at sea, Oct. 10.
- Josh, Eliza, the lady of J., Esq., aged 21, at Calcutta, Dec. 19.
- Webb, Lieut. John Storey, Artill., at sea.
- Wallace, Eliza Margaret, wife of Capt. John, 46th N. I., eldest daughter of the late Daniel O'Flaherty, Esq., Surg., 46th Foot, and niece to the Very Rev. the Deans of Dublin and Ardagh, at Belgam, Nov. 26.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVALS FROM EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1828.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Place of Depart.	Date. 1827-8.
Apr. 28	Dowys ..	Buckinghamshire	Glasspoole	China ..	Dec. 16
Apr. 28	Liverpool ..	D. of Lancaster	Hanny ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 9
Apr. 28	Dartmouth	Wavertree ..	Short ..	Singapore	Nov. 11
Apr. 28	Downs ..	Margaret ..	M'Cormack	Cape ..	Jan. 3
Apr. 30	Plymouth	Lady Rowena ..	Russel ..	Ceylon ..	Jan. 3
Apr. 30	Isle of Wight	Minerva ..	Probyn ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 18
May 1	Cowes ..	Nautilus ..	Nash ..	China ..	Dec. 25
May 2	Start ..	Kellie Castle ..	Ladd ..	China ..	Dec. 25
May 3	Liverpool ..	Tigress ..	Sheriffe ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 6
May 3	Scilly ..	Recovery ..	Chapman ..	Bombay ..	Jan. 6
May 5	Downs ..	Malvina ..	Murray ..	Bombay ..	Dec. 24
May 6	Dartmouth	Cambrlan ..	Blythe ..	Bombay ..	Jan. 16
May 6	Liverpool ..	Osprey ..	Macgill ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 20
May 7	Downs ..	Farquharson ..	Cruickshanks	China ..	—
May 7	Hastings ..	Mulgrave ..	Turner ..	Mauritius	Jan. 17
May 9	Poole ..	Protector ..	Wagh ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 2
May 10	Fowey ..	Cambridge ..	Barber ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 5
May 10	Holyhead ..	Turners ..	Leader ..	Bombay ..	Jan. 13
May 10	Dover ..	Malay ..	Davis ..	Padang ..	—
May 10	Dover ..	Crown ..	Kullman ..	Cape ..	Feb. 7
May 12	Downs ..	Lady M'Naghten	Faith ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 16
May 12	Downs ..	Kingston ..	Bowen ..	Bengal ..	Jan. 14
May 12	Torbay ..	Luna ..	Knox ..	Cape ..	Feb. 16
May 12	Liverpool ..	Welcome ..	Buchanan	Bengal ..	Jan. 1
May 13	Weymouth	Royal George ..	Reynolds ..	Bengal ..	Dec. 9
May 14	Downs ..	Ann ..	Sly ..	Mauritius	Feb. 7
May 22	Start ..	Farquharson ..	Cruickshanks	China ..	Jan. 14
May 23	Plymouth ..	St. David ..	Richardson	Bombay ..	Jan. 15

ARRIVALS IN EASTERN PORTS.

Date. 1827-8.	Port of Arrival.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Port of Depart.
Dec. 9	Bombay ..	Tamar ..	Leader ..	Liverpool
Dec. 13	Bombay ..	Gipsy ..	Quick ..	Liverpool
Dec. 27	Bombay ..	Sesostris ..	Bourchier ..	London
Dec. 28	Batavia ..	Bloxa ..	Laming ..	London
Dec. 28	Bengal ..	Jane ..	Jameson ..	London
Jan. 2	China ..	Milo ..	Winslow ..	London
Jan. 9	Bengal ..	Orient ..	White ..	London
Jan. 9	Madras ..	Belle Alliance	Hunter ..	London

DEPARTURES FROM EUROPE.

Date. 1828.	Port of Depart.	Ship's Name.	Commander.	Destination.
Apr. 27	Gravesend ..	Saucy Jack ..	Kippenstall ..	Bengal
Apr. 30	Greenock ..	Mary ..	Dobson ..	Bengal
May 1	Gravesend ..	Atlas ..	Hunt ..	Mad. & Beng.
May 2	Gravesend ..	Edward Caltson ..	Hamlyn ..	Maur. & Beng.
May 3	Downs ..	Augusta ..	Giles ..	China

Date. 1828.	Port of Depart.	Ship's name.	Commander.	Destination.
May 3	Liverpool	Pomona	Highat	Bombay
May 6	Plymouth	Raymond	Brooke	Batavia
May 6	Greenock	Crown	Baird	Bombay
May 6	Liverpool	Chieftain	Blair	Bengal
May 7	Downs	Darius	Hunter	Ceylon & Beng.
May 7	Downs	Seppings	Loader	Maur. & Ceylon
May 10	Leith	Prince of Orange	Jamieson	Bombay
May 12	Downs	Alice	Todd	New S. Wales
May 12	Downs	Prince George	Andrew	New S. Wales
May 12	Downs	Mountaineer	Canney	Bombay
May 12	Downs	Rose	Marquis	Mad. & Beng.
May 13	Greenock	Minerva	Watson	Bengal
May 13	Liverpool	Fairy	Welburn	Bengal
May 13	Portsmouth	Prince Regent	Hosman	Mad. & Beng.
May 14	Portsmouth	Isabella	Fox	Bombay
May 15	Portsmouth	Juliana	Tarbutt	Mad. & Beng.
May 15	Liverpool	Isabella	Leeds	China
May 16	Downs	Royal George	Wilson	Bombay
May 17	Gravesend	Amity	Gray	Ceylon
May 18	Liverpool	Richard	Greaves	Mauritius
May 18	Downs	Diamond	Clarke	Bengal
May 18	Liverpool	John Taylor	Atkinson	Bengal
May 18	Liverpool	Herculean	Gauson	Bengal
May 19	Liverpool	Scipio	Petric	Penang
May 20	Liverpool	St. George	Swainston	Bengal
May 20	Gravesend	Roxburgh Castle	Denny	Mad. & Beng.
May 20	Gravesend	Hercules	Vaughan	Mad. & Beng.
May 21	Downs	Lord Lyndoch	Beadle	Mad. & Beng.
May 22	Downs	Marchioness of Ely	Mangles	Bengal
May 22	Downs	Malcolm	Eyles	Mad. & Beng.
May 23	Gravesend	Asia	Balderston	Bengal
May 23	Gravesend	Bride	Brown	Cape & Bomb.

GENERAL LIST OF PASSENGERS.

PASSENGERS HOMEWARDS.

By the *Buckinghamshire*, from China:—Lieut. H. Mortimer, Mad. Artl.; J. Prince, Esq., President of Singapore; P. Y. Lindsay, Esq., Beng. Civil Ser., and wife; Crawford M'Leod, H. T. Goode, and James Watt, Esqrs.; Miss Emma Abbott, and three servants.

By the *Waverlee*, from Batavia:—Lieut. M'Dowall, Hon. Comp.'s Marine, and Mr. James Lowry.

By the *Minerva*, from Bengal:—Lieut.-Cols. Bird, Beng. N. I., and Becher, 10th Beng. L. Cav.; Capts. Buckley, 5th Beng. L. Cav., and Cureton, 16th Lan.; G. Ward and Ross; D. Mangles, Esq., Hon. Comp.'s Civil Ser.; W. Peters, Esq., merchant; Mr. R. W. Walters, Hon. Comp.'s Marine; Mr. T. L. Masters, G. and W. Warde, E. and C. Cureton, M. Collier, M. J. Vibart, J. Shaw, and H. Clarke; Mesdames Warde, Fane, Bird, Becher, and Cureton; Misses E. M. and J. C. Fane, P. Bird, H. Becher, A. Cureton, M. A. Gordon, F. and M. Roberts, C. Tilgham, F. C. and E. G. Begbie, and Fane, (born at sea, March 18th, 1828;) twelve servants, fifty-four invalids, two charter-party passengers, and three children.

By the *Lady Rowena*, from Ceylon:—Major Bouchier, Royal Artl.; Capts. Vaughan, Royal Artl., Ward and family; Engineers Kemp and wife, 83d Foot; and Franchill and family, 1st Ceylon Reg.; Capt. G. Steward and wife; Lieut.

Dillon, Royal Staff Corps; J. C. Forbes, Esq., Civil Ser.; Rev. W. Sutherland, Wesleyan Missionary, and daughter; Miss Franchil, Mrs. Andrews, ten invalids, and one servant.

By the *Nautilus*, from China:—Mr. Just, watchmaker.

By the *Washington*, from China:—Mr. D. S. Lyons, of Baltimore.

By the *Kellie Castle*, from China:—Capt. T. W. Leech, wife, and five children, from St Helena; and Mr. Purvis.

By the *Recovery*, from Bombay:—Cols. Sandwith and Whitehill; Major Long; Capts. Hardy and Rose, of the Hon. Comp.'s Marine; Mesdames Dunlop, Baillie, Whitehill, and Davis; Misses Williams, Dunlop, Baillie, Leighton, Wooler, Whitehill, Wedderburn, and P. Brown; Masters Grant, H. Baillie, J. Wedderburn, and Hardy; and eight servants.

By the *Cambrian*, from Bombay:—Lieut.-Col. Pearce; Majors Godly and Moncrieff; Capts. Lawrence, Wallace, and Holmes; Dr. Rickards; Mesdames Col. Pearce and Jervis; Misses Pearce, M. Jervis, and R. Jervis; Masters Pearce and W. Jervis.

By the *Malvina*, from Bombay:—Lients. Carney and M'Dermott; Messrs. Luykin Sharp, (died at sea,) Alderton, and A. Collins.

By the *Protector*, from Bengal and Madras:—Capts. J. Grant, 3d Buffs, and J. F. Fenton, Hon. Comp.'s Ser.; Lieuts. H. N. Noble, E. Horne, and H. J. Williams; Doctors T. Bell, R. N., and A. Campbell, M. D.; Mr. T. Williams, Hon. Comp.'s Ser.; R. Rogers, J. Russell, T. Wheatley, and J. E. Scott, Esq., Civil Ser.; Masters L. Gwatkin, D. Armstrong, H. Noberly, Russel, and R. Kinnersley; Mesdames G. Russel, Gwatkin, Kinnersley, and Monro; Misses Noble, M. Gwatkin, M. Monro, Elliotts, Paske, and A. Pugh. Ten servants.

By the *Cambridge*, from Batavia:—M^{rs}. Donovan, merchant.

By the *Cambridge*, from India:—Lieut.-Cols. Hopper, Beng. Artill., (left at the Cape,) with wife and daughter, Baines, Beng. Ser., (left at St. Helena,) Bower, C. B., and Schnell, C. B.; Majors Showers, Beng. Ser., and Crole, Assist.-Dep.-Com.-Gov.-Gen.; Capts. C. Bertrand, Finnacome, and Akenside, 14th reg., Webster, 44th reg., Polwhele, Mad. Artill., and Wyllie, Mad. Inf.; Lieut. Bolton, 13th Drag.; J. Carnegie, Esq., Beng. Civil Ser.; Messrs. Morrison, Marshall, Kerr, and Briggs; Master P. Derval; Mesdames Col. Boyd, and three children; Col. Watson, Capts. Bertrand, Henderson, and three children, and Schnell; Misses Watson, Schnell, and Payne; forty-five invalids, and seven servants.

By the *Kingston*, from Bengal:—Capts. Ogilvey, Royals, and J. Barclay, Beng. Cav.; Lieut. D. Ogilvey, Beng. N. I.; J. Fallowfield, Esq., Surg. Ben. Estab.; J. Ogilvy, Esq., Civil Ser.; J. Castell, J. O. Owen, T. D. Bainbridge, and C. Tait, (died at sea, April 6th,) Esqrs.; Mrs. Barclay, twelve children, and five servants.

By the *Lady M'Naghten*, from Bengal:—Capt. Stainforth, Cav., and wife; Rev. W. Frazer, J. W. Wybault, and C. Goddard, Esqrs.; Masters J. Stainforth, R. Frazer, and E. Bradford; Mesdames Major Wrottesley and Stainforth; Misses Wrottesley, Stainforth, Frazer, A. Stewart, and E. Warlow; and six servants.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We are obliged to defer the notice of the Second Part of Mr. Rickards's Work on India, till our next.

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